Towards an Alternative Development Paradigm

Indigenous People's Self-Determined Development

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Towards an Alternative Development Paradigm: Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development

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ACRONYMS

ADLI	Agricultural Development-led Industrialization
AU	African Union
CAHW	Community Animal Health Worker
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CBPP	Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia
CCA-UNDAF	Common Country Assessment - United Nations Development Assistance Framework
CERD	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CHR	Commission on Human Rights
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CKGR	Central Kalahari Game Reserve
COP	Conference of Parties
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSD	Commission on Sustainable Development
DANIDA	Danish International Development Assistance
DESA	Department of Social and Economic Affairs
ECF	East Coast Fever
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EMRIP	Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front
Ereto I	Ereto-Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project, Phase I
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FPIC	Free, Prior and Informed Consent
FPK	First Peoples of the Kalahari
GCA	Game Controlled Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GDI	Gross Development Index
GEF	Global Environmental Facility
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measurement
GIS	Geographic Information System
GMP	General Management Plan
GNP	Gross National Product
GoT	Government of Tanzania
GPS	Global Positioning System
HD	Human Development
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPC	Highly Indebted Strategy Papers
HPI	Human Poverty Index
HIV∕AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus∕Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HRC	Human Rights Council
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
IASG	Inter-Agency Support Group for Indigenous Isues
ICSU	International Council for Science
IDS	International Development Strategy
IEMSD	Integrated Environmental Management for Sustainable Development
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IIFB	International Indigenous Peoples' Forum on Biodiversity
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPDP	Indigenous Peoples Development Plans
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
IRA	Institute for Resource Assessment
ISW	Information Sharing Workshop

JKPP   Jaringan Kerja Pemetaan Partisipatif

LDC   Livestock Development Centre
LU   Livestock Unit

MCF   Malignant Catarrhal Fever
MDG   Millennium Development Goals
MNRT   Ministry for Natural Resources and Tourism
MS-TCDC   Training Centre for Development Cooperation
                in Eastern and Southern Africa

NACA   Nuclei of Andean Cultural Affirmation
NCA   Ngorongoro Conservation Area
NCAA   Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority
NDA   Ngorongoro District Authority
NGO   Non Government Organization
NIEO   New International Economic Order
NORAD   Norwegian Agency for Development
                Cooperation
NPA   Ngorongoro Pastoralist Association
NRC   National Research Council
NSCB   National Statistics Coordination Board
NSGPR   National Strategy for Growth and Poverty
                Reduction (also *Mkukuta*)

OEWG   Open-Ended Working Group
OAS   Organization of American States
OMS   Operational Manual Statement

PAR   Participatory Action Research
PC   Pastoralist Council
PFE   Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia
PFO   Project Field Officer
PINGO   Pastoralist Indigenous NGOs Forum
PLA   Participatory Learning and Action
PPSDAK   Pemberdayaan Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam
                Kerakyatan
PRA   Participatory Rural Appraisal

PRATEC   Andean Project for Peasant Technologies
PRSP   Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PVP   Private Veterinary Practitioner

RAIPON   Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of
              the North
RECONCILE   Resource Conflict Institute
REDD   Reducing Emmissions from Deforestation and
              Forest Degradation
RTD   Right to Development

SAL   Structural Adjustment Loans
SEEA   System of Integrated Environmental and
              Economic Accounting
SNA   Standard National Accounts
SPILL   Strategic Plan for the Implementation
              of Land Laws
SUA   Sokoine University of Agriculture

TAPHGO   Tanzania Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer
              Organization
TEEB   The Economics of Ecystems and Biodiversity

UDHR   Universal Declaration on Human Rights
UDSM   University of Dar es Salaam
UN   United Nations
UNCED   United Nations Conference on Environment
              and Development
UNCTAD   United Nations Conference on Trade
              and Development
UNDG   United Nations Development Group
UNDP   United Nations Development Programme
UNDP-RIPP   United Nations Development Programme-
              Regional Initiative on Indigenous Peoples Rights
              and Development
UNDRIP   United Nations Declaration on the Rights of
              Indigenous Peoples
UNEP   United Nations Environment Programme

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNPFII	United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
UTM	Universal Transverse Mercator
UN-WGIP	United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations
URNG	Guatemala National Revolutionary Unity
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USA	United States of America
VIC	Veterinary Investigation Centre
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WHO	World Health Organization
WINHEC	World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization

INTRODUCTION

Since its founding in 1996, Tebtebba has worked towards enhancing the capacities of indigenous peoples and making their situations, worldviews and perspectives more visible and part of contemporary development discourse. To do this, we organize consultations and participatory training workshops with indigenous activists, leaders and intellectuals and in some cases with supportive non-indigenous persons. These processes allow them to share the situations they face, their own analysis of global or local situations, results of their researches on their own communities and their own issues, and obstacles they confront in doing their work. The trainings are participatory and geared to support their knowledge and skills in research, training, organizational development and advocacy. Integral to these processes is the formulation of recommendations and proposals for future steps to take.

We encourage and support our partners to write about their own life experiences, ideas and thinking on different issues, including on development. We believe that indigenous peoples are knowledge producers, and their wisdoms, knowledges and skills learned from more than 10,000 years of living sustainably with Mother Earth should be valued and used to help solve the multiple global economic, ecological and food crises confronting the world.

Beginnings

This book project is the result of some of these endeavors. Most of the papers here emerged from various processes that Tebtebba organized and from the recently held International Expert Group Meeting on Indigenous Peoples' Development with Culture and Identity organized by the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

In the last three years Tebtebba held a series of global consultations on indigenous peoples' self-determined development which most of this book's writers attended. One of these, "Operationalizing the Human-Rights Based Approach for the Protection and Enhancement of Biodiversity and Cultural Diversity amongst Indigenous Peoples," convened indigenous thinkers, academics, practitioners and activists, with some support groups, NGOs, intergovernmental organizations, donors and academics. They discussed their critiques of the dominant development paradigm and how they can promote ecosystem- and human rights-based alternatives to the dominant model. Now called the "Global Network on Indigenous Peoples' Self-determined Development," this group promotes indigenous peoples' self-determined development as its main objective and reason for being. The project was funded by The Christensen Fund, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD).

Some of the papers featured in this book started out as presentations in this project. These include those written by Tirso Gonzales, in collaboration with Marcela Machaca, Nestor Chambi and Zenon Gomel, on indigenous agriculture in the Andes; Myrna Cunningham on *Laman Laka* and Indigenous Peoples' concepts of self-determined development; Prasert Trakansuphakorn on shifting cultivation among the Karen in Thailand; and Victoria Tauli-Corpuz on the concept and challenges of indigenous peoples' self-determined development. The results of the global consultation held in Tivoli, Rome, consolidated by Jennifer Corpuz, are also included in this publication (See Chapter 16).

Even before we convened the processes on self-determined development, Tebtebba had been organizing global workshops of the Indigenous Peoples' Global Research and Education Network (IPGREN) where participants shared the results of their researches and studies. Some of these workshop presentations, which were expanded into full-length papers, have been selected for this book. These are the works of Albertus Hadi Promono on participatory mapping with indigenous peoples in Indonesia and Melakou Tegegn on pastoralism in Ethiopia. Tirso Gonzales also presented part of his paper in the 2008 IPGREN consultation, while Leah Enkiwe-Abayao wrote on the development and experiences of IPGREN.

We are reprinting several papers with the permission of the authors and their publishers. These authors participated in some workshops we held and gave presentations on high mountain agriculture and pastoralism. What they have written reflect much of what shared in the consultations on self-determined development. These are the papers of Jorge Ishizawa on the work of PRATEC in the Central Andes in Peru, and Naomi Kipuri and Carol Sørensen on an assessment of a project with pastoralists in Tanzania. Ishizawa's paper was published by the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, and Kipuri and Sørensen's paper by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED).

At the International Expert Meeting on the UN Permanent Forum's theme for 2010-2011 held in New York on 12-14 January 2010, some of our indigenous thinkers and practitioners of self-determined development were invited as experts to present papers. The theme is "Indigenous Peoples' Development with Culture and Identity: Articles 3 and 32 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples." It replaced the earlier proposed theme of self-determined development, which raised some concern on the use of the term. Three of the experts who participated in this meeting readily agreed to have their papers included in this book: Jeannette Armstrong (Chapter 2) on indigeneity based on her perspective as an Okanagan Sylix, John Bamba (Chapter 10) on the lessons they learned from the credit union

movement in Kalimantan, Indonesia, and Jelena Porsanger on indigenous research as a means of empowerment of indigenous peoples.

The rest of the book includes two other papers this author wrote: an analysis of the Human Development Framework and how this relates to indigenous peoples' self-determined development, and an analysis of the Millennium Development Goals. The first is an input to the 2010 Human Development Report of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and included as part of the Conference Room Papers of the 9th Session of the Permanent Forum. The paper on MDGs was written for the Tebtebba journal *Indigenous Perspectives* and also served as a report to the UN Permanent Forum when MDGs was its theme in 2005. Another paper is by Geraldine Fiag-oy who wrote a case study on small-scale mining by the Banao Bodong Association in the Cordillera region in the Philippines. Since the Asia Indigenous Peoples' Pact (AIPP) also held a series of conferences on indigenous peoples' development in the region, its final report of these processes has been made a part of the book.

Indigenous writing

From colonization to the present, indigenous peoples in various parts of the world have struggled against the dominant development paradigm and the policies (such as assimilation) and projects (such as mega hydroelectric dams, mining) enforced to pursue it. Most of these were imposed on them and their communities by governments and the private sector. Peoples and communities affected were not properly consulted or their free, prior and informed consent obtained. Such struggles resulted into some victories and gains but there were also many defeats and losses. Indigenous peoples continue to assert that their economic, social and cultural development cannot be separated from how their rights—to own, control or have access over their ancestral lands, territories and resources, to their cultures and identities, and to self-determination—are protected, respected and fulfilled.

While some publications have come out on indigenous peoples and development, most of the editors and authors are not indigenous but from dominant populations who worked with indigenous peoples and used them as the objects of their researches. There are a few publications written mainly by indigenous peoples. The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development has released books, journals and articles written by indigenous scholars and development practitioners. Much can be learned from the project's publications, even if most of these focus on the experiences of American Indians and other indigenous peoples in the rich and highly industrialized countries. The other publication which also inspired this present work is *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Economic Globalization*, which Jerry Mander and this author co-edited. Most of the writers in this book are indigenous persons, and many of the papers deal not only with resistance actions of indigenous peoples to globalization but also the alternatives they are strengthening or developing.

Indigenous peoples have been asserting their agency in several ways. They are resisting destructive development policies and projects and globalization, and have succeeded in getting the UN to adopt the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and to establish the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, among others. However, we need to do much more to reinforce our agency in representing and writing our own views and perspectives on the broader issue of development.

This book project, which is conceived of as the first in a series, is primarily meant to increase the number of indigenous persons who can articulate and theorize on indigenous peoples' self-determined development. For this particular volume, the majority of the authors are indigenous persons from the so-called developing world. This publication is also intended to contribute to the search for alternatives to the dominant development paradigm which is defective, environmentally unsustainable, distorted and fast deteriorating. In this present era where the world is going through a global economic, ecological and biodiversity crisis as well as a moral and cultural crisis, the im-

perative to strengthen existing sustainable development thinking and practice (such as those lived and practiced by indigenous peoples) and to design and implement alternatives to the prevailing economic, political and socio-cultural system becomes more urgent.

Notwithstanding the fact that development is a concept laden with historical and contemporary baggage, in this book we still decided to use the terms "indigenous peoples' self-determined development" or "development with culture and identity." We are aware that indigenous concepts are re-emerging that are more comprehensive than development. The concept is called *sumak kawsay* among the Quichua, *suma qamaña* by the Aymara, *laman laka* for the Miskitu, *gawis ay biag* for the Kankana-ey Igorot, *vivir buen/buen vivir* in Spanish. All connote life projects, life-plans and living well, among others. These concepts are discussed by some papers in this book. We see these efforts as ways in which indigenous peoples' agency is gaining more strength, moving us to overcome the victimhood syndrome to be active agents of change not only for ourselves but also for the planet.

We are fully cognizant of the traps in using the term "development." However, we decided to stick with "self-determined development" for very practical reasons. First, Article 3 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) is the article on self-determination, which says that "Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." Article 32 is also about the right of indigenous peoples to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands, territories and resources. If we assert that UNDRIP should be the foundation of any development process for indigenous peoples, then we need to use the terms contained in it such as "development." Secondly, we believe that redefining and reinterpreting development from the lens of indigenous peoples will allow for better debate and engagement with non-indigenous dominant populations.

A point may be reached in the future where the concept of "development" will disappear, and various ways of understanding and representing what human beings want in life will be, collectively and individually, expressed or labelled differently. But until that point is reached, we will use the term but will redefine and redirect its meanings to be more consistent with the thinking and practice of indigenous peoples.

Collaboration towards transformation

The contributions to this book are invaluable for the further enhancement of indigenous peoples' self-determined development. What is special about this publication is that most of the authors are indigenous persons themselves. They are not researchers from the ivory towers of the academia. Most of them are indigenous practitioners of self-determined development, whether as researchers, educators, activists, leaders, development workers, NGO staff or traditional knowledge holders. Two of the papers are shortened versions of doctoral dissertations or masteral theses by indigenous scholars. The few who are not indigenous have imbibed the indigenous values and cultures and thus, are not different from us.

Since this book is a result of various processes, most of the authors have become close friends and colleagues. Some of us were intimately involved in the processes of getting the UN to adopt the UNDRIP and to establish the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and other mechanisms. Many of us are active members of the indigenous peoples' movements in our own countries, regions and globally. I strongly believe that this is this kind of formation which can bring about changes which are greatly needed. The thinking, the energy and the force of such a group of people who are always mindful of their roots and the wisdom of their ancestors should be harnessed in the best ways possible to bring about the transformations we dream about.

I fervently hope that this book on indigenous peoples' self-

determined development will foster more vibrant discussions not only among indigenous peoples but also policy makers and those who support the pursuit of this dream.

I would like to heartily thank all the authors who contributed their minds and spirits to these papers and who have been very patient with us. I also express my thanks to all my colleagues in Tebtebba, IPGREN and friends who contributed to the production of this book. Leah Enkiwe-Abayao and Jo Ann Guillao coordinated the whole process within a limited period of time. Ann Loreto Tamayo did the technical editing. Raymond de Chavez oversaw the book's design and overall production, together with Paul Michael Nera (who did the lay-out) and Marly Carino. Jennifer Corpuz of the Legal Desk started the coordination of this project before she went on maternity leave. Other colleagues in the Research Desk (Helen Magata, Mikara Jubay, Marissa Maguide-Cabato), the Gender Desk (Ellen Dictaan-Bang-oa and Maribeth Bugtong), the Climate Change Team (Eleonor Baldo-Soriano) also helped in encoding, summarizing and proofreading. Catalino Corpuz persisted in pushing everyone to complete this project. This book is indeed a collective effort of Tebtebba together with all our partners in various parts of the world.

Also to be thanked are Joan Carling and Jannie Lasimbang, the current and former AIPP secretary general, respectively, who coordinated the writing of the AIPP contribution. I also acknowledge and thank IIED and Dag Hammarskjold Foundation for allowing us to reprint the articles of Kipuri/Sørensen and Ishizawa, and Elsa Stamatopoulou, UNPFII Secretariat chief, for using the papers presented at the Expert Workshop. My warmest thanks and appreciation to all of you.

Let me thank, finally, Ken Wilson and Phrang Roy of The Christensen Fund, Susanne Schnuttgen of UNESCO and Antonella Cordone of IFAD who provided the resources for this project to come to fruition, and to EED (Evangelische Entwicklüngdienst, e.V.), our constant supporter. Our partnership with all of you is invaluable, especially because you had faith that we could do this. Thank you very much and I look

forward to more collaboration with all of you for the future work on indigenous peoples' self-determined development.

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Victoria Tauli-Corpuz
Executive Director, Tebtebba
Chairperson, UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

8 April 2010

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The Papers

Chapter 1, which is on "Indigenous Peoples Development with Identity and Culture of Self-Determined Development: Challenges and Trajectories" gives a historical overview of development discourse and how culture and identity are slowly integrated in the dominant discourse. Since culture has been regarded as an obstacle to development and indigenous peoples' cultures specifically were denigrated in the development process, it was important to understand why this was so. This paper was written to provide the participants to the workshop-consultations on indigenous peoples' self-determined development with a historical overview of the development discourse within the United Nations (UN) and accounts of how indigenous peoples were marginalized from the dominant development process.

The paper traced the history and epistemology of indigenous peoples' self-determined development and synthesized its basic contours or elements. Indigenous peoples evolved this concept to assert that their ways of life and values, as manifested in their spiritual, cultural and cosmological relationship with nature, their territories and resources should not be destroyed by the project of development and modernization. The paper further referred to the bigger context upon which the mainstream concept of development emerged. It recalled the story of how

the UN divided the world into developed and underdeveloped or developing nations and what this meant for indigenous peoples. If a country is classified as underdeveloped, its aim is to increase its economic growth (measured by GDP/Gross Domestic Product per capita) to the level of developed countries. Obviously, with the global economic crisis and the ecological crisis which confront us and the planet, the pursuit of this kind of economic growth cannot but lead to even worst inequities, disasters and conflicts. But in the heydays of colonization and modernization, the economic, political and socio-cultural systems and values of indigenous peoples are denigrated as uncivilized, unscientific and backward. All these are anti-thetical to the globalization of export-oriented, debt-dependent, market-dominated and consumerist economic system which behaves as if the world's resources are infinite.

The paper summarized indigenous peoples responses to development aggression in their territories and why and how they reached out to the UN to raise their complaints against states, intergovernmental financial institutions, like the World Bank, and corporations. The engagement of the global indigenous peoples' movement with the UN led to the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and the establishment of various spaces, mechanisms and instruments within the UN which are focused on indigenous peoples' rights and development. These include the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedom of indigenous people, the two UN Decades on the World's Indigenous People, the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the ILO Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. Aside from these various UN programmes, multilateral financial institutions and agencies have developed their safeguard policies on indigenous peoples. I ended with an optimistic note because of the vibrancy of the indigenous peoples movements in most parts of the world. We continue to sustain the assertion of our rights and our self-determined development perspectives and processes

from the local to the global level and some parts of society, including the UN, are starting to listen.

Chapter 2 is the paper by Jeannette Armstrong, an Okanagan Sylix traditional knowledge keeper, an author and activist who is the Director of the Enow'kin Center. This was what she presented at the Permanent Forum's Expert meeting and her title is "Indigeneity: The Heart of Development with Culture and Identity." Armstrong's lifework is to ensure that their traditional knowledge systems are embraced and practiced by the younger generations. She argues that "the practice of indigeneity as a 'whole system' is the best real protection for maintaining indigenous identity from loss, erosion and exploitation." Her framing of indigeneity is her experience with *tmxwulaxw,* or land, "which forms the basis of my knowledge, my experience and therefore my identity and culture, as expressed through my indigenous language." Indigeneity is based on vitality and health of inter-relationships of people and land in an *in situ* or lived experience of it within a viable contemporary context. This is not easy to sustain because of the powerful forces which strip indigenous peoples of their lands, their languages and their lives. The reality of indigeneity getting lost because of colonization, assimilation and extreme poverty within indigenous communities is the biggest challenge which should be addressed. She observed that this is the fate of many indigenous peoples because the political structures of oppression are so dominant to the extent that oppressed peoples end up believing the dominant narratives and internalizing their oppression.

She emphasized the importance of indigenous knowledge and language as critical components of culture and identity and the need to protect indigeneity through safeguard measures and support structures. "Society can only shift, person-by-person, organization-by-organization, community-by-community, country-by-country, when feasible opportunities for transformative experience are made available in a way that reduces fear and which provide strong incentives to sustain, increase and 'normalize' change features as 'desirable.' The paper calls on the broader society to collaborate with indigenous peoples as this

can lead towards a transformative shift from a dominant framework of "control" towards new ways of being. The concept of re-indigenization, which was coined by the late John Mohawk, was reiterated in the paper as a track to be pursued. Armstrong described this as "calling all peoples back to 'indigeneity' through forging new relationships of 'co-existence' in land use practices and structuring new economies as a process of 'restoring' indigeneity to peoples and lands."

Chapter 3 is written by Mirna Cunningham, who is a Miskita from the Atlantic Coast, a renowned indigenous feminist and a leader of the indigenous peoples' movements from the local to the global level. Her paper is "*Laman laka* - Our Indigenous Path to Self-Determined Development." Indigenous peoples' concepts and practice of living well have re-emerged in many countries and are now actively discussed and articulated, not only by indigenous peoples, but also by States. The Plurinational State of Bolivia and Ecuador included these concepts in their new Constitutions. Because of the strength of the indigenous peoples' movements in some parts of Latin America, we find countries where progressive indigenous leaders and activists now occupy positions of power in the government. The most dramatic example is the ascendancy of Evo Morales, an Aymara, as the President of the Plurinational State of Bolivia. Two months after the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by the UN General Assembly in September 13, 2007, Bolivia made this Declaration as their National Law on Indigenous Peoples' Rights. Now the Government is spearheading the promotion of *Suma Qamaña* (living well in Aymara) or *Sumak Kawsay* (in Qhichwa) as the State concept of development.

Cunningham's paper discussed the establishment of autonomous regions in the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts in Nicaragua which opened up the space for progressive indigenous leaders to become part of the government. This happened with the passage of the Regional Autonomy Statute in 1987. With the Contra wars which followed and the defeat of the Sandinistas, indig-

enous peoples were not able to fully operationalize their autonomy or self-government. Recently, however, the indigenous peoples in the Atlantic Coast, of which the majority are the Miskitu, are more in control and are also promoting their own concept of self-determined development.

The paper elaborated on the concept of "living well" and stressed how this goes beyond economic growth or per capita income measurement of progress or well-being. She says *Laman Laka*, *Buen Vivir,* etc. or living well is "anchored on values that stand for culture, life, living together, complementarity not just among people but between us and nature and protection of the commonweal for the benefit of communities and nations as a whole." While her title is *Laman Laka* (Miskitu), her paper also referred to other concepts of well-being which come under different names; *sumak kawsay* (Qhichwa), *suma qamaña* (Aymara), *sumak ñandereco* (Guarani) and *buen vivir/vivir buen* (Spanish). She links these concepts to self-determined development or development with culture and identity which is characterized by a holistic, non-sectoral approach which seeks to build on collective rights, security, greater control and self-governance of lands, territories and resources. In *buen vivir*, nature is considered a "living being" in which all its components have multiple and multi-layered interconnections. Human beings are part of this cosmic fabric.

She explained, in more detail, what *Laman Laka* means and how this relates to the Regional Autonomy Statute for indigenous peoples and ethnic communities of Nicaragua. *Laman Laka* "can be interpreted as a set of norms for harmonious living together within the family and community, regardless of age or gender." Its basic principle is common good or commonweal and this is explained simply as "yes, I have, you have, I have" which implies interchange or *pana pana* (reciprocity such as the practice of mutual labor exchange). The paper discussed the adoption by the Nicaraguan Government of Law 445 in 2003 which re-affirmed that traditional institutions at the communal and territorial levels are institutions of public administration. The State now recognizes the need to structurally transform itself, to de-

velop a normative juridical framework and to construct intercultural citizenship. In this context, it is so crucial that the concept of *Laman Laka* or self-determined development be elaborated further and integrated into the national development plans. The collective and individual rights of all peoples in the Autonomous Region should be respected and fulfilled in the development process.

Chapter 4 is the second paper in this book written by this author. It is on "The Human Development Framework and Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development." This was written after a UNDP meeting with indigenous experts, including myself, held in January 13, 2010 to discuss the celebration of the 20th Anniversary of the Human Development Report and the 2010 HDR. The UNDP wanted to hear our views about the human development framework and our suggestions on how indigenous perspectives can be integrated into the 2010 HDR.

Because of the many criticisms against GDP as the key measure of progress for most countries, the UNDP developed the Human Development Index (HDI) which now includes longevity, enrolment in primary school and per capita income. Aside from this, the HDR did thematic studies on cutting edge issues related to human development which have enriched the development discourse. My paper acknowledged the contribution of the human development framework in terms of putting the balance between economic and social development. However, it also identified the weaknesses of the human development framework from the perspective of indigenous peoples. One is its anthropocentrism and another is the lack of visibility of indigenous peoples in most of the human development reports even in countries where indigenous peoples are the majority.

This author discussed the efforts to push for disaggregation of data on indigenous peoples and on the development of indicators relevant for indigenous peoples. These include the work of the International Indigenous Peoples Forum on Biodiversity (IIFB) Working Group on Indicators, which is led by Tebtebba, and of the UNPFII to encourage governments to disaggregate

data on indigenous peoples and to develop MDG indicators appropriate for indigenous peoples. The paper discussed how development has been framed within neo-liberal framework, captured by the Washington Consensus, and how this has been a key obstacle in the pursuit of a more holistic, truly sustainable and an ecosystem- and human rights-based development path. While the Washington Consensus has failed, as evidenced by the recent global financial and economic crisis, efforts to reincarnate it continue.

This paper reflected some of the results of the International Expert Group Meeting of the UNPFII on Indigenous Peoples' Development with Culture and Identity. It also highlighted some of the findings of the newly released UN report on "The State of the World's Indigenous Peoples." The concluding section reiterated the conditions upon which indigenous peoples' self-determined development can be achieved and identified actions which the UN can take to support and promote this.

Tirso Gonzales, Marcela Machaca, Nestor Chambi and Zenon Gomel jointly authored Chapter 5. This is entitled "Latin American Andean Indigenous Agriculturalists Challenge the Current Transnational System of Science, Knowledge and Technology for Agriculture: From Exclusion to Inclusion." The authors, who are all indigenous persons, presented how the western scientific and techno-bureaucratic approach which is reflected in the "culture of the commercial seed" has distorted, misrepresented and made invisible indigenous peoples' rich agricultural knowledge and practices.

The paper used the case of the indigenous Andean Aymara and Quechua peoples as an example of how this has been done. The authors said that life is agrocentric for most of the indigenous peoples in contemporary Abya Yala. The profound cultural, epistemological, ontological and cosmological foundations of the Culture of the Native Seed, embedded in indigenous peoples land-place based agri-cultures, have not been taken into consideration by the global network of Agricultural Research Extension, Education, Science, Knowledge and Technology

(AREESKT) and their frameworks for rural and agricultural development. The paper contains an interesting matrix which laid out the differences and similarities between the culture of the native seed to that of the commercial seed and the agro-ecological seed. The matrix used various variables like main players, worldviews, knowledge and skills, nature-culture relations, among others.

The authors did not only critique the culture of the commercial seed which has led to the destruction of many indigenous agricultural practices and introduced industrialized, chemical-based monocropping agriculture. They were also slightly critical of agro-ecology on the grounds that this framework still works within the Eurocentric approaches and historical tradition. What this indicates to me is that there needs to be more dialogue between indigenous peoples and the agro-ecologists. They should identify areas where they converge and diverge so that their contributions to the evolution and practice of alternative development can be cross-fertilized in a much better fashion and their impacts will be magnified several times over. While I recognize that agro-ecology covers a broader scope of people engaged in agriculture, I believe that agro-ecologists should give credit where credit is due. Therefore, if what they are talking about is agriculture done by indigenous peoples, they should explicitly mention this. This is part of valorizing indigenous knowledge and practices which is a main demand of many indigenous peoples.

The Andean *ayllu* (community/cultural places) was presented by the authors as an example of an indigenous system which demonstrates clearly the nature-culture-spiritual interconnections. "*Ayllu* is a Quechua and Aymara word that implies all living beings are harbored in a place where the natural collectivity of visible and non-visible living beings is nurtured by *pachamama* (earth mother)." *Ayllu* is the regional-land based order around which indigenous communities base their livelihoods and now has become the organizational unit in the Peruvian Andes. *Ayllus*, which are found in various places in the Andes, are considered the primary and secondary centers of ori-

gin of biodiversity. In Conima, Peru for example, the *ayllus* were divided into *Communidades Campesinas* (Peasant Communities) and *Parcialidades*. They also described the *chacra* (cultivated land) which is the center of rituality where all the members of the *ayllu* interact. The way they described the ways of living and seeing in the Andean world illustrates how these are deeply rooted in nature and in a culture of nurturing and caring. This also shows how highly sophisticated and complex the agricultural indigenous systems are and partly explains why most of the world's remaining biological and cultural diversity are still found in indigenous territories like the Andes.

Another piece of work which also dealt with the continuing regeneration of biological and cultural diversity in the Andes is in Chapter 6. This is entitled "Affirmation of Cultural Diversity – Learning with the Communities in the Central Andes." It is authored by Jorge Ishizawa, a systems engineer who has worked with PRATEC (Proyecto Andino Technologias Campesinas) since 1996. This paper presented the work of PRATEC which is an NGO set up in 1986 to valorize and reinforce traditional agricultural practices of the indigenous agriculturalists of the Andes. While the term *campesino* (peasant) is used by PRATEC and the paper, it is my understanding that *campesinos* are indigenous peoples who are agriculturalists and who self-identified as peasants because of the influence of the left and the agrarian reform process in Peru. The discussion on how this happened is beyond the purview of this introductory piece.

The founders and members of PRATEC are an interesting lot. They are mainly university-trained professional technicians who were involved in agricultural extension work, particularly in promoting modern agricultural technology transfer. Their establishment of PRATEC is an admission of their utter failure as modern agriculture technicians. In the process of doing their work, they discovered that "the beneficiaries of so-called rural development projects were far from being helpless objects in need of external intervention in order to achieve the status of civilized peoples." They saw that the infrastructure they and other development workers built were abandoned by the indigenous

peoples once the project personnel left. They concluded that "agricultural modernization, through state programmes and foreign development projects, had been a distraction and had contributed to the partial abandonment of traditional practices in some places."

Because of their earlier experiences, PRATEC members established a year-long university course on "accompaniment" which they offered to young agronomists and other professionals. This program brought the students to live and share with the Andean communities to understand and affirm the Andean peasants' mode of living which is based on the nurturance of the *chacra* (cultivated field and local landscape). Through this, the students will understand and believe that this mode of living is a viable alternative to globalization and its nurturance is crucial for the regeneration and cultural affirmation of a sophisticated system which has withstood the destruction wrought upon it by modern agriculture, underpinned by modern science and technology. PRATEC defined cultural affirmation "as a process by which peoples who live in a place remember and regenerate their traditional practices, nurturing their *pacha* (local world) and letting themselves be nurtured by it." In the case of the central Andes, their local world is agrocentric and they live by the motto that "We nurture while being nurtured." Ishizawa quoted Julia Pacoricona Aliaga from Conima who described what this means by using the potato as a metaphor.

> "The potato is our mother because when it produces fruits it is feeding us, clothing us and giving us happiness; but we also nurture her. When the plants are small, we call them *wawas* (children) because we have to look after them, delouse (weed) them, clothe (hill) them, dance and feast them. This has always been done. My parents taught me to nurture them with affection and good will as we do with our children."

The paper related the experience of PRATEC with a GEF-funded project (Global Environmental Facility) *in situ* project. This further convinced them of the inability of the practitioners

of modern technical agriculture to even articulate the challenges faced to meet the project's objective of contributing to the traditional regeneration of seeds. They witnessed how the project glorified modern science and technology as the ultimate solution to all of humanity's problems. Its basic rationale and assumption is that the motivation of the indigenous peasants to conserve agro-biodiversity was economic gain. They could not understand that "biodiversity is the result of a different mode of being-in-the-world, of affectionate attuning to the plants, animals and entities that populate their environment...that biodiversity is valuable in itself." Ishizawa says that maps in the Andes show that the areas with highest agrobiodiversity correspond with places with populations officially declared to be living in extreme poverty. To him, this is not accidental because these peoples are the bearers of traditions that keep biodiversity for its own sake and not for economic reasons.

From the agricultural systems of the high montane ecosystem in the Andes in Latin America, the next Chapter is on indigenous peoples' rotational agriculture in the tropical forests of Asia. Chapter 7 is the paper written by Prasert Trakansuphakorn and Taworn Kampholkul which is entitled "Knowledge and Practice on Rotational Farming of Pgaz K'Nyau (Karen) People, Hin Lad Nai Community in Northern Thailand." This is an elaborate description of practice of rotational agriculture by the Karen people in Hin Lad Nai Village. It presents what happens at every stage of the rotational agricultural cycle and links these with the cultural rituals and prayers that comes along with each stage. The authors also described how the indigenous knowledge is being transferred to the younger generations of the Karen who are also caught up in the daily struggle of wanting to be assimilated so they can get good jobs but also want to assert their distinct identities and cultures. This intergenerational transfer of knowledge as done in this village can provide more ideas to other indigenous peoples who are in similar situations.

The paper exposes the myths and falsehoods being propagated by the dominant society and even by the Thai government against rotational agriculture. Since Trakansuphakorn belongs

to the Karen people and strengthening and explaining rotational agriculture has been his life work, almost everything about this traditional livelihood and its links with the indigenous peoples' culture and identity is contained in his paper. It presents a very concrete case of what indigenous peoples' self-determined development is among those who live in tropical forest communities. The paper also described the obstacles they face from the Thai state, who, like most states, refuse to recognize the historical and continuing roles of forest-dependent indigenous peoples in protecting the forest and preventing the erosion of biological diversity.

To address the issue of the lack of knowledge and understanding of rotational agriculture of the dominant society and the State, the authors also discussed the communication strategies they used.

From their account, there is an indication that they are gaining some grounds in making the dominant society understand better their culture and traditional livelihoods and ways of living. The value of rotational agriculture for sustainable forest management, climate change mitigation and for conserving biological diversity and promoting cultural diversity is slowly being understood. However, they also cautioned that in the main, the State still remains hostile to the indigenous peoples in Thailand as many of them are still not considered citizens of the nation. Much more needs to be done to change State policies in relation to forests and the role of indigenous forest-dwelling and forest-dependent peoples.

Pastoralism is another form of traditional livelihood of indigenous peoples which comes along with distinct cultures and is still very much practiced and lived in various continents. Pastoralism takes many forms depending on the ecosystem indigenous peoples find themselves in. One example of this is reindeer herding in the Arctic among the Sami peoples in Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia and among the indigenous peoples in Mongolia and and Russia. Another well known pastoralist indigenous peoples are those who are found in Africa. This book

contains two papers on pastoralism in Africa. Chapter 8 is written by Melakou Tegegn and is a report on how pastoralism has been marginalized, not only in Ethiopia, but also in the rest of Africa. His paper is entitled "Pastoral Accumulation: Self-Determined Development Arrested." The other paper on pastoralism is Chapter 9, which is written by Naomi Kipuri and Carol Sørensen and is an assessment of a project on pastoralism in Tanzania. This will be discussed in the next section.

At the outset, Tegegn established that pastoralism is a major traditional way of life and a sustainable livelihood system. It is not just limited to livestock production but is a way of life with its own forms of social organization, culture and traditional governance systems and institutions. He says, "Millions of people in Sub-Sahara Africa live a pastoral way of life, from the Tuaregs and Fulanis of West Africa, the Afars and Somalis in the Horn of Africa and the entire Sudan to the Maasai and smaller pastoral communities throughout the Horn and East Africa. For centuries, these communities practiced pastoralism but colonization disrupted it in the name of 'modernity,' negating it as backward and subjecting it to extinction."

From here he discussed the various ways used by the British colonialists to wipe out pastoralism by confiscating pastoral lands, making unequal treaties and through sheer physical eviction in various countries. In almost all of the countries where pastoralists live, many of the pastoral lands were converted into game reserves, national parks, or private holdings for white farmers. But even after colonialism, when the post-colonials African States came into power, they replaced the white colonialists and continued the practices of evictions and land grabbing of ancestral lands of pastoralists and hunters and gatherers. He quoted Haile Selassie who set up his imperial government in Ethiopia and declared that "pastoralism is not conducive to development and growth and that it needs to be transformed into a farming community." This paper enumerated some of the ways governments tried to destroy pastoralism and convince pastoralists to convert to settled farming.

Tegegn talked about the difference between pastoralism and small-peasant landholding system especially in terms of protecting the environment, the river systems and other water sources. He pointed out that the pastoralists knowledge systems on ecological protection, water and water sanitation are much more complex and sophisticated than those of the peasants. The fine for the cutting of a tree is a cow for the Borana people and they follow these customary laws strictly. Such systems are not seen among the peasants. The biggest challenge for pastoralism in Africa is the obsession with modernization of the governments. For instance, the EPRDF regime in Ethiopia is currently pursuing the move to convert 10 million pastoralists to become farmers. He questions this move strongly and presents all the arguments on why this is wrong and identified the disastrous consequences if this happens.

There is not much written about pastoral development because, since colonization up to the present, it was condemned to extinction. Tegegn is fully convinced that "pastoral livestock production is essential for sustaining the livelihood of pastoral communities and in fighting poverty and destitution. With the highest level of food insecurity, livestock production can contribute to Ethiopia's economic growth and development." It is an imperative, therefore, that pastoralism is recognized as a viable livelihood. The paper presents very concrete recommendations in terms of policy development and concrete measures to encourage and support what he calls "pastoral accumulation." These include livelihood diversification and putting markets in place; and he identified the tasks and roles of government in all these.

Chapter 9, as mentioned earlier, is the paper written by Kipuri and Sørensen. This is entitled "Poverty, Pastoralism and Policy in Ngorongoro." It is meant to further expand on the results of a Participatory Poverty Assessment of Ereto-Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project (Ereto 1). Ereto 1 is a joint project of the Tanzanian government and Denmark which started in 1998 to respond to the growing concern over the unprecedented and rising levels

of poverty among the pastoralists in the Ngorongoro Conservation Areas (NCA). One key factor identified in the poverty assessment is "unfavorable policies that further marginalize pastoralists by reducing their capacity to cope with the stress and increasing loss of their land." This aim of this paper by Kipuri and Sørensen was to help further elaborate this point and to provide proposals for the development of a "supportive policy framework for sustainable pastoralist livelihoods, and to reduce pastoralist poverty." On the same thread as the previous chapter, the authors stated that:

> "Current policies are largely unfavorable to pastoralist livelihoods. They are frequently informed by myths and preconceptions reflecting colonial ideas about rangeland management and outmoded development models based on flawed modernisation theories. Over the past decade new understanding of the dynamics of rangeland management has shown that contrary to popular belief, indigenous pastoralists livestock systems are more productive on rangelands than exotic ranching systems so often promoted by development agencies and governments."

The authors presented an overview of pastoralism in Tanzania, the policy environment in which pastoralist systems operate and approaches to improving pastoralists livelihoods. They presented data from various sources which show that the pastoralist sector provides 70 percent of the milk produced in Tanzania in 2004 and agriculture which includes pastoralism contributes 43.2 percent of the national GDP. Livestock production accounts for 32 percent of this. While the Tanzanian National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction 2005-2010 finally recognized pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood and one of its goals is the empowerment of pastoralists, it still remains that there is a lack of knowledge of pastoralism among the policy makers and pastoralists lack the capacity to articulate their concerns and influence policy. The paper stated that there has been a major shift in thinking about range ecology and management particularly in areas visited by episodic droughts. A new paradigm of

pastoralist production systems developed on the basis of a better understanding of the complex ecosystems and livelihoods of pastoralists. A table which shows the difference between the old and the new thinking was presented in the paper.

They then zeroed in on the situation of pastoralists livelihoods in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area and assessed the impacts of Ereto 1. This looked into how NCA is being governed, the existing pastoralist livestock production systems, the pastoralist land tenure and management systems. Then they assessed the Ereto 1 project where they looked at the four components of restocking destitute families; water and pasture development; support for private veterinary services; and empowering local institutions and communities. Their assessment shows that the work in these different areas produced positive impacts and they identified the lessons learned from this project. They said that the:

> "restocking process strengthened community leadership (both customary and formal) as trust was established between the project and community members at every level. Reviving social institutions, encouraging communities to participate in their own development and thus increasing their capacity to take charge of it, are all forms of social empowerment that have positive emotional and psychological effects on individuals and the community as a whole."

They identified as one problem the lack of goodwill and cooperation from the NCAA (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority), its far reaching powers over access to natural resources and its resistance to other actors operating in the area. One of the lessons learned and highlighted is that the need to "build on customary mechanisms to alleviate poverty is effective and supporting customary poverty alleviation mechanisms has positive far-reaching impacts on communities."

Chapter 10 is written by John Bamba and is a case of "Indigenous Peoples Self-determined Development: Lessons from the Kalimantan Credit Union Movement." Drawing from the les-

sons and experiences of the Kalimantan Dayak of Indonesia, John Bamba explains the seven principles and philosophies used by the Dayaks to manage their natural resources and used as a criteria and indicator for self-determined. These seven principles of sustainability, collectivity, naturality, spirituality, process, subsistence, and customary law are considered as polar opposites to the principles promoted by the mainstream development model which is being globalized.

Bamba illustrated how the Pancur Kasih Credit Union is different from conventional credit unions that are driven purely towards "economic gains." He explains its primary orientation is about "making changes," changes from impoverishment, desperation, feeling of helplessness, and from dependence on outsiders resulting from a history of nation-state neocolonial oppression and marginalization. He argues that the Pancur Kasih significantly changed the way the Dayaks perceive themselves as it directed them to realize their own potential and capabilities, gaining confidence that a self-determined development is possible. Illustrating its emancipatory role, the PK Credit brought not only financial benefits but also non-financial benefits that affirm their identity and culture as indigenous peoples.

Revealing his own experience as a member of the PK Credit Union, Bamba believes that the principles, philosophies and spiritualities of the indigenous peoples are strong guiding posts (foundational principles) in managing credit unions. Thus, the mainstream Eurocentric development model could be transformed and implemented in accordance with local culture and identity. It is only when local indigenous wisdom, knowledge and philosophies are used that a development program becomes a powerful tool to deliver changes and bring the realization of self determined development of indigenous peoples.

Chapter 11 is Jelena Porsanger's paper on "Self-Determination and Indigenous Research: Capacity Building on Our Own Terms." This presents a view of the political role of indigenous research in achieving indigenous peoples' self determined development. She explains that indigenous research is a means of empowerment for indigenous peoples as the results of these con-

tribute significantly to the production of knowledge. While some of these are done in academic institutions or to meet academic requirements, many researches are done outside of the academe. It is crucial to build the capacities of indigenous researchers but these capacity-building efforts should be able to integrate indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, values and cosmologies. Indigenous researchers should endeavor to learn more about their distinct cultures, languages, traditional knowledge systems, philosophies, and worldviews so that their contributions to knowledge development will be useful and relevant for indigenous peoples themselves.

She argues that there should be something distinct about indigenous research which differentiates it from the usual researches on, with and about indigenous peoples. Indigenous research, she explains, are researches done by scholars who develop indigenous theorizing, identify and use indigenous concepts, and build their projects from an indigenous research paradigm. Indigenous research can be an important factor for the success of self-determined development activities in indigenous territories. She critiques the power relations that continue to exist in the academe that favor Western researchers and contends that indigenous capacity building in indigenous research can change this. Moreover, she thinks that indigenous peoples need to go beyond arguing and defending the peculiarities of their indigenous knowledge. She recommends that indigenous peoples, themselves, actively engage in research to produce new knowledge that can be used as basis for new approaches and the development of indigenous theorizing. She believes this is possible if and when intellectual independence is achieved.

Indigenous researches are conducted to produce new knowledge required by indigenous peoples for their development processes such as strengthening of their indigenous societies and the development of indigenous knowledge systems transmitted through generations. In examining Saami concepts, she asserts that development is connected to continuity, a characteristic of traditional knowledge. She illustrated how the use of the Sami concept of *árbediehtu* (North Sami term containing two interre-

lated parts: *diehtu* "knowledge" and *árbi* "heritage, inheritance")
is much more rich and meaningful than just "traditional knowl-
edge." The Sami concept implies that knowledge is both the in-
formation and the process as there is a strong emphasis on the
traditional ways to gain, achieve or acquire knowledge.
Porsanger strongly recommends the need to develop research
protocols for scholars on indigenous issues and identified four
core issues that must underpin these protocols. These are Re-
spect, Reciprocity, Reliability, and Relevance.

Chapter 12 is an experience on participatory mapping among
indigenous peoples, the Majap, in West Kalimantan, Indonesia.
The author is Albertus Hadi Pramono and his paper is entitled
"Cartographic Encounters within Counter-Mapping in West
Kalimantan." Pramono, who had long worked on various indig-
enous issues with indigenous peoples' grassroots organizations,
shows the wealth of spatial knowledge of the Mahap peoples.
This is a group of Dayak who live along Mahap River, a smaller
tributary of Sekadau River within the Kapuas River system in
West Kalimantan.

Illustrating various spatial literacies, Pramono introduces us
to local configurations of space using mahap concepts and ter-
minologies such as *raat* (description of spaciousness) and *pemogi
pejalatn* (used to describe the areas where they hunt, collect honey
and *illipe* nuts. These include the way they open up lands for
their rice gardens and rubber gardens which is part of their
swidden cultivation practices. Such terms are used an expres-
sion of territoriality of the Mahap people.

Pramono's fieldwork observations warns us of the limits of
adopting cartographic techniques in mapping community lands
because cartography was developed within racial and imperial
ideologies. He agrees with earlier assertions that there are "ironic
effects" of adopting cartographic techniques in mapping com-
munity lands. His study of the Mahap peoples affirms what ear-
lier scholars asserted that objectifying spatial knowledge, such
as in mapping, can lead to distortion of indigenous systems and
worldviews. Because when maps are produced, outputs can be
half-baked because cartographers carry cultural baggage that

filter the spatial information they translate into maps. He showed cases that demonstrate increased conflict within and between communities, resource privatization, and loss of common property. He claims that the application of cartography in mapping activities that initially promised empowering prospects, have increased the notion of private property creating tentions within the community.

While most of the papers dealt with traditional livelihoods, Chapter 13 is different as it is a case of a non-traditional livelihood presented as an example of self-determined development. This is a paper written by Geraldine Fiag-oy and the title is "Kalinga Banao Tribe: Self-Determined Development in Small-Scale Mining and Watershed Protection." Small-scale mining is a traditional livelihood among some indigenous peoples in the Cordillera region in the Philippines. For example, among the Ibaloi in Itogon, Benguet, the Bontoc in Mainit, Bontoc, and the Kankana-ey in Mankayan, Benguet. Even before the Spanish colonizers came to the Philippines in the 16th century, historical records show that small-scale mining is being done by these indigenous peoples. However, the Banao peoples are not traditional small-scale miners. But since one of the main natural resource in their territories is gold, they decided to have control over this and not cede to the large-scale mining corporations or the government.

The paper traces how they developed their own association, the Banao Bodong Association and linked with the small-scale mining industry in the Philippines. Through their customary system, they declared that the gold resources found within the Banao ancestral territory is collectively owned by the tribe. The organization formulated a list of guidelines based on experience regarding the conduct of small-scale mining, ideas learned from others (like the Kankana-ey who were requested to go and help them) and based on cultural practices on the allocation of resources. These guidelines controlled the entry of non-Banao into Gaang and to address social and environmental problems. Since the Banao, had peace-pacts with neighboring tribes, they also made a ban on their *kabodong* (peace-pact partners) not to be

involved with the small-scale mining operations. This is to avoid incidents which might result into the rupture of the peace-pacts they have with their neighbours.

Fiagoy described the economic and social benefits they are enjoying because of this livelihood system they adapted. According to her:

> "The assertion of the Banao of their right to their ancestral territory has enabled them to protect their resources from external incursions. Instead of allowing extractive industries into their territories, they decided to utilize their resources for their own benefit, at the same time creating rules and regulations that would control resource extraction and conserve their resources. Regulated access prevented a gold rush and indiscriminate resource extraction activities. Regulated access does not invalidate the traditional values of sharing as the organization has rules on who else could access the gold and adapted external traditional sharing practices. This reflects the flexibility of the tribe to adapt other practices and formulate new ones in its resource management strategies. The new perspective on management of natural resources involving their cultural practices and formal systems demonstrates that the people are capable of evolving mechanisms that can enable them to attain economic and territorial security and to contribute to both local and national development."

Chapter 14 on "Owning Research and Building Force at the Margins: Indigenous Peoples as Agents of Self-Determined Development" by Leah Enkiwe-Abayao presents a systematic effort of a network of indigenous intellectuals in less developed countries to decolonize research and use this to free themselves from dominant neocolonial research paradigms and projects. This is the Indigenous Peoples Global Research and Education Network (IPGREN) which was established in 2002 by Tebtebba. She showed the impacts of the processes and activities held by the IPGREN and the good and useful researches for indigenous

peoples that it produced. The processes and activities ranged from informal meetings to innovative workshops and research trainings.

She examined cases on how members of the IPGREN reconfigured research to suit their needs and eventually own it. She provided some examples of research projects done by IPGREN members and the processes and strategies used to conceive and implement these. These are the research project on the "Evaluation of the 1997 Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord" in Bangladesh and on the Pancur Kasih movement in West Kalimantan, Indonesia, which includes the Kalimantan Credit Union Movement. She explained how indigenous peoples are able to design researches which document and make more visible their cultural aspirations, affirmation of their tradition, views and analysis of various issues that directly affect them and elaborate on their traditional knowledge systems and cosmologies.

Assertion of self determination in doing social and scientific research is an integral part of self-determined development. Enkiwe-Abayao highlighted the conscious efforts of IPGREN to break away from the colonial knowledge and approaches to research but also to debunk the false notion that researchers (especially academics) are the experts. She then argued that research, when framed and undertaken by indigenous peoples guided by their cosmologies and indigenous values, can play an important and strategic role in the operationalization and promotion of Indigenous peoples' self determined development.

She showed that needs-driven researches that are appropriately designed, developed and implemented by indigenous peoples are usually those which are most used to influence policy changes, promote new ways of understanding and new approaches in education and awareness-raising work, development, advocacy, communications and research work. More efforts should be done to increase the number of indigenous researchers who have a high level of self-awareness of their indigeneity so that there will be more knowledge producers who will promote and enhance further indigenous peoples self-determined development. This is the role which Tebtebba and its

partners in IPGREN can play. There is a need to expand the membership of IPGREN, which means recruiting more indigenous researchers from the developing countries and also from the developed world. We are aware that there is a global network of Aboriginal researchers which IPGREN should link with so that the efforts of the members of both bodies can be cross-fertilized and further consolidated for the sake of indigenous peoples all over the world.

It should not be forgotten that IPGREN is not just a network of indigenous researchers but also of indigenous educators and trainors. This part of the network has not been given enough attention so there is a need to beef up the capacity-building processes for indigenous educators and trainors. Tebtebba is doing this in several areas of work, such as the work being done by the teams on climate change and on biological diversity.

Chapter 15 is the third paper which this author wrote. It is entitled "Indigenous Peoples and the Millennium Development Goals." It was written for the UNPFII in 2005 when the theme of the 4th Session was on the MDGs with Focus on Goals 1 and 2. We decided to include this in this volume as it is a critique of the MDGs from the perspective of indigenous peoples. Since the review of the MDGs will take place on September 2010 as a Special Session of the UN General Assembly, this paper will still be relevant for this process as well as the theme of self-determined development.

The paper explained that, since indigenous peoples are invisible in the process of defining the Millennium Development Goals, our perspectives should be included in the review of MDG implementation, so that the achievement of MDGs would not exacerbate indigenous peoples' poverty. I cited several cases of how the achievement of the MDG goal on poverty can lead towards the marginalization and further impoverishment of indigenous peoples. One case is that of the indigenous peoples in Vietnam which has become a poster child of MDG achievements. One reason for this is the expansion of coffee plantations. This meant the deforestation of the highlands where the indigenous peoples live and the migration of lowland settlers into these ar-

eas. The net effect is the eviction of indigenous peoples from their traditional territories which increased the poverty among them. The paper also covered an evaluation of the how the goal for primary education can create problems for indigenous children. This refers more to the inappropriate curriculum promoted by mainstream education and the lack of bilingual education and intercultural education in most schools.

The paper highlighted the importance of respecting indigenous concepts of development and taking into account indigenous identity and cultures in development. This author also pointed out that the rights-based approach should be central in the development process and the disaggregation of data on indigenous peoples' poverty should be done by governments to make more visible the problems they face. In the concluding part, I presented some recommendations on how to address more appropriately the issue of poverty eradication and education among indigenous peoples.

The last chapter, Chapter 16, is a compilation of reports of the consultation workshops which Tebtebba and the Asia Indigenous Peoples' Pact (AIPP) conducted. These reports contain the key conclusions of the processes on indigenous peoples' development and the recommendations on how to promote and support indigenous peoples self-determined development.

The report of the "Consultation-Workshop and Dialogue on Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development or Development with Culture and Identity" was written by Jennifer Corpuz. This contains the key observations and conclusions from the discussions. The topics included an overview of the global situation and context, the situations of indigenous peoples' traditional livelihoods ranging from swidden or rotational agriculture, pastoralism, fishing and coastal marine livelihoods, agroforestry, high mountain agriculture, hunting and gathering and handicraft development. There were indigenous participants to these workshops who are experts and practitioners of these livelihoods. It also summarized the discussions on the areas of health, education, protection of biological diversity, climate change and technology. The key issues around these concerns

were highlighted. The paper also included the reports of the participants from UN agencies, the international agricultural research centers, NGOs and donors who took part in the workshop. The last part identified the ways forward and this section captured the main elements and principles of indigenous peoples' self-determined development.

The AIPP paper was collectively written by the AIPP Board and Staff under the leadership of Joan Carling and Jannie Lasimbang. This is the consolidated result of the four Indigenous Development Conferences they held in Asia from 2005 to 2009. The paper states that the overall objectives of the conferences were "to restore the integrity and cohesiveness of indigenous communities in the region; to empower and affirm self-determination of communities in terms of the type of development based on indigenous concepts and to come up with strategies to revitalize the different aspects of indigenous development." They define indigenous development as "the growth and progress of an indigenous community in their originality or within the context of their ethnic identity in a holistic way."

The conferences identified 10 aspects of indigenous systems which are interrelated, indivisible and interdependent. These are the following: cultural, social, spiritual, political/institutional, juridical, economic, natural resource management, technology, health and educations/ways of learning. The last part of the paper is on the indicators of indigenous development. Examples of these are that collective values and identity are maintained, traditional land use and ownership systems are alive, transparent and good systems of resource distribution exist, shamans, ritualists are free to practice rituals and ceremonies, traditional institutions actively enforce sustainable use of natural resources, among others. It also contained parameters to measure the extent in which indigenous perspectives of development interface with non-indigenous development models and in which indigenous development can be promoted independently.

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz

1

Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development: Challenges and Trajectories

by Victoria Tauli-Corpuz

As far back as 1821, the original plan for the Guatemalan nation devised by the architects of independence suggested the necessity of eliminating racial and ethnic differences to make the country viable or feasible; later orthodox Marxism-Leninism demanded that ethnic dissent be minimized or ignored in order to make the revolution or class struggle viable or feasible; then the liberal philosophy taught that progress and material development could only be achieved through a *mestiso* or *ladino* culture (according to the liberals, in order to lift the indigenous people out of poverty, one first had to lift them out of the culture and language: "the Indian has to be killed to be saved"; or to put it another way, one had to take the Indian out of the Indian, i.e., to save the indigenous people from poverty their ethnic identity had to be wiped out.)

Demetrio Cojti Cuxil[1]
Maya Leader, 1996

Development, progress and modernity are issues indigenous peoples tackle head-on in their struggles for survival, identities, basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. The quote above represents what we and our ancestors have gone through and continue to experience from the colonial era to the present. When colonizers invaded our territories, they justified this on the grounds that we are a barbaric, primitive peoples who need to be "civilized." In the post-colonial era of nation-building, development and modernity provided the justification for the re-colonization of our territories and attempts to obliterate our identities and cultures. The homogenizing and centralizing powers of modern states have led to the destruction of some indigenous societies and cultures, which is one of the great tragedies of humankind.

Inspite of the fact that four development decades have come and gone since the 1960s, indigenous peoples remain impoverished and marginalized. Many of them assert the dominant development paradigm of modernization and industrialization destroyed their indigenous economic, social and cultural systems. The present phase of globalization, which is underpinned by neo-liberal economics and liberal political theory, has further increased the risks and vulnerabilities of indigenous peoples.[2]

To respond to the abject situations of poverty and discrimination, indigenous peoples from all parts of the world developed movements which started locally and expanded to become global. Most of our struggles revolve around the protection of our lands, territories and resources against expropriation by the state, by corporations or by dominant populations. Integral to this struggle is the assertion that our traditional political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual systems be respected and allowed to coexist with modern systems adopted by most nation-states.

One major victory of the global indigenous peoples' movement is the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) by the UN General Assembly on September 13, 2007. This is, undoubtedly, the fruit of more than

500 years of cumulative struggles which we and our ancestors have waged in our own territories and beyond. Thus, it behooves us and the future generations to take any opportunity to use this Declaration to help shape a more humane and sustainable world.

The UNDRIP established the basic concepts and principles of self-determined development. It established that we have the right of self-determination,[3] which is a foundational right. It not only recognizes our right to our lands, territories and resources but also our cultural rights and right to development.[4] Therefore, the Declaration is the main framework to use to further flesh out, elaborate and operationalize the concept and practice of indigenous peoples' self-determined development.

This paper traces the history and epistemology of indigenous peoples' self-determined development or development with identity and culture and to synthesize the basic elements of this concept. The indigenous peoples have developed this concept in our assertion that our owns ways of life, our values of solidarity and reciprocity among ourselves and with nature, manifested in our spiritual, cultural and cosmological relationship with our lands and waters, should not be destroyed by so-called development. Clearly, its epistemology cannot be delinked from the histories of indigenous peoples' struggles and movements, which however is beyond the scope of this paper.

The paper focuses more on indigenous peoples' engagements with international processes which became an arena for us to assert that self-determined development is a key aspect of our human rights claims. It looks into how various UN processes dealt with the problematique of development and how these included or marginalized indigenous peoples' perspectives. It also takes stock of how we advocated inside the UN for the establishment of processes, instruments, mechanisms and spaces that address our issues and highlight our major gains. Further it discusses how we used existing soft and hard international instruments and norms on human rights, culture, development, gender and environment[5] and the world conferences in the 90s to reinforce and elaborate self-determined development.

Since UNESCO is the key UN agency mandated to deal with culture, education and science and is a lead agency in the debate over culture and development, it is also essential to look into how it has contributed to norm-setting on the rights to culture and development. Its Conventions and Declarations which are relevant to the subject matter at hand, in particular key UNESCO instruments for the protection and promotion of cultural diversity,[6] are examined to see what opportunities these offer to support self-determined development.

The term "indigenous peoples' self-determined development" is used here more than "development with identity and culture," having been agreed upon by indigenous leaders in the "Consultation and Dialogue on Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development or Development with Identity" held in Tivoli, Italy on March 14-17, 2008.[7] These are at times used interchangeably in the paper. This writer is aware of the ideological trap one can fall into with the use of the term development even if it is qualified. However, a full debate on what is the politically correct term to use is also beyond this paper's scope.

Key Achievements in the Past 20 Years

Self-determined development for indigenous peoples is not a grand paradigmatic, generic alternative to mainstream development. It is simply part of our assertion of our right of self-determination and to remain as diverse and distinct cultures and communities. It captures the essence of our struggles since colonization to define our own development within the framework of our inherent rights and in consonance with the relationship we have with nature. It is our attempt to protect whatever remains of our indigenous cultural, economic and political systems and values which we want to sustain.

These values include equity, reciprocity, solidarity, harmony between us and nature, collectivity and conservation of natural

wealth for the seventh generation, among others. Our indigenous systems or parts of these and our traditional livelihoods still exist because we actively or passively resisted development, modernity and the violation of our human rights. We adapted to the changes which came into our communities and accommodated some aspects of modernity. But this does not mean that we have totally abandoned our systems, worldviews and values. Some of our perspectives and values resonate with the essence of the human rights-based approach (HRBA) to development and the ecosystems approach, thus we are partial to the use of these frameworks to promote self-determined development.

Significant events have taken place in the past 20 years which helped articulate, elaborate and advance our views of self-determined development or development with identity and culture. The most crucial are the establishment of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues[1] and the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.[2] The historic adoption of UNDRIP will break grounds in further elaborating, consolidating and implementing the concept and practice of self-determined development. The Declaration sets the minimum international standards to protect, respect and fulfill the rights of indigenous peoples, thus its effective implementation can lead to the achievement of indigenous peoples' self-determined development.

The Permanent Forum is the main vehicle which will carry forward the ideals and values of self-determined development, as it is the body that can take practical steps to pursue this within the UN system. The Forum advises the Economic and Social Council, and through it, States and UN programmes, agencies and funds, on indigenous issues in relation to economic and social development, education, environment, culture, health and human rights. Its work to get the UN system and States to do data disaggregation and to develop indicators on indigenous peoples wellbeing, poverty and sustainability is an attempt to give more visibility to the situations of indigenous peoples and to establish relevant benchmarks and standards.[10] To further mainstream indigenous issues, the Secretariat of the Forum and IASG (Inter-

Agency Support Group for Indigenous Issues) have formulated and adopted the UN Development Group Guidelines on Indigenous Peoples' Issues (February 2008).[11]

The approval of the Millennium Declaration by the World Summit in 2000 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) provided more opportunities to talk about indigenous peoples' perspectives. The MDGs were the special theme of the Permanent Forum's fourth and fifth sessions, and the following session (May 2006) recommended that a global report be drawn up on the status of indigenous peoples in relation to their development with identity and dignity. While the report is yet to come out, efforts are underway to look into how self-determined development can be operationalized on the ground.

Even before UNDRIP was adopted, some bilateral donors and intergovernmental bodies had approved policies on development and indigenous peoples, which were influenced by the Draft Declaration that started to take shape in 1982. The challenges of indigenous peoples' opposition to mainstream development pushed some agencies to recast their discourse on development. The Inter-American Development Bank, for instance, is already using "development with identity" in its policy and strategy paper on indigenous peoples; this is a concept first developed by the indigenous peoples of Latin America. The World Bank promoted ethnodevelopment, although this is not specific to indigenous peoples. Its newest Operational Policy 4.10 on Indigenous Peoples states that it will provide financial assistance to a member country to "make the development process more inclusive of Indigenous Peoples by incorporating their perspectives in the design of development programs and poverty reduction strategies."

Other intergovernmental bodies and bilateral donors similarly adopted policies to guide their work and support for indigenous peoples.[12] Some of these policies were created during the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1994-2005) as part of the effort to implement the programme for the Decade. UNESCO adopted its Declaration and Conventions on

cultural diversity and tangible and intangible heritage which, no doubt, will contribute in enriching the content of self-determined development.

The establishment by the General Assembly of the Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (2005-2015) and its adoption of a Programme of Action will also help greatly to further consolidate the framework of self-determined development. The Decade's theme is "partnership in action and dignity." One of the objectives of the Programme of Action is "redefining development policies that depart from a vision of equity and that are culturally appropriate including respect for cultural and linguistic diversity of indigenous peoples." The Decade also aims to set up measures to ensure that indigenous peoples are active participants in shaping, implementing, monitoring and evaluating development projects. The ability to meet these objectives will depend on several factors, foremost of which is the quality of partnership forged between indigenous peoples, States and the UN system to implement this Programme of Action and the UNDRIP.

Another development which should be underscored is the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people (2001). A well known expert on indigenous peoples, the first Rapporteur Rodolfo Stavenhagen brought out the issue of how the rights of indigenous peoples are violated in the process of development, a phenomenon known as development aggression. He highlighted the serious implementation gap in countries which recognize indigenous peoples' rights in their constitutions and enacted enabling laws.

Jurisprudence on indigenous peoples' rights also emanated from favorable decisions, judgments and comments issued by UN Treaty Bodies, Inter-American Court on Human Rights, and African Commission on Peoples and Human Rights to complaints and submissions presented by indigenous peoples. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Human Rights Committee, Committee on the Rights of the Child, among

others, also provided important general comments which indigenous peoples used in their arguments during negotiations on UNDRIP.

The following further open additional spaces, processes and instruments that indigenous peoples can use to strengthen their development agenda: establishment of the WIPO Intergovernmental Committee on Genetic Resources, Intellectual Property, Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions; Working Groups of the Convention on Biological Diversity on Article 8j and on Access and Benefit-Sharing of Genetic Resources; and FAO International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture. Some of these however have yet to be tested to determine what they can do to support indigenous peoples' self-determined development.

Most of these developments are discussed further in the following sections.

Debates on Development and Underdevelopment

To provide a broader context and to better understand what challenges lie in pursuing indigenous peoples' self-determined development, it is helpful to see how development historically took centre stage and became the preoccupation of nation-states.

On January 20, 1949 the world got divided into developed and underdeveloped countries by the United States President Harry Truman when he rallied the US and the rest of the industrialized North to make the benefits of their scientific, technological and industrial progress available for "the growth and improvement of underdeveloped areas" (Escobar, 1995:3; Esteva,1995:6). He put the US and the North on top of the evolutionary social ladder which the rest of the world should aspire for (Sachs, 995:3). The American dream of economic development and prosperity, characterized by high levels of industrialization and urbanization, use of technology in agriculture, con-

trol of nature through science and technology, individualism and consumerism, free and unfettered markets, was universalized to consolidate their dominance and to contain the expansion of the communist world.

The truth is that the free enterprise system was in crisis after the Second World War. To salvage the situation, the United States had to find ways to invest its surplus capital which had accumulated during the war; find markets for American goods; secure control over sources of raw materials; and establish a global network of unchallenged military power to secure access to raw materials, markets and consumers (Escobar, 1995; Amin, 1976). It was in their interest, therefore, to universalize their economic system along with their cultural and ideological justifications. Gustavo Esteva, a leading critic of development, said when Truman made this speech, underdevelopment began.

> On that day two billion people became underdeveloped. In a real sense, from that time on, they ceased being what they were, in all their diversity, and were transmogrified into an inverted mirror of the others' reality: a mirror that belittles them and sends them to the end of the queue, a mirror that defines their identity, which is really that of a heterogeneous and diverse majority, simply in the terms of a homogenizing and narrow minority.[13]

The United Nations, which was born in 1945, was used as a machinery to further conceptualize and implement development. It created policies and programmes to bring development to the so-called underdeveloped countries. The expert group set up to do this reported:

> There is a sense in which rapid economic progress is impossible without painful adjustments. Ancient philosophies have to be scrapped; old social institutions have to disintegrate; bonds of cast, creed and race have to burst; and large numbers of persons who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated. Very few communities are willing to pay the full price of economic progress (United

Nations, Department of Social and Economic Affairs, 1951.15).[14]

Indigenous Peoples' Resistance and Responses from the UN System

Among those who were not willing to pay the full price of economic progress and surrender their ancient philosophies and who refused to be "transmogrified into an inverted mirror of others' reality" were indigenous peoples both in the North and the South. While the UN was more focused in bringing development to the so-called underdeveloped countries, the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Nordic countries were also doing the same to their indigenous peoples. Development is essentially a dominating process where destinies of peoples are shaped according to a Eurocentric perception of the world. This became the bane of indigenous peoples, whether from the North or the South. Our indigenous worldviews and philosophies, value systems, cultural, social, political and economic systems, which include our traditional livelihoods, were seen as obstacles to development and modernization. Thus, these were denigrated, destroyed or obliterated. Development, which was adopted as one of the pillars of nation-state building, became one of the root causes of the conflicts between nation-states and indigenous peoples.

The indigenous peoples in the North and in the South went through similar experiences, although governments in Northern countries sometimes entered into treaties and negotiated agreements, some of which only allowed for minimal indigenous participation. However, these negotiations were still between highly unequal partners. In most cases, indigenous peoples' traditional livelihood and economic systems had to give way to development projects pushed by the state in collusion with corporations. What was left to be negotiated were the benefits which indig-

enous peoples could get after their own systems were destroyed. One of the most cited cases, both as a negative example and as a good practice depending on who is speaking, is the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement of 1975, spurred by the large-scale hydroelectric dam project of Hydro-Quebec. The Agreement says:

> "Development" or "Development Project" shall mean a project consisting of any work, undertaking, structure, operation, industrial process which might affect the environment or people of the Territory, exclusive of the operation and maintenance of such project after construction…; and For purposes of the Agreement, in respect to Category 11 lands, **development shall be defined as any act or deed which precludes hunting, fishing and trapping activities by Native people** (emphasis mine) except for pre-development; and pre-development shall be defined as any act or deed of any exploratory nature exercise during a limited time with a view to decide if development shall take place or not.[15]

In the South significant numbers of indigenous peoples took part in national anti-colonialist struggles which led to the establishment of new nation-states. In fact, even before national civil wars for independence emerged, indigenous peoples had already waged resistance struggles in their territories. In the Philippines, our Igorot ancestors successfully thwarted the Spanish military expeditions that wanted to get hold of our gold and silver resources. This is one reason why the Igorot peoples are considered indigenous peoples. Our resistance to 350 years of Spanish colonization enabled us to maintain our precolonial cultures, economic and political systems, unlike the dominant population which was assimilated into the Spanish colonial regime.

Unfortunately, the assertion by indigenous peoples of the right of self-determination against foreign colonizers had to be reasserted again even after independence. This was to be expected because in many countries the colonizers, before leav-

ing, trained a cadre of local people from the dominant population who would continue their development and modernization agenda. Through them, the colonizers were able to ensure that the newly constructed nation-states were shaped in their image. The violation of our right of self-determination by these new nation-states which our ancestors helped bring into existence is unfortunate. In a conference on Indigenous Peoples, Sustainable Development and Conflict Resolution, this writer noted:

> It is not surprising, therefore, that indigenous peoples felt betrayed by the nation-state as their basic right to self-determination which their ancestors fought and died for was, once again, violated by the new rulers. Legal, cultural, social and economic systems of European origin were put in place. These ignored or contradicted pre-existing social, political and cultural systems, which they developed to govern their communities and their relations with nature and their neighbors. The states enshrined doctrines and laws, which were legal fiction inherited from the colonizers, such as terra nullius, crown lands or the Regalian Doctrine…Ancestral territories were either claimed by the state as crown lands or public lands or were converted into private property to be owned by individuals, no longer collectively… Indigenous socio-cultural and political systems seen as barriers...to the perpetuation of state hegemony were destroyed or made illegal. These spurred indigenous peoples to continue their ancestors' struggles to maintain their pre-colonial, self-determining status as peoples and nations.[16]

From the 1950s to 1970s most indigenous peoples in the South could still be found in rural areas, with some remaining isolated and without contact from the outside world. They continued to practice their traditional livelihoods in self-governing, self-sustaining communities. However, they were increasingly besieged by government development projects like hydroelectric dams, highways, oil and gas extraction, corporate mining, logging and agricultural plantations. Interventionism was justified by the

promise of development.

Several infamous hydroelectric dam projects, which displaced tens of thousands of indigenous persons, were built in the 1950s and 1960s, such as the Ambuklao and Binga Dams in Benguet Province in the Philippines and the Kaptai Dam in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. Up to the present, justice for the displaced Igorot and Jumma whose lands were illegally taken away remains elusive. Another dam, called the Chico Hydroelectric Dam Project, was to be built in the Cordillera region in the mid-1970s, but the Igorots resisted this time and won the battle, succeeding in cancelling it even if the Philippines was then under martial rule. It was during this time that many indigenous students became activists and started to build an indigenous peoples' movement in the Cordillera region. We challenged the development model imposed on us, especially when President Marcos stated that the minority had to "sacrifice for sake of development of the majority."

Clearly, development was aimed at making self-governing and self-sufficient indigenous communities into dependent entities subsumed into the global market economy and nation-state. In addition to the trauma caused by infrastructure development, they also suffered from conversion of their territories, which became agricultural monocrop plantations of rubber, coffee, cocoa, bananas, pineapple, sugar cane and eucalyptus or into mining enclaves and ranches. From being subsistence farmers, hunters and gatherers, fishers or pastoralists, indigenous peoples were reduced to seasonal farmworkers or laborers at best, or slaves at worst. The most egregious forms of human and labor rights violations, which include slavery and slave-like practices, were documented and reported among indigenous peoples in many Latin American states.

Indigenismo was the strategy many Latin American states adopted to structure the way they relate with indigenous peoples. Diego Iturralde, the first Technical Secretary of the Indigenous Fund, described *indigenismo* in these terms:

It was unilateral (by the State), unidirectional (targeted at indigenous peoples) and for one purpose (to incorporate them into the nation). Its goal was to replace the indigenous communities' cultural characteristics with what was regarded as the shared characteristics that constitute nationality. That goal was to be achieved by replacing the indigenous languages with Spanish and through schooling, the spread of intensive agriculture and commercial manufacturing, the provision of services and involvement in the domestic market.[17]

An essential part of *indigenismo* was the establishment of indigenous institutes, which were mandated to formulate and implement indigenous development strategies and programs. The Inter-American Indian Institute (Instituto Indigenista Interamericano) was founded in 1940, and subsequently national indigenous institutes were established in many countries in the region. A review of these institutes revealed that the strategies made were top-down, paternalistic, fostered assimilation of indigenous cultures into the dominant western culture, and regarded traditional culture and small-scale subsistence economy as obstacles to modern development.[18]

The negative experiences of indigenous peoples, first with colonization and later with nation-building and development, gave birth to indigenous peoples' movements at the local levels. These were consolidated at national and regional levels and became internationalized partly through spaces created within the United Nations that allowed for indigenous peoples' participation.

Early Engagements of Indigenous Peoples with the International Community

Indigenous peoples first attempted to reach out to the international community as early as 1923 when Chief Deskaheh, the speaker of the Iroquois Confederacy Council, tried to get the League of Nations to address the Iroquois' dispute with Canada. This was followed in 1925 by W.T. Ratana, a Maori leader who wanted to bring the New Zealand government's violations against the Waitangi Treaty with the League of Nations. Although the Maoris failed to get an audience with the League, their visits were assertions that indigenous peoples are subjects of international law. With the UN's establishment in l945 and human rights being the key foundational element of its Charter, the justification for indigenous peoples' engagement with the UN was strengthened.

Decolonization was one of the objectives of the UN. However, because of the "blue water thesis" that only colonies overseas can be subjected to decolonization procedures, the indigenous peoples in independent countries were considered outside of it, despite their being victims of colonization. The General Assembly did not totally ignore this reality and in 1949, issued a resolution asking the Economic and Social Council to study the "social problem of the aboriginal populations and other under-developed social groups of the American Continent." Unfortunately, this never materialized as no affected state was interested in implementing the recommendation.[19]

The Organization of American States General Assembly in 1948 also took initial steps to recognize that indigenous peoples are special subjects of international concern. Article 39 of the Inter-American Charter of Social Guarantees provided that states in the Inter-American System should take "necessary measures" to protect indigenous peoples' lives and property, "defending them from extermination, sheltering them from oppression and exploitation" (Anaya and Williams, 2001:33).

ILO Conventions 107 and 169

The International Labor Organization (ILO), which predated the UN, was the first multilateral body to look at the situation of indigenous peoples. In 1921 it carried out studies on the situation of indigenous workers that showed how indigenous peoples were victims of forced recruitment and forced labor, not to speak of slave-like labor practices. This led to the establishment of its Committee of Experts on Native Labour in 1926, which came up with conventions and recommendations on forced labor, and a Second Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour in 1951.

The ILO was also the first multilateral body that adopted a Convention addressing indigenous peoples. This was Convention No. 107 Concerning the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries adopted on June 26, 1957.

Unfortunately, the approach it took was paternalistic and assimilationist, and its solution to the indigenous problematique was to integrate indigenous peoples into the dominant society and within the dominant development model. The Convention states:

> Considering that there exist in various independent countries indigenous and other tribal and semi-tribal populations which are not yet integrated into the national community and whose social, economic or cultural situation hinders them from benefiting fully from the rights and advantages enjoyed by other elements of the population…[g]overnments shall have the primary responsibility for developing coordinated and systematic action for the protection of the population concerned and their progressive integration into the life of their respective countries… (ILO, 1957).[20]

Indigenous experts brought together by ILO at a Meeting of Experts in 1986 strongly criticized the Convention, recommending its revision as its assimilationist framework "meant the extinction of ways of life which are different from that of the domi-

nant society." Assimilation or integration is the logical consequence of a development paradigm which does not respect cultural diversity. The experts invoked the report of Martinez Cobo, Special Rapporteur on situation of discrimination against indigenous populations. It says "the policies of pluralism, self-sufficiency, self-management and ethnodevelopment appeared to be those which would give indigenous populations the best possibilities and means of participating directly in the formulation and implementation of official policies" (Anaya, 2004: 58).

The International Labor Conference, the ILO's highest decision making body, initiated the process of revising Convention No. 107 in 1988 and 1989. This was done with almost no participation of indigenous peoples as they are not part of the ILO tripartite system consisting of states, labor unions and employers. Before the year ended in 1989, the Conference adopted Convention No. 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries. As this was meant to remove the assimilationist aspects of the previous Convention, it had to reiterate in several preambular and operative paragraphs that it recognizes the aspirations and rights of indigenous peoples to exercise control over their own ways of life and economic development. Nineteen countries had ratified this Convention as of 2007.

Many of this Convention's provisions elaborate on the content of indigenous peoples' right to development and how states should promote it. It instructs governments to establish means and provide resources for the full development of indigenous peoples' institutions and initiatives (Article 6). Article 7 also reiterates the right of indigenous peoples to control their social, economic and cultural development:

1. The peoples concerned shall have the right to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, and institutions and spiritual well-being and the lands they occupy or otherwise use and to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development. In addition they shall participate in the formulation, imple-

mentation and evaluation of plans and programs for national and regional development which may affect them directly.

2. The improvement of the conditions of life and work and levels of health and education of the peoples concerned, with their participation and co-operation, shall be a matter of priority in plans for the overall economic development of areas they inhabit. Special projects for development of the areas in question shall also be designed as to promote such improvement.

3. Governments shall ensure that, whenever appropriate, studies are carried out in cooperation with the peoples concerned, to assess the social, spiritual, cultural and environmental impact on them of planned development activities. The results of these studies shall be considered as fundamental criteria for the implementation of these activities.

The Convention further recognizes that indigenous peoples have rights to own lands they traditionally occupy and to use those which they do not exclusively occupy but still use for subsistence and other traditional activities (Article 14). It also ensures the continued practice of indigenous livelihoods like pastoralism, hunting and gathering, shifting cultivation and handicraft development, especially as these form part of their cultures and link with their right to their natural resources (Art. 14, 15, 23).[21]

UN Development Decades

The UN declared the First Development Decade from 1960 to 1970, but despite the growing evidence that rapid economic growth is accompanied by increasing inequalities, it still pursued the same model of development. A five percent target minimum economic growth was set for the underdeveloped

world. When the Decade ended, the growth rate of developed countries accelerated but the gap between the per capita incomes of underdeveloped and developed countries widened. Two-thirds of the world's population living in underdeveloped countries still had less than one-sixth of the world's income. Recognizing the need to ensure a balance between economic and social development, the Decade Programme proposed that one percent of developed countries' incomes should go to underdeveloped nations in the form of international aid and financial assistance. Although this was lowered to 0.7 percent in subsequent Decades, these targets sadly were not met except by a very few countries. During this period, massive infrastructures like highways and mega-hydroelectric dams were built in indigenous territories in Latin America, Asia and Africa. The entry of mining, logging, and oil and gas corporations into indigenous territories also led to their forcible displacement and militarization of their communities.

The merging of economic and social development was only proposed in the Second Development Decade (1970‑1980), which was affirmed by the International Development Strategy proclaimed on October 24, 1970. This integration favors indigenous peoples as most development programs then stressed quantitative, material and economic aspects of development and ignored its social and cultural aspects.

In response to the call for a unified approach to development and planning, which integrates economic and social components, various UN agencies developed proposals on how to pursue this. A UNEP-UNCTAD (UN Conference on Trade and Development) Symposium held in October 1974 resulted in the Declaration of Cocoyoc, which states that the aim of development is not to develop things but to develop man. Subsequently ILO developed its *Basic Needs Approach*, which had the goal of establishing a minimum standard of living. At the third UNCTAD meeting in 1972, the issue of rights was brought into the development discourse with the assertion by governments in the South or underdeveloped world that they have the right to development. (Gready and Ensor, 2005: 18).

The UNESCO, in turn, formulated the concept of *endogenous development* which Esteva described:

> For some time, this conception won more acceptance than all the others. It seemed clearly heretical, openly contradicting the conventional wisdom. Emerging from a rigorous critique of the hypothesis of development 'in stages' (Rostow), the thesis of endogenous development, rejected the necessity or possibility—let alone suitability—of mechanically imitating industrial societies. Instead, it proposed taking due account of the particularities of each nation.[22]

This radical but sensible idea, however, did not prosper because it posed a serious challenge to the dominant development paradigm, which is pushed as the single economic and cultural model for the world. A truly endogenous development allows for diverse cultures to exist and for indigenous economic and social systems to thrive. The architects and beneficiaries of the dominant development model would find it hard to support something which goes against their own models and interests.

The other debate taking place at the same time revolved around development economics. The notion of underdevelopment and the standards of modernity, progress and development, which were measured only through the yardstick of Western progress, were questioned. Underdevelopment which was described in terms of low productivity, lack of capital and inadequate industrialization was critiqued,[23] especially as it is was generally applied to the South or the Third World. Within the South it was the indigenous peoples who were considered the backward and underdeveloped sectors. Tragically, modernity and development as conceptualized by the North was eventually accepted by newly independent nation-states as their own agenda.

UN Declaration on Right to Development

Within the Second Development Decade, the right to development was "…raised by developing countries as their claim for distributional equity in the international political economy of development."[24] The UN Declaration on the Right to Development (RTD), which was finally adopted in 1986, was the result of the assertion by underdeveloped countries that their right to develop has to be acknowledged and supported by the international community. Stephen Marks, an expert on the issue, further explained the agenda of developing countries, particularly the most active members of the Non-Aligned Movement who call themselves the "Like-Minded Group."[25]

> Their interests are to use the RTD to reduce inequities of international trade, the negative impacts of globalization, differential access to technology, the crushing debt burden, and similar factors they see as detrimental to the enjoyment of human rights and development.[26]

At the first UNCTAD meeting in 1964 these countries stated strongly that sovereignty is nothing if the world's economic resources remain concentrated in the hands of the former colonizers. Gaining their independence was important but the next step should be the restructuring of the global economic system to redistribute control over economic resources through a New International Economic Order (NIEO).[27] To strengthen the NIEO agenda, developing countries convinced the Commission on Human Rights to deal with the issue of the right to development, resulting in two resolutions (Res. 4/1977 and 5/1979), which affirmed that the right to development is a human right. In 1979 the General Assembly passed Resolution 34/46 stating that the right to development is "a human right and that equality of opportunity is as much a prerogative of nations and of individuals within nations."

To further address the raging debates on this issue, the Commission on Human Rights asked the Secretary General to conduct a study on the international aspects of the right to develop-

ment. The report came out in 1979 and stated that:

> the central purpose of development is the realization of
> the potentialities of the human person in harmony with
> the community; the human person is the subject not the
> object of development; both material and non-material
> needs must be satisfied; respect for human rights is fun-
> damental; the opportunity for full participation must be
> accorded; the principles of equality and non-discrimi-
> nation must be respected; and a degree of individual
> and collective self-reliance must be achieved.[28]

Some developed countries led by the United States strongly
opposed the idea of a declaration on the right to development.[29]
The Cold War politics, which split the unity of civil and political
rights and economic, social and cultural rights, still largely influ-
enced these arguments. In fact up to now, a divide remains be-
tween those who regard economic, social and cultural rights as
essential human rights and those who do not accept it.

As no agreement could be reached on a draft, the Chair of
the Working Group drafting a declaration on the right to devel-
opment brought his own version before the General Assembly
in 1986. This was passed through a vote of 146 in favor and one
against (US) it, with eight abstentions. The developed countries
were not all united against it, as Australia, Canada, France, the
Netherlands and New Zealand voted in favor of the Declaration.

Article 1 of the Declaration explicitly states that the right to
development is an inalienable human right, and this implies the
full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, in-
cluding the inalienable right to full sovereignty over their natu-
ral wealth and resources. After its adoption, a Working Group of
Governmental Experts was established to discuss concrete rec-
ommendations on how it should be implemented. Since agree-
ments could not be reached even after three session, the UN
Commission on Human Rights requested then UN Secretary
General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to organize a global consulta-
tion on the realization of the right to development. This took
place in Geneva in January 1990 with the participation of ex-

perts, UN programs and agencies, 50 representatives of States, NGOs and a handful of indigenous representatives. This was the first time indigenous peoples had been invited to a process related to the Declaration on the Rights to Development. The consultation resulted in a report which identified the obstacles to the realization of human rights[30] and refined the concept of participation in human rights law.[31]

After more than 10 years of existence, however, not much was seen by way of implementation of the Declaration to the Right to Development. Thus the Commission on Human Rights set up a follow-up mechanism that included establishment of an open-ended working group (OEWG) and appointment of an independent expert. The expert's mandate is to present to the OEWG on RTD a study on the current state of progress in the implementation of the right of development as elaborated in the Declaration. (CHR resolution 1998/72) Subsequently General Assembly resolution 54/175 of 17 December 1999 called on the independent expert to submit comprehensive reports at its 51st Session on effects of poverty, structural adjustment, globalization, financial and trade liberalization and deregulation on the prospects of the enjoyment of the right of development in developing countries.[32]

Arjun Sengupta, the Independent Expert on the Right to Development, came up with a series of reports which elaborated in more detail the concept of the right to development, recommendations on how to operationalize it, and the impacts of poverty and of globalization on the right to development, among others. In his first report he explained that the Declaration on the Right to Development succeeded in bringing back the concept of integrated and indivisible human rights. He said "in effect the right to development emerged as a human right which integrated economic, social, and cultural rights with civil and political rights in the manner envisaged at the beginning of the post-World War II human rights movement."[33] The right to development, as a "universal and inalienable right and an integral part of fundamental human rights," was affirmed by the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights (1993).[34]

Sengupta summarized the Declaration's main propositions:

(a) The right to development is a human right.

b) The human right to development is a right to a particular process of development in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized—which means that it combines all the rights enshrined in both the covenants and each of the rights has to be exercised with freedom.

(c) The meaning of exercising these rights consistently with freedom implies *free, effective and full participation* of all the individuals concerned in the decision-making and the implementation of the process. Therefore the process must be transparent and accountable, individuals must have the *equal opportunity* of access to the resources for development and receive *fair distribution* of the benefits of development (and income).

(d) Finally, the right confers unequivocal obligation on duty-holders: individuals in the community, states at the national level, and states at the international level. National states have the responsibility to help realize the process of development through appropriate development policies. Other states and international agencies have the obligation to cooperate with the national states to facilitate the process of development.

While this Declaration framework is dominantly statist, it can still be used as a building block to strengthen and operationalize indigenous peoples' self-determined development. Indigenous peoples are hardly mentioned in the reports of the Working Group and the Independent Expert, but the Declaration affirms that the right to development is an integral and indivisible part of civil, political, social, cultural and economic rights, and stresses it is both a collective and individual right. The analysis of obstacles, such as globalization, debt burden, unequal trade agreements, financial and trade liberalization, is crucial in further understanding why development remains elusive for most peoples, including indigenous peoples.

Furthermore, the emphasis on the primacy of participation and the creation of appropriate development policies resonates with our assertion of our right to freely determine our economic, social and cultural development. Equity and social justice are also identified as key objectives of development, and not just economic growth. Through the years, reports by the Open-ended Working Group and Independent Expert have elaborated what the right to development is and how it relates to human development and the human-rights based approach to development. Legal scholars have come up with their own independent analysis on the consistency of the right to development with existing international human rights law.

A glaring gap in the reports and some legal commentaries, however, is again the invisibility of indigenous peoples. The OEWG Chairman's conclusions in the 2001 session are among the rare ones that mention indigenous peoples. Under the section on national actions, he affirmed the "…need for special attention to persons belonging to minorities, whether national, ethnic, religious or linguistic, as well as to vulnerable groups, such as indigenous people, Roma, migrants…"

The story of the Declaration on the Right to Development shows how indigenous peoples are invisible in the radar screens of most countries, whether developed or developing. We are referred to only in terms of our vulnerabilities and not the positive contributions we can offer to make development more socially just and culturally appropriate. While those of us from developing countries can sympathize with the efforts of their governments to assert their right to develop, we regret the strong statist underpinnings of this process and its end product. Another problem is their pursuit of the same dominant development model, which is one of the root causes of our further marginalization. This is what pushed us to assert our right to self determination and to elaborate our own concept of self-determined development, using whatever we find useful from the results of the work and processes within the UN system. This paper treated this Declaration at great length, in spite of the fact that it barely refers to indigenous peoples to illustrate the challenges which indigenous peoples face in this debate.

Indigenous Peoples' Struggles for Basic Human Rights, Further Engagements with UN

To address the hegemonic developmentalist wave or the dominant development paradigm, indigenous peoples responded in diverse ways. In Latin America the indigenous peoples took two tracks: one was to fight against it, and another used some of its policies and programs to promote their interests. The second track adopted agrarian reform, which was the political agenda of the peoples' movements. Indigenous peoples in the Andean regions of Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru as well as those from Guatemala and Mexico created or joined peasant cooperatives, unions, Basic Christian Communities and political parties. Many self-identified as *campesino* or peasants and not as indigenous peoples.

Those who opted to fight participated in armed revolutionary movements like URNG in Guatemala, Shining Path in Peru and at the turn of the millennium, the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico. The participation of indigenous peoples in armed movements is an expression of resistance against their marginalization. Unfortunately, in most instances their cause was subsumed into the class struggle, which made their identity and issues invisible. Nevertheless, because these revolutionary movements needed to generate support not only within the country but internationally, indigenous peoples who were part of these linked with other indigenous formations.

In Asia, among the indigenous peoples who armed themselves to fight against destructive development projects were the Igorot in the Philippines' Cordillera region; Jumma peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts; Naga and Mizo peoples of Northeast India; and the Karen, Shan and Chin in Burma. Formations are usually built along tribal lines, but when indigenous peoples are confronted with projects that impact across physical and tribal boundaries, the logical recourse are pan-tribal formations such as in the Philippines where a pan Cordillera-wide indigenous peoples' movement was born. National and regional formations[35]

were also developed, which engaged with the United Nations.

The indigenous peoples in developed countries either negotiated treaties with the State or filed legal suits against it, especially if it breached earlier treaty agreements. They brought complaints before the various UN Treaty Bodies, the most popular being the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and the Human Rights Committee (HRC). At the regional level they also used the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

Spaces provided by the United Nations, which allowed for the participation of indigenous representatives, helped to strengthen the global indigenous peoples' movement. The first was the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, which saw an increasing participation of indigenous representatives since its establishment in 1982. This came about as a result of various UN and UN-related processes initiated by sympathetic UN staff, representatives of indigenous peoples, NGOs and States.

In 1971 the UN Economic and Social Council authorized the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to undertake a study on the "Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations."[36] The appointed Special Rapporteur, Martinez Cobo, came up with a series of partial reports between 1981-83, and the final paper containing the Conclusions and Recommendations was released in 1986. This report, popularly known as the Martinez Cobo Study, became the major UN reference document on indigenous peoples. The process set a precedent for other UN agencies or bodies also to support further studies or organize processes on indigenous peoples within the purview of their specific mandates.

Even before the Martinez-Cobo report was completed, the NGO Subcommittee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid, and Decolonization held the "International NGO Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in the Americas" in Geneva on 20-23 September 1977. Of around 400

persons who participated, a fourth or 100 were delegates of 60 indigenous nations and peoples from 15 countries in the Americas. Observers from 38 member states of the UN took part as well as UN agencies like UNESCO and ILO.

This historic conference approved the "Declaration of Principles for the Defense of Indigenous Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere" and several resolutions including the call on the UN to set up a Working Group on Indigenous Populations. This conference, through its Economic Commission, gave a scathing critique of development and the role of multinational corporations:

> To accommodate the increasing demand for materials and resources and the inherent profit quest, the multinational corporations have accelerated development and exploitation of native peoples and resources. A key force in this process in Latin America is the U.S. economic development and military aid. This exploitation is imminent due to the significance of native resources. In the U.S. alone, native lands include approximately 30 percent of all coal reserves, 90 percent of all uranium reserves and 50 pecent of overall energy reserves. Indian lands in the U.S. have produced over 2.7 billion dollars.[37]

Its Social and Cultural Commission elaborated the links between economic exploitation and indigenous culture.

> The destruction of indigenous cultures in the Americas is historically inseparable from the considerations which motivated and which still motivate the criminal acts of the European colonizers, the primary consideration being human exploitation and the greed for land and cheap labour. To destroy a culture is to destroy the basis for an autonomous society able to defend the interests of its members. It is noteworthy that this Commission has had great difficulty in isolating the destruction of culture from other acts of genocide, and it is necessary to constantly bear in mind the links existing between these phenomena. The pattern of cultural aggression and de-

structive cultural penetration may be said to begin at the point of departure for the culture of the Indians, i.e., their natural environment. The removal of Indians from their traditional homes, the physical corruption of their ceremonial grounds, the industrial pollution of their natural habitat, all render impossible the continuation of culture, not only because its physical basis is destroyed but because such acts do violence to the system of values possessed by the Indians.

Another important conference was the "Conference of Specialists on Ethnocide and Ethnodevelopment in Latin America" organized by UNESCO in 1981. It issued a Declaration proclaiming that "ethno-development is an alienable right of Indian groups" and affirming their "inalienable right" to consolidate their cultural identity and to "exercise...self-determination."[38] Ethnodevelopment, as described in this Declaration, is the extension and consolidation of the elements of culture, "through strengthening the independent decision making capacity of a culturally distinct society to direct its own development and exercise self-determination, at whatever level, which implies an equitable and independent share of power. This means that the ethnic group is a political and administrative unit, with authority over its own territory and decision-making powers within the confines of its development project, in a process of increasing autonomy and self-management..."[39]

Due to the indigenous peoples' demands as contained in the Declaration of the earlier 1977 conference and the Martinez Cobo Study's recommendations, the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations was established in 1982 by the UN CHR Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. This body was mandated to review developments concerning indigenous peoples and to develop international standards on indigenous peoples' rights. Since its establishment, indigenous representatives actively engaged with it and fully participated in drafting the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This space provided the opportunity for indigenous peoples to come together not just to make

statements but to consolidate their own movement at the global level. We discovered an arena of struggle to further pursue our objectives as movements. While it was clear to us that respect and fulfillment of our rights depended on the strength of our movements locally and nationally, we also knew that linking our struggles at the regional and global levels and getting the international community to adopt an international instrument on our rights would greatly boost our local work.

The World Conferences of the UN[40] in the 1990s also saw the dynamic engagement of indigenous peoples. Our participation in the 1992 Earth Summit (UNCED), for instance, resulted in Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 on "Recognizing and Strengthening the Role of Indigenous Peoples and their Communities," which identified indigenous peoples as a major group that will help bring about sustainable development. At the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, indigenous peoples succeeded in pushing a recommendation for the establishment of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous women took part in the Fourth World Conference on Women and ensured that the final Declaration and Programme of Action contained references on indigenous women. The Asian Indigenous Women's Network, which this writer convened, organized the Indigenous Women's Tent, which became the nerve center of activities for indigenous women and where we agreed on our own "Beijing Declaration of Indigenous Women."

Aside from these, some of us started to use the treaty bodies of the UN to air our complaints and issues and to put pressure on member-states to comply with their obligations to international human rights law. Our engagement with the treaty bodies is, in a way, a means to assert that we are equally entitled to enjoy the full protection of international human rights law. To gather more support and get other actors to reinforce our views, we established alliances with various NGOs that work for the protection of the rights of indigenous peoples.[41]

Cultural Rights and International Human Rights Law

While vibrant debates on economic and social rights and development were taking place, not much was heard around the issue of cultural rights. In fact, culture has been regarded not only as an obstacle to development and modernity, but in the human rights discourse, also as an obstacle to human rights. However, these views are changing because of developments in international human rights law. The adoption of various human rights conventions, which form part of what is now known as International Human Rights Law,[42] has led to substantial debates and jurisprudence on cultural rights, especially as these relate to traditional livelihoods and development of indigenous peoples.

Many of the complaints indigenous persons brought before Treaty Bodies of these Conventions involved violations of cultural rights. Thus, it is little wonder that many general recommendations or comments have been made on this concern. The articles that deal specifically with cultural rights are found in both Articles 27 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Article 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.[43]

Indigenous peoples are among those who contributed in enriching jurisprudence on cultural rights within Treaty Bodies because of the cases they filed with them. Fergus MacKay, a legal expert on indigenous peoples rights who analyzed cases handled by the Human Rights Committee saw jurisprudence emerge on the following rights of indigenous peoples:[44]

To lands, territories and resources traditionally occupied and used and to a healthy environment:

- To protection of sites of cultural and religious significance;
- To cultural and physical integrity;
- To meaningful participation in decisions that affect them;
- To maintain and use their own cultural, social and politi-

cal institutions;

- To be free from discrimination and to equal protection of the law.

MacKay also cited HRC's interpretation of Article 27:

The HRC has interpreted Article 27 to include the "rights of persons, in community with others, to engage in economic and social activities which are part of the culture of the community to which they belong." In reaching this conclusion, the HRC recognized that Indigenous peoples' subsistence and other traditional economic activities are an integral part of their culture, and substantial interference with those activities can be detrimental to their cultural integrity and survival. By necessity, the land, resource base and the environment thereof also require protection if subsistence activities are to be safeguarded. Many of the cases brought by Indigenous peoples under Article 27 challenge state- or corporate-directed resource exploitation. In this context, the HRC has observed that a state's freedom to encourage economic development is limited by the obligations it has assumed under Article 27.[45]

The Human Rights Committee issued several General Comments after it made decisions on cases brought before its attention. One of these is General Comment No. 23 (Ibid,53), which recognized that as far as indigenous peoples are concerned "...culture manifests itself in many forms, including a particular way of life associated with the use of land resources." Cultural right therefore includes the ability to practice traditional livelihoods, such as hunting and gathering and fishing and the right to live in reserves created by law. Thus, the protection of cultural rights ensures the survival of indigenous peoples and the development of their cultural, linguistic and religious identity.[46]

Aside from the HRC landmark decisions, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) of the Organization of American States (OAS) also invoked Article 27 of ICCPR to decide in favor of indigenous peoples.[47] The IACHR declared

that "the special legal protections" accorded to Indians for the preservation of their cultural identity should extend to "the aspects linked to productive organization, which includes, among other things, the issues of ancestral and communal lands."[48]

Because of the numerous cases brought before it by indigenous peoples, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination also came up with General Recommendation XXIII in 1997, which deals specifically with indigenous peoples, culture and identity. It called upon States to:

(e) Recognize and respect indigenous distinct culture, history, language and way of life as an enrichment of the State's cultural identity and to promote its preservation;

(f) Ensure that members of indigenous peoples are free and equal in dignity and rights and free from any discrimination, in particular that based on indigenous origin and identity;

(g) Provide indigenous peoples with conditions allowing for a sustainable economic and social development compatible with their cultural characteristics;

(h) Ensure that members of indigenous peoples have equal rights in respect of effective participation in public life and that no decisions directly relating to their rights and interests are taken without their informed consent.

(i) Ensure that indigenous communities can exercise their rights to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs and to preserve and practice their languages.[49]

These general comments and recommendations by Treaty Bodies were used extensively by indigenous peoples to bolster their arguments during negotiations of the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. In the same vein, during the revision process of the World Bank Operational Manual/Operational Directive 4.20 on Indigenous Peoples (1991) to the newly adopted Operational Policy 4.10 on Indigenous Peoples (2006), they argued that the Bank cannot go below the standards set by International Human Rights Law.

The increasing demands not only by indigenous peoples but also minorities to have their cultural rights recognized and respected have not been ignored by the Commission on Human Rights. For the first time on April 22, 2002 the CHR passed resolution 2002/26 on "Promotion of the enjoyment of cultural rights of everyone and respect for different cultural identities." It affirmed that each culture has a dignity and value that must be respected and preserved; that every people has the right and duty to develop its culture; that states have the primary responsibility to promote the full enjoyment of cultural rights by everyone and the respect for different cultural identities is vital for the protection of cultural diversity in the context of globalization, and that all peoples have the right of self-determination (Stamatopoulou, 2007: 57). This interpretation further clarifies that the promotion and protection of cultural diversity advances human rights and fundamental freedoms for all which is guaranteed by international human rights law. This reinforces the link between promotion of human rights and cultural diversity.

UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the UN agency mainly in charge of matters related to culture, defines cultural rights in "terms of the rights of creators and transmitters of culture, the rights of the people at large to contribute and participate in cultural life and the rights of peoples to cultural integrity" (Stamatopoulou, 2007: 1). It handles many of the substantial discussions around cultural diversity, the relationship between culture and development, and the protection and safeguarding of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. In fact, it has played an important role in the formulation of Article 27 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

UNESCO has organized various intergovernmental conferences on cultural policies. Among the first was the 1975 Accra

Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa,[50] which was the first intergovernmental process to affirm the principle of incorporating a cultural dimension in development. Another was the 1982 World Conference on Cultural Policies (MONDIACULT) held in Mexico City, which debated the definitions of culture, development and the cultural dimension of development. Its final report defined development as "…a complex, comprehensive and multidimensional process which extends beyond mere economic growth to incorporate all dimensions of life and all the energies of a community, all of whose members are called upon to make a contribution and can expect to share in the benefits."

Then in 2001 it adopted the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity,[51] which finally mentions indigenous peoples. A landmark declaration, it highlights the link of culture and development and establishes that the guarantee for cultural diversity to flourish is the respect of human rights, but unfortunately it has not gained the attention it merits. It also elaborates how the right to culture establishes an enabling environment for cultural diversity (Article 5), and clarifies that cultural diversity is one of the roots and a factor of development (Article 3) as well as a means to achieve intellectual, moral, emotional and spiritual existence. Furthermore, it stresses that "the defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity" and reifies "cultural pluralism" which should be promoted through intercultural exchange and dialogue. Therefore, a commitment should be made to respect the rights of minorities and indigenous peoples (Article 4).

The Declaration's Plan of Action includes the need to "…clarify the content of cultural rights as an integral part of human rights."[52] This objective is consistent with Article 27 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and Articles 13 and 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Unfortunately, it does not mention Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which has been strongly invoked in several comments and decisions addressing indigenous peoples' complaints and submissions filed before

the HRC, CERD and Inter-American Court on Human Rights. Such an omission from the Declaration shows a lack of coherence and synergy among the various UN agencies and bodies.

Overall the Declaration is still a positive development as it signals a shift of UNESCO's views and priorities in its work on culture. Its public image is of a body concerned only with protecting and promoting a concept of culture referred to as "high culture," such as masterpieces of art or literature or historical monuments such as the Greek Parthenon or Egyptian pyramids. It now defines culture in a more holistic manner as seen in Preambular Paragraph 5.

> Reaffirming that culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs.

Annex 11, containing the main lines of an action plan for its implementation, has among its objectives:

1. Deepening the international debate on questions relating to cultural diversity, particularly in respect of its links with development and its impact on policy-making at both national and international level; taking forward notably consideration of the advisability of an international legal instrument on cultural diversity.
14. Respecting and protecting traditional knowledge, in particular that of indigenous peoples; recognizing the contribution of traditional knowledge, particularly with regard to environmental protection and the management of natural resources, and fostering synergies between modern science and local knowledge.

According to Stamatopoulou, with this Declaration "UNESCO came closer to a human rights understanding of cultural rights, as compared to an understanding focusing mainly on inter-state relations." However, she also concluded that "UNESCO approaches human rights and cultural rights with political caution."[53] She justifies this conclusion with the fact

that the main body of the Declaration failed to incorporate all the relevant human rights elements. The respect and protection of traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples was left out and included only in the Action Plan.

While we laud its positive aspects, we should not miss out on the problems with this Declaration. One of the issues is the commercialization of culture, spurred by the construction of the concept of "cultural industry." Article 10 talks about the need to reinforce international cooperation to enable countries, especially developing countries and countries in transition, to establish cultural industries that are viable and competitive at the national and international level. We surmise that what are referred to are the movie, music and art industries. For indigenous peoples, however, cultural diversity encompasses their life, worldviews, knowledge, relationships with nature and with other people, and not merely their dances, music and dress.

The Declaration's promotion of this concept could lead to the industrialization of culture. The concept of cultural goods and services, as if these were equivalent to manufactured goods and services, is accepted without much critique. Culture is also referred to as a resource, so the concept of cultural resource management has emerged, akin to natural resource management in biological diversity. Taken generically these terms seem to be harmless. But a more in-depth analysis would show that if the mindset on culture is to regard this as goods and services, then it is easy to justify why the focus of activities revolves around negotiating how to access and share benefits over these.

The Declaration does provide the needed balance and caution on how cultural goods and services should be regarded. Article 8 says:

> In the face of present-day economic and technological change, opening up vast prospects for creation and innovation, particular attention must be paid to the diversity of the supply of creative work, to due recognition of rights of authors and artists and to specificity of cultural goods and services which, as vectors of identity, values

and meaning, must not be treated as mere commodities or consumer goods.

It also clarifies that "market forces alone cannot guarantee the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity, which is the key to sustainable human development" (Article 11). It stresses the pre-eminence of public policy.

Convention on Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expressions

In accordance with the objective set by the Declaration on Cultural Diversity to consider an international legal instrument on cultural diversity, UNESCO adopted the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions[54] at its 33rd Session on 20 October 2005. It entered into force on 18 March 2007. This Convention affirms "that cultural diversity is a defining characteristic of humanity" (Preambular Paragraph 1). Its Preamble stresses the "need to incorporate culture as a strategic element in national and international development policies, as well as in international development cooperation, taking into account also the United Nations Millennium Declaration (2000) with its special emphasis on poverty eradication." The specific references to indigenous peoples in this Convention are mainly found in the Preamble, with the relevant paragraphs as follows:

> Taking into account that culture takes diverse forms across time and space and that thisdiversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities and cultural expressions of the peoples and societies making up humanity.

> Recognizing the importance of traditional knowledge as a source of intangible and material wealth, and in particular the knowledge systems of indigenous peoples, and its positive contribution to sustainable development, as well as the need for its adequate protection and promotion.

Taking into account the importance of the vitality of cultures, including for persons belonging to minorities and indigenous peoples, as manifested in their freedom to create, disseminate and distribute their own traditional cultural expressions and to have access thereto, so as to benefit them for their own development.

Some of the objectives set in Article 1 include:

(a) the protection and promotion of diversity of cultural expressions;

(d) foster interculturality in order to develop cultural interaction in the spirit of building bridges among peoples; and

(f) to reaffirm the importance of the link between culture and development for all countries, particularly for developing countries…

Its guiding principles as contained in Article 2 affirm the following principles: respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (2.1); equal dignity and respect for all cultures (2.3); complementarity of economic and cultural aspects of development (2.5); and sustainable development (2.6).

The imperative to integrate culture in sustainable development (Article 13) is also affirmed. "Parties shall endeavour to integrate culture in their development policies at all levels for the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development and, within this framework, foster aspects relating to the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expression."

In terms of specific measures to promote cultural expressions the Convention says that Parties should encourage specific groups, such as indigenous peoples, to create, produce, disseminate, distribute and have access to their own cultural expressions. (Article 7). This is an important provision because what is increasingly being witnessed are non-indigenous individuals taking the lead in producing cultural expressions of indigenous peoples and passing these off as their intellectual property. Many cases have already been reported of traditional songs, designs

and artistic works of indigenous peoples misappropriated by state agencies, corporations or non-indigenous artists.

While the Convention contains objectives and principles which are important for indigenous peoples, some provisions may create problems for them. One is the overemphasis on the "sovereign rights of States to maintain, adopt and implement policies and measures that they deem appropriate for the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions on their territory" (Art. 1.h and Art. 2.2). This is understandable, as it is an instrument agreed upon by member-states who are also the members of the Conference of the Parties (COP). However, a gap remains in relation to recognizing and protecting indigenous peoples' rights to their own tangible and intangible cultural expressions.

For indigenous peoples who have been subjected to cultural genocide or ethnocide by some of these same States, it would not be easy to entrust to the State the sole power to decide on policies and measures to promote and protect cultural diversity. No provision moreover explicitly spells out how indigenous peoples can participate effectively in designing and implementing these policies. Article 11 on Participation of Civil Society is the only one that deals with participation. It states, "...parties acknowledge the fundamental role of civil society in protecting and promoting the diversity of cultural expressions. Parties shall encourage the active participation of civil society in their efforts to achieve the objectives of this Convention."

Indigenous peoples have not been comfortable in being lumped together with a nebulous entity called "civil society" as this denigrates their identity as distinct peoples and nations who have the right to self-determination. The references to indigenous peoples in the preamble and in the principles are not reiterated in the main body of the Convention. No provision also ensures that their free, prior and informed consent will be obtained if their tangible and intangible cultural expressions are accessed and commercialized or traded in the global market. Neither is there a provision which defines access and benefit-sharing schemes between the State and the bearers and creators of cultural ex-

pressions.

This Convention is similarly criticized by some human rights experts because it fails to clarify and amplify cultural rights as human rights. Essentially it is a trade agreement on how to ensure that cultural goods and services (particularly the movie industry, music and other arts) are traded on a more equitable basis in the global market.[55]

The UNESCO clarified that the Convention "..stands out among the heritage-related conventions in that it focuses primarily on the diversity of cultural expressions, as circulated and shared through cultural activities, goods and services, the most contemporary transmitters of culture.[56]

It thus recognizes this limitation:

The Convention ...does not cover all the aspects of cultural diversity as addressed in theUNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity. It deals with specific thematic fields of the Declaration, such as those set out in Articles 8 to 11: On the one hand, the need to recognize that cultural goods and services convey identity, values and meaning and consequently cannot be considered as mere commodities and consumer goods like any others; and on the other hand, the need for States to take all appropriate measures to protect and promote diversity of cultural expressions while ensuring the free flow of ideas and works; and lastly the need to redefine international cooperation, the keystone of the Convention, as each form of creation bears the seed of a continuing dialogue.

While the debate over cultural goods and services continues, it is equally important to look into what the Convention can do to promote development with identity or self-determined development. UNESCO has established that the defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect of human dignity (Art. 4, Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity). Indigenous peoples' cultures and identities are intricately linked with their ancestral lands. If we are forcibly dis-

placed from our lands, then our cultural expressions are at risk as many of our rituals, sacred sites, raw materials for our handicrafts and artifacts, among others, are found in our lands. Such a situation may find a solution in Article 8 which says:

1. [A] Party may determine the existence of special situations where cultural expressions on its territory are at risk of extinction, under serious threat, or otherwise in need of urgent safeguarding.

2. Parties may take all appropriate measures to protect and preserve cultural expressions in situations referred to in paragraph 1 in a manner consistent with the provisions of this Convention

3. Parties shall report to the Intergovernmental Committee referred to in Article 23 all measures taken to meet the exigencies of the situation, and the Committee may make appropriate recommendations.

Cultural expressions in indigenous territories have not been allowed to flourish or were systematically denigrated or obliterated through various means and by actors like the state, religious formations, corporations and even other communities who present competing claims. Indigenous peoples have filed many complaints before the Treaty Bodies alleging risk of extinction or misappropriation of their cultural expressions. A recent example is the experience of the Subanon in Mindanao in the Philippines where the operations of a Canadian mining company (Toronto Ventures Incorporated) are destroying their ancestral lands including their sacred mountain (Mt. Canatuan). A submission[57] presented by the Subanon prompted CERD to instruct the Philippine Government to respond to the questions it raised at a given date.

It is worthwhile exploring what the Convention on the Protection and Promotion on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions can do concretely for indigenous peoples who find themselves in similar situations. Such instruments should effectively complement the actions taken by the Treaty Bodies to protect indigenous peoples' cultures.

Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

The Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, adopted by UNESCO on 17 October 2003 and enforced three years later, is another instrument that needs to be analyzed. It was formulated as there was no binding multilateral instrument to safeguard humanity's intangible cultural heritage and yet processes of globalization and social transformation "…give rise to grave threats of deterioration, disappearance and destruction of intangible cultural heritage." Its Preamble recognizes "...that communities, in particular indigenous communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals play an important role in producing, safeguarding, maintenance and recreation of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity."

This Convention aims to safeguard and ensure respect for intangible cultural heritage and to raise awareness of its importance. As defined, "intangible cultural heritage":

Means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity… (Article 2.1 - Definitions)

This includes oral traditions and expressions, including language, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, traditional craftsmanship (Article 2.2) 'Safeguarding' means measures aimed at ensuring

the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and informal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage (Article 2.3).

The Convention established the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which is mandated to promote the objectives of the Convention, monitor its implementation and provide guidance for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, among others. A means to do this at the international level is a Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (Article 16) and a list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding (Article 17). The Committee shall incorporate in the Representative List the items proclaimed "Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity,"[58] and a "fund for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage" is to be established. To ensure broader participation in this work, State Parties are asked to "...endeavor to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and where appropriate, individuals, that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them in its management" (Article 15).

Again, there is hardly any mention of indigenous peoples in this Convention. However, considering that it is indigenous peoples who still maintain oral traditions and expressions and knowledge and practices concerning nature, these expressions should be covered by Article 15. Indigenous peoples also need to be included in the processes which identify the masterpieces. Those whose oral traditions are recognized need to know what this means for them. Some States that made it possible to include masterpieces from their indigenous peoples have not even informed the bearers of these oral traditions. Many of the Ifugao in the Philippines, for example, are not aware that their Hudhud Chants have been included in the UNESCO Masterpieces or what such a declaration signifies for them.[59]

A key weakness of the UNESCO processes is the exclusion of indigenous peoples' representatives from the norm-setting processes and in the activities of projects around tangible and intangible heritage. A few indigenous persons like Otilia Lux de Cojti[60] were part of government delegations and thus played positive roles in bringing in indigenous perspectives. Notwithstanding this weakness and the limitations discussed earlier, it can be concluded that the provisions of these Declarations and Conventions can still be used to reinforce self-determined development. As will be seen in the next sections, the rights and principles these promote also resonate with the key principles and rights underpinning self-determined development. The gaps need to be addressed, however, one of which is the right to free, prior and informed consent. In the face of continuing misappropriation and misuse of indigenous cultural heritage, this right has to be protected.

Globalization, with its thrust to liberalize the laws of the South to allow for easier entry of goods and services (including cultural goods) from the North, has also made more visible the threats to cultural diversity and cultural rights. UNESCO took this issue to heart, asserting that culture is the context of development as well as the missing factor in policies for development. Its latest instruments on cultural diversity and intangible cultural heritage can thus help stop creeping cultural homogenization due to globalization.

UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

The UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations started drafting the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 1985. The drafting finished in 1993 and the following year the Sub-Commission adopted the Draft and submitted it to the Commission on Human Rights. Our participation in the drafting of the Declaration text allowed for substantial dialogues between us, the experts and the States. This became the global forum

where we discussed extensively our worldviews, our concepts of rights and development which includes the controversial right of self-determination.

The CHR set up the "Working Group established in accordance with Commission on Human Rights resolution 1995/32 of 3 March 1995″ to further elaborate and negotiate the Draft.[61] This Open-ended Intersessional Working Group held its first session from 20 November to 1 December 1995 and completed its work at its 12th Session on February 3, 2006. The adoption of the Chairman's Text of the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples became one of the agenda items of the 1st Session of the newly established Human Rights Council (successor of the defunct Commission on Human Rights), which on 29 June 2006 adopted it through a vote (30 in favor, two against—Canada and Russia—and 12 abstentions).

It was then sent to the 61st Session of the General Assembly, which at its session in November 2006 decided to defer its adoption on the basis of an African States resolution to further study the Declaration. The African States presented a paper on their proposed amendments to the Declaration, which indigenous peoples flatly rejected as these reinforced discrimination. A legal response subsequently developed by the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights Working Group on Indigenous Populations and Communities to the Aide-Memoire made by the African States was vital in leading to the change in the position of the States.

Indigenous peoples both from Africa and other regions waged a sustained campaign to make the African Group of States understand that this Declaration would not be a problem but a solution to some of the issues they face. Their lobbying and arguments also made the issues of African indigenous peoples more visible. They extensively used the 2003 Report on Indigenous Populations and Communities in Africa prepared by a Working Group specifically set up for this purpose to convince the African States and multilateral bodies that there are indigenous peoples in Africa who are different from the dominant

populations. The Report countered the common argument the African States use not to deal with this issue—that all Africans are indigenous. We impressed upon them that it was not to their advantage to be seen as blocking the adoption of a major human rights instrument, and as the days went, they noticeably distanced themselves from Canada and other opposing States. Eventually the African States led by Namibia and Botswana came together with delegations from Mexico, Peru and Guatemala to discuss and agree on amendments to the Declaration, which the latter brought to the indigenous peoples' caucus steering committee to see if the amended text was acceptable. All the regional indigenous caucuses agreed to support the amended text.

After more than two decades of work, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples[62] was finally adopted by the 61st session of the General Assembly through a vote of 143 in favor, four against and 11 abstentions. For more than two decades we were able to sharpen our arguments on why we insist that specific articles are formulated the way they are. At some point we knew that we would not win the battle by perfecting our arguments alone, but by being flexible enough to accept there could be amendments which would not alter the substance and basic principles we had fought for but would allay some fears of States who are the main duty bearers for the implementation of these rights.

UNDRIP and Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

As Chair of the Permanent Forum, this writer was given the privilege to address the General Assembly's 61st Session: [63]

This Declaration has the distinction of being the only Declaration in the UN which was drafted with the rights-holders, themselves, the Indigenous Peoples. We see this is as a strong Declaration which embodies the most important rights we and our ancestors have long fought for: our right of self-determination, our right to own and control our lands, territories and resources, our right to

free, prior and informed consent, among others. Each and every article of this Declaration is a response to the cries and complaints brought by indigenous peoples before the UN-WGIP. This is a Declaration which makes the opening phrase of the UN Charter, "We the Peoples…" meaningful for 370 million indigenous persons all over the world.

Our tenacity and determination to continue to survive as distinct peoples and cultures has been demonstrated again in the work around the Declaration. We succeeded in making the international community accept that we, as distinct collectivities, are rightful subjects of international human rights law.

In terms of what the Declaration will mean for the Permanent Forum, we pointed out that:

- It will serve as the major framework for the Forum in providing advice to the members-states of ECOSOC and the UN agencies, programmes and funds.
- It is a key instrument and tool for raising awareness on indigenous peoples and for monitoring progress on how their rights are protected, respected and fulfilled, and how self-determined development is being achieved.
- It fleshes out and facilitates the operationalization of the human rights-based approach to development as it applies to indigenous peoples.
- It will serve as a guide for States, the UN System, indigenous peoples and civil society in making the theme of the Second Decade of the World's Indigenous People "Partnership for Action and Dignity" a reality.
- As it sets the minimum international standards for the protection and promotion of the rights of indigenous peoples, it will be the framework for redesigning existing and future laws, policies, and programs on indigenous peoples.

Article 42 specifically cites the Forum as one of the UN bodies and agencies which shall "promote respect for the full application of the provisions of this Declaration" and to follow up its

effectiveness. In its 2008 pre-sessional meeting in Spain, the Forum recommended that a chamber be set up to hear reports on the implementation of the Declaration during its sessions.

Self-determined Development and UNDRIP

As was stated earlier, the key elements of indigenous peoples' self-determined development are already found in ILO Convention No. 169 and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Each and every article of the Declaration was carefully crafted to respond to the complaints brought by indigenous representatives before the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations. The experts listened to reports on the situation of indigenous peoples, and on the basis of these reports, determined which rights were violated. They then crafted specific articles to respond to a cluster of issues.

The main principles which underpin UNDRIP are non-discrimination and equality, and the foundational right is the right of self-determination. There is a need to highlight the preamble, which further elaborates self-determined development. The preamble:

- recognizes that the historic injustices we suffered, through colonization and dispossession of our lands, territories and resources, have prevented us from exercising our right to development,
- acknowledges the urgent need to respect and promote our inherent rights, which derive from our cultures, economic, social and political structures, our histories and worldviews and our rights to our lands, territories and resources,
- affirms that our control over our lands, territories and resources and over developments which affect us, will enable us to maintain and strengthen our institutions, cultures and traditions as well as pursue our development according to our needs and aspirations,

- stresses that the imperative to respect our indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices is crucial as these can contribute to the goals of sustainable and equitable development,
- states unequivocally that we possess collective rights which are indispensable for our existence, wellbeing and integral development as peoples.

Harmonious and cooperative relations between States and indigenous peoples would be strengthened if the rights contained in this Declaration are recognized. Justice, democracy, respect for human rights, non-discrimination and good faith are the key principles which define this relationship.

The UNDRIP is an acknowledgement that indigenous peoples have not and still do not enjoy the rights afforded to them by International Human Rights Law on an equal and non-discriminatory basis. It does not establish special rights for us but is an instrument that interprets how International Human Rights Law applies to us, as distinct collectivities and as individuals. The arguments we used to convince States are that the articles of the Declaration come from natural law, our histories, our customary laws, existing International Human Rights Law and jurisprudence of the various Treaty Bodies. Some States who voted against it, however, still do not accept respect for customary law established by the Declaration.[64]

The main basis of our claim to our right to development is our right of self-determination (Article 3). From this follows our right to maintain and strengthen our distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions (Art. 5), to be secure in our enjoyment of our own means of subsistence and development, and to engage freely in our traditional and other economic activities (Article 20.1). Should we be deprived of our means of subsistence and development, we are entitled to just and fair redress (Art. 20.2). We have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising our right to development. This includes our right to develop and determine health, housing and other economic and social programmes affecting us, to

be involved in shaping these and, as far as possible, to administer such programmes through our own institutions (Art. 23).

The Declaration states that we cannot be subjected to forced assimilation. Any past, present or future action, which deprives us of our integrity as distinct peoples, dispossesses us of our lands, territories and resources, forcibly assimilates or integrates us, or denigrates our cultural values and integrity should be provided redress by the State (Art. 8).

Integral to the right to development is the right of participation. This is why we fought hard to ensure that our right to free, prior and informed consent is recognized in the Declaration which is affirmed in several articles. We cannot be forcibly removed from our lands and territories and relocated without our free, prior and informed consent (Art. 10).

We have the right to practice and revitalize our traditions and customs, which includes our right to maintain and protect past, present and future manifestations and expressions of our culture. These include our archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies, literature and visual and performing arts. These are considered our cultural, religious, intellectual and spiritual property. If these are taken without our free, prior and informed consent and in violation of our laws, traditions and customs, States should provide redress, which includes restitution jointly developed with us (Art. 11).

The Declaration affirms that we have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop our cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of our sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. We also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop our intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions (Art. 31).

The term "traditional cultural expressions" in this article was not in the original draft, but as UNESCO and WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organization) were already using it, the Saami Council and Tebtebba proposed its inclusion. Tebtebba was also against the use of the term "intellectual property," which was similarly not in the original draft but later agreed to it, being the consensus reached by the indigenous peoples' caucus.

Articles 10, 11 and 31 resemble some provisions of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity and related Conventions, but UNESCO does not go far enough in terms of recognizing our right to free, prior and informed consent and in providing for redress. The Permanent Forum and UNESCO need to conduct a dialogue on these articles so that convergence and mutual strengthening can happen, as many indigenous peoples all over the world are victims of acts of misappropriation of their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property.

The Declaration recognizes that the dignity and diversity of our cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations should be appropriately reflected in education and public information. Effective measures should be taken by States to combat discrimination and prejudice against indigenous peoples and promote tolerance, understanding and good relations between us and the broader society (Art. 15). Since UNESCO is the main body that deals with the development of education and media, it plays a significant role in monitoring how this particular article is implemented.

As far as our rights to our lands, territories and resources are concerned, which are closely interlinked with our right to development, UNDRIP has several articles that cover these, such as Article 26.[65]

We have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of our lands, territories and resources. Our free, prior and informed consent should be obtained by States before approving any project, especially as it relates to the development, use and exploitation of mineral, wa-

ter and other resources. Just and fair redress for activities undertaken without our participation and consent should be provided by States, and effective measures should be taken to mitigate adverse environmental, economic, social, cultural and spiritual impacts (Art. 32). States should respect our right to conserve and protect our environment and the productive capacity of our lands, territories and resources and provide assistance programs for these without discrimination (Art. 29).

All these articles cited describe indigenous peoples' self-determined development. An assessment made by Stamatopoulou to see how cultural rights are addressed in the Declaration as adopted by the Human Rights Council showed that 17 out of the 46 operational articles cover cultural rights[66] (Stamatopoulou, 2007: 67). There is an obvious overlap between cultural rights and right to development in the Declaration, but this is to be expected because for indigenous peoples. culture is development and development is culture.

The fact that UNDRIP contains many articles on cultural rights or cultural integrity is a reflection of the reality that the diverse cultures of most indigenous peoples are being undermined or obliterated by the State or non-state entities like religious bodies, private schools or corporations. In fact, it is almost a miracle that of the remaining 6,000 cultures and languages in the world today, around 4,000 are those of indigenous peoples. Some of these however are under threat of becoming extinct, which all the more makes the Declaration a crucial tool to save what is left of the world's cultural diversity.

Culture as Development and Development as Culture

The UNDRIP contains the basic principles and rights to be implemented if self-determined development is to be achieved. Highlighted earlier were the different articles, which can be considered as the key elements of self-determined development,

but the others cannot be disregarded as these are indivisible and interrelated. The violation of the rights to lands, territories and resources is also a violation of the rights to development and to culture. The culture of indigenous peoples cannot be understood outside of their physical environment, resources and traditional livelihoods.

We may not produce a lot of surplus from our agricultural production but our wellbeing as distinct peoples is not compromised. From the perspective of the dominant development model, there is no development in our communities because our contribution to the gross national product (GNP) is insignificant.

The imperative to ensure that our cultures and traditions remain alive, our community unity and solidarity is strengthened, our subsistence is guaranteed, and our indigenous governance systems are in place, requires us then to fight for our basic human rights which include civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights. We can easily grasp the concepts of inalienability, indivisibility and interrelatedness of human rights because of this.

The earlier sections showed that the processes towards elaborating the right to development and cultural rights did not necessarily coincide. The convergence came about mainly through indigenous peoples' engagements and interventions with the various UN mechanisms and processes. Thus, we can claim that we contributed significantly in promoting the present trend, which considers culture and development as two sides of the same coin. This perspective, informed by indigenous peoples' formal complaints, ILO Convention 169 provisions and UNDRIP, has been expounded in the jurisprudence of Treaty Bodies. The concept of self-determined development precisely captures the indivisibility of these two sets of rights (right to culture and right to development).

As the issues of cultural diversity and development with culture became more visible, other UN programmes and multilateral bodies developed their own contributions to the discourse. The UNDP's "Policy of Engagement with Indigenous Peoples"

(2001) recognized the value of indigenous peoples' cultures and knowledge for sustainable development.

"...Indigenous cultures comprise a heritage of diverse knowledge and ideas that is a resource for the whole world. As UNDP pursues sustainable human development, attention has beenplaced on indigenous peoples largely owing to their sustainable development practices. This has led to an interest in indigenous peoples' ways of life, their cultures, sciences, land and resource management, governance, political and justice systems, knowledge and healing practices. Recognition of indigenous peoples' assets and traditional knowledge (such as terrestrial and marine ecosystems, naturally occurring medicines from plants and insects, cultivated plant varieties, and animal husbandry) can be helpful to national and international development. Furthermore, indigenous peoples' continued existence is a testimony to the sustainability and viability of indigenous economic production systems, and social and governance practices that should be supported and enhanced, and most importantly, incorporated into mainstream development practices."

The UNDP theme for its 2004 Human Development Report in 2004, "Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World," aimed to counter the Huntington view that the problems of the world today are rooted in the clash of civilizations or cultures.[67] Because this was done post-September 9/11, the HDR team found it timely to deal with this issue. The UNDP report elucidated on why it is crucial that the issue of culture be integrated in mainstream development thinking and practice. It shows that democracy and economic growth have proven to be inadequate to bring about a more peaceful and prosperous world. Developing and implementing multicultural policies which recognize and respect differences in ethnicity, religion and cultures and promote diversity and cultural freedoms are instead the paths to take for a more peaceful and secure world.

The World Bank Operational Policy 4.10 on Indigenous
Peoples (2005), the Inter-American Development Bank
Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples and Strategy
for Indigenous Development (2006) and Asian Devel-
opment Bank Policy on Indigenous Peoples (1998) all
contain provisions which acknowledge that indigenous
peoples' identities and cultures are linked to their ances-
tral lands and territories and the natural resources they
depend on. The risks and vulnerabilities they suffer when
so-called development projects are brought to their com-
munities, even without their consent, compelled these
different bodies to develop safeguard policies on indig-
enous peoples. The IADB Strategy Paper went to the
extent of defining development with identity:

> ...refers to a process that includes strengthening of
> indigenous peoples, harmony and sustained inter-
> action with their environment, sound management
> of natural resources and territories, the creation and
> exercise of authority, and respect for the rights and
> values of indigenous peoples, including cultural,
> economic, social and institutional rights, in accor-
> dance with their worldview and governance. This is
> a concept based on the principles of equity,
> interconnectedness, reciprocity and solidarity. It
> seeks to consolidate the conditions in which indig-
> enous peoples can thrive and grow in harmony with
> their surroundings by capitalizing on the potential
> of their cultural, natural, and social assets, according
> to their priorities.

Indigenous peoples have to be made aware of the existence
of these policies and be equipped to use them, as these banks
fund development projects in indigenous territories.

UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and Role in Self-determined Development

To further expand the spaces where indigenous peoples' rights and development can be addressed, some indigenous leaders who met at a summit organized by Rigoberta Menchu Tum in Chimaltenango, Guatemala in 1992 to discuss the future of indigenous peoples, proposed an International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1994-2004) and the establishment of a permanent forum on indigenous peoples.

We strategized on how to get this idea within the UN, and the immediate prospect was the then forthcoming Vienna World Conference on Human Rights. We succeeded in getting the Conference to adopt some of these ideas, and these became an integral part of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action[68] in which Sates agreed:

- To ensure the full and free participation of indigenous people in all aspects of society;
- To recommend to the General Assembly that an International Decade of the World's Indigenous People be proclaimed;
- To consider the establishment of a permanent forum for indigenous peoples in the UN System.

The most significant achievement of the Decade (1994-2004) was the establishment of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. Again, indigenous peoples lobbied hard for it until ECOSOC Resolution 2000/22, which provided for its setting up, was adopted in 2000. In its six years of existence, the Forum has raised the visibility of indigenous peoples and their issues within the UN system in an unprecedented manner. Its mandate is to provide expert advice and recommendations to the ECOSOC and UN programmes, agencies and funds on indigenous issues in the areas of culture and economic and social development, environment, education, health and human rights. Aside from providing advice it promotes coordination and integration of activities relating to indigenous peoples' issues within the UN

system as well as raise awareness and disseminate information on these.

The first Session in 2002 strongly recommended the establishment of a Secretariat unit for the Forum, which the 54 member-states of ECOSOC heeded. Funded by the UN regular budget, the Secretariat is under the Department of Social and Economic Affairs (DESA) of the Division for Social Policy and Development.

As a subsidiary body of ECOSOC, the Forum is well placed to address indigenous peoples' self-determined development, given its mandate. Its regular sessions and expert workshops serve as spaces where concrete proposals on how to strengthen indigenous peoples' self-determined development are debated and agreed upon. As early as its first session, indigenous peoples asserted that the human rights based-approach to development should be considered as the framework in addressing their issues. They also strongly recommended for governments and the UN system to initiate disaggregated data collection to better know the real picture of the situation of indigenous peoples. Another was for the same actors to ensure that the right of indigenous peoples to have their free, prior and informed consent be respected.

The 4th and 5th Sessions of the Forum had the Millennium Development Goals as the special theme. The Inter-Agency Support Group on Indigenous Issues prepared reports on MDGs and Indigenous Peoples. The report on Indigenous Peoples and MDGs 1 and 2,[69] which this writer authored as the special rapporteur, noted that achievement of the MDGs can lead to further poverty or marginalization of indigenous peoples. This is especially so when the State undertakes poverty alleviation programs that are geared towards expanding lands meant for monocrop agricultural plantations. This happened among pastoralists of Kenya and Tanzania when their pasture lands were fenced off by the governments and given to farmers to plant agricultural crops for the market. The same occurred in Vietnam where highland indigenous peoples were displaced by lowlanders subsi-

dized by the government to set up coffee plantations in the highlands. While Vietnam reported that it achieved its goal of poverty alleviation, the impoverishment of the indigenous peoples as a consequence was not cited at all.

In 2006 an International Expert Group Meeting on MDGs, Indigenous Participation and Good Governance was held that specifically stressed "...the need to ensure effective participation of indigenous peoples in all stages of the development cycle, such as obtaining free, prior and informed consent; equitable benefit-sharing schemes; and dispute resolution mechanisms. Strong indigenous governance structures provide the basis for indigenous communities to deal with the changes imposed by modernization and globalization without further disempowerment and marginalization."[70]

Another important workshop relevant to the subject of this paper is the International TechnicalWorkshop on Indigenous Traditional Knowledge (2006). The experts defined indigenous traditional knowledge as the complex bodies and systems of knowledge, know-how, practices and cultural expressions that have been and are maintained, used and developed by peoples, which do not only sustain the daily life but is also a key element in maintaining their identities and building their self-determination. They recognized that "this issue raises a range of policy, procedural, conceptual, political and practical challenges in a wide variety of areas, such as conservation of biological diversity, intellectual property, trade negotiations, agricultural policies, education, environment, science, climate change, sustainable development, private sector activities, health, cultural policies, gender and human rights." These challenges are before governments, the UN system, other intergovernmental bodies and indigenous peoples, themselves.

Data Disaggregation on Indigenous Peoples

To respond to the recommendation for data disaggregation, the Forum organized its first expert-workshop in 2004[71] which recommended that agencies and states undertake projects on data disaggregation on indigenous peoples. Data disaggregation is a crucial pillar of self-determined development because if data were lacking or misrepresent indigenous peoples' realities, then the basis for establishing priorities and programs would be wrong or inaccurate. Thus, the first step is the establishment of a clearer picture of the situation of indigenous peoples from the local to the national level. This includes, among others, statistics on how many they are, where they are found, what their traditional sources of livelihood are and how these are dealt with by the governments, what their state of wellbeing or poverty is, whether they still speak their mother tongue and how their cultural rights are being respected.

The UN Statistics Division stated in the workshop "that the collection of reliable data would allow judgments to be made about the effectiveness of development programmes that had a direct impact on the quality of life of the world's indigenous peoples."[72]

Any process of data disaggregation however should ensure not only the full, active and meaningful participation of indigenous peoples at all stages of data collection, but also the development and use of indicators that are of particular significance to them, such as access to territories (land and waters) and to resources, participation in decision-making, as well as issues of discrimination or exclusion in the areas of economic, social and cultural rights. Data gathered should help to detect and measure discrimination and exclusion of indigenous peoples individually and collectively. Data collection should be culturally specific and sensitive and relevant to problems identified by indigenous peoples.

This remains a major challenge, as data collection is both a political and logistical exercise. In most cases, governments do

not like to allot resources as it is not considered a priority. Some governments are reluctant to confront the fact that the impoverishment of indigenous peoples is usually the result of discriminatory state laws and projects. Others consciously do not collect disaggregated data on ethnic groups because they believe that differentiating between groups might lead to more conflicts. Richer countries, however, like Canada, Australia and New Zealand and some others in Latin America (e.g., Mexico, Ecuador) have gone into data disaggregation.

The same workshop reiterated that if the human rights-based approach to development is applied to indigenous peoples, rights-based indicators relevant to them should be developed. Such indicators will measure the extent of their access and control of lands, territories and resources, participation in decision making, and the nature and forms of discrimination or exclusion in areas of economic, social and cultural rights.

The Forum has responded to the call for developing indigenous-sensitive indicators. Intergovernmental organizations, funds and programmes have been asked to launch a coordinated data collection exercise in one or more countries to develop a common approach and to maximize the impact of development assistance for indigenous peoples.

Free, Prior and Informed Consent

Free, prior and informed consent was another major challenge identified by indigenous representatives in all the first three sessions of the Permanent Forum. The first session recommended that a working group on free, prior, informed consent be established to look into existing policies of UN agencies, programmes and funds related to this and to map out ways to operationalize it. This working group was not established, but an expert workshop on free, prior and informed consent, as recommended in the 2004 session,[73] was held in 2005. The expert workshop was entitled "International Workshop on Methodologies regarding Free, Prior and Informed Consent and Indigenous Peoples," as

the Forum was quite cautious in addressing this issue, dealing with it more as a question of methodology than an issue of rights. While there is a debate on whether it is a right or just an emerging principle, indigenous experts did not agree to the dilution of FPIC as a right.

Their view is that free, prior and informed consent is not only a procedure to be elaborated, but a right associated with indigenous peoples' right to self-determination, treaties and right to lands, territories and resources. Some have conceded that it may not be a stand-alone right but a procedural right which advances the rights mentioned earlier. A representative of the Millennium Campaign office stressed that FPIC, as a principle and a practice, is essential in the work to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. As a tendency existed to regard the MDGs outside of the human rights framework, the workshop reminded participants that MDGs be viewed within the context of the Millennium Declaration (Gen. Assembly Resolution 55/2), which clearly advocates respect for fundamental rights of which free, prior and informed consent is a key component.

Various UN agencies and programmes, which include UNDP, ILO, IFAD and UNICEF, stated that FPIC is embedded in their practice and strategic frameworks. Other multilateral bodies, like the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank, used the phrase free, prior and informed consultation with broad community support, which to them is similar to free, prior and informed consent.

The workshop called on governments and UN agencies and programmes to replicate good practices in obtaining the free, prior and informed consent of indigenous peoples. One of these is the work of RAIPON (Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North), which succeeded in stopping the Gazprom gas exploration project after its ethnologic studies concluded that it would adversely impact on the Yamal-Nenetz Autonomous District.

The workshop further recommended that the Forum should encourage all relevant UN bodies, mechanisms and intergov-

ernmental organizations, governments and indigenous peoples to contribute in further policy development and operationalization of FPIC as a rights-based approach to development. It also called on the Inter-Agency Support Group on Indigenous Issues to develop a handbook on methodologies and elements of a common understanding on FPIC for UN country teams. This can help them in their work on the MDGs, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) and Common Country Assessment/UN Development Assistance Framework (CCA-UNDAF).

Indicators of Well-being, Sustainability and Poverty for Indigenous Peoples

To follow up on the recommendation for indigenous-sensitive, rights-based indicators which emerged from its earlier sessions, the Forum, with financial support from IFAD, undertook a series of activities on indicators between 2006 and 2007. It was done in coordination with a similar project of the International Indigenous Peoples' Forum on Biodiversity (IIFB) Working Group on Indicators within the Convention on Biological Diversity.[74] A series of regional and workshop-seminars were held in Latin America, Africa, Asia and North America, and thematic workshops on customary sustainable use of resources and cultural indicators of food sovereignty. A global workshop organized by IIFB WG on Indicators consolidated the results of the regional and thematic workshops with focus on CBD related indicators.

The objectives of the workshops were:

- To identify gaps in existing indicators at the global, regional and national levels that assess the situation of indigenous peoples and have an impact on policy making, governance, and program development, including a gender perspective;
- To examine work being done to improve indicators in

order that they take into account indigenous peoples and their concerns, and assess them according to qualitative and quantitative criteria, including a gender perspective;

- To examine linkages between quantitative and qualitative indicators, particularly those that look at processes affecting indigenous peoples;
- To propose core global and regional indicators that address the specific concerns and situations of indigenous peoples, including indigenous women, and can also be used by international financial institutions, the UN system and global and regional intergovernmental organizations.

This project was successful especially because it was driven by indigenous peoples from the outset, with all the regional workshops being led by various indigenous peoples' institutions and organizations. The Permanent Forum's role in coordinating various bodies within IASG, which are involved in indicators work, enhanced the complementation and synergy between them.

What has been achieved so far is the identification of global core themes, issues and sub-core themes that should be the starting point for developing indicators. Indicators were also identified for the CBD and MDG targets, which can be used to measure their progress among indigenous peoples. The global core themes and issues agreed upon are the following:[75]

1) security of rights to territories, lands and natural resources;
2) integrity of indigenous cultural heritage;
3) respect for identity and non-discrimination;
4) culturally-appropriate education;
5) fate control or self-determination;
6) full, informed and effective participation;
7) health;
8) access to infrastructure and basic services;
9) extent of external threats;

10) material wellbeing;

11) gender; and

12) demographic pattern of indigenous peoples.

The proposed indicators for the Convention on Biological Diversity are contained in a document that has been produced as a conference room paper for COP7. On the other hand, the work on MDG indicators of indigenous peoples' wellbeing has a long way to go. Overall the indicators still need to be tested and to be reduced to a manageable number that can be used by governments, UN bodies and indigenous peoples. The final global composite report of this process, which is also a document of the 7th Session, contains the summary of the various regional and thematic workshops as well as the final result of the global workshop.[76]

Aside from the work mentioned earlier, the Forum has tackled the issues of language and education, especially in its 3rd Session which heard the results of studies on indigenous languages and recommendations on education, including the need for bilingual and inter-cultural education. The Forum has recommended that programs should be undertaken with the aim of making indigenous students appreciate, understand and respect indigenous histories, identities and cultures. Language is a key aspect of indigenous culture, identity and development, and UNESCO succeeded in making 2008 the International Year of Languages. Since 4,000 of the remaining 6,000 languages are spoken by indigenous peoples, our participation should be ensured in the various activities related to the year and beyond. The Forum's expert-workshop in 2008, which also focused on indigenous languages, worked towards concrete actions to eliminate discrimination against use of indigenous languages, support programs to revitalize and rescue indigenous languages. It also planned for a world conference on linguistic diversity, indigenous languages, identity and education that was held in January 2008 and issued a final report.[77]

The 6th Session of the Forum adopted as its special theme "Territories, lands and natural resources" that has been high in

the priorities of indigenous peoples since the Forum was established. Reiterating their fundamental importance to indigenous peoples, the session noted these "...constitute the basis of their life, existence and economic livelihood, and are the sources of their spiritual, cultural and socialidentity."[78] It also firmly established the linkage between lands, territories and resources and the protection of traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions against misappropriation and misuse. It further recommended that these two clusters of issues should not be addressed in isolation from each other.

The theme of the 7th Session was "Climate Change, bio-cultural diversity and livelihoods: the stewardship of indigenous peoples and new challenges," which provided the indigenous peoples, UN programmes, agencies and funds, States and NGOs and other multilateral bodies the opportunity to look more deeply at the challenges posed by climate change, especially in relation to the dominant development model that is now proven to be very unsustainable, inequitable and its major cause.

Key Elements of Self-determined Development or Development with Identity and Culture

From the various processes, mechanisms and instruments discussed earlier, we can capture the key elements of indigenous peoples' self-determined development. It has to be reiterated that the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is the basic foundation upon which self-determined development is based. Therefore, the achievement of this kind of development is contingent upon the implementation of the UNDRIP.

The key elements of self-determined development can be summarized as follows:

- Promote principles of equity, interconnectedness, reciprocity, collectivity and community solidarity.

- Strengthen, protect and enhance distinct cultural institutions, indigenous philosophies and worldviews, customary laws and governance systems and protect traditional knowledge.
- Respect and promote right to self-determination (right to determine political status and pursue freely economic, social and cultural development).
- Start from the indigenous concepts and indicators of wellbeing.
- Strengthen indigenous practices which are in harmony with nature and which aim for conservation of resources for future generations.
- Respect and protect right to lands, territories and resources, and ensure control, ownership and access to these.
- Equality, non-discrimination and right to political participation in all decision-making bodies underpin all laws, policies, programmes and projects.
- Respect and promote cultural rights, right to identity and right to development.
- Promote indigenous peoples' political participation in governance structures and other decision-making processes.
- Reinforce traditional livelihoods of indigenous peoples which are ecologically sustainable and more equitable.
- Demand-driven: fully involve indigenous peoples in identifying, designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating development programmes, policies or projects.
- Enhance economic, social, political, cultural and spiritual wellbeing and diversity and develop indicators for monitoring progress.
- Promote use of mother tongue, establish bilingual and intercultural education.
- Revitalize cultural traditions and customs consistent with international human rights.

- Promote and support integrated local development projects that ensure the leadership role played by indigenous organizations and communities in project conceptualization, participatory planning, decentralized execution and local capacity building.
- Protect indigenous peoples intellectual, cultural, religious and spiritual property and provide redress for misappropriation.
- Provide adequate social services adapted to the sociocultural and linguistic characteristics of indigenous peoples.
- Respect and operationalize free, prior and informed consent.
- Ensure the balance between subsistence economies, market economy and the interface between these.
- Develop and use culturally appropriate and environmentally sustainable technologies.
- Reinforce resilience and adaptation processes of indigenous peoples.

Conclusion

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, ILO Convention No. 169, Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, Declaration and Programme of Action of the Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People; Special Rapporteur on the Situation on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous People; UNESCO Declarations and Conventions on culture; and the policies on indigenous peoples by multilateral financial institutions and UN programmes—all these are major developments and gains that, if used well, will promote significantly the framework and practice of self-determined development.

The UNDRIP provides the basic foundation and framework

of indigenous peoples' self-determined development. Along with ILO Convention 169, it can further be strengthened by the human rights-based approach to development and the ecosystem approach. The Special Rapporteur, in a watchdog role, can help identify the obstacles and barriers to self-determined development, support indigenous peoples' efforts to address these barriers, and reinforce the development of the concept. In countries which have adopted ILO Convention 169, indigenous peoples can use it to pursue their aspirations for such development.

UNESCO has adopted many Conventions that refer to indigenous peoples' rights to culture, education and language. But much work has to be done to educate and train indigenous peoples about these Conventions and how to use them to protect their cultural rights and right to development. They have to understand and be able to use the mechanisms built into these Conventions to get State-parties to comply with their obligations. The mechanism of inter-cultural dialogue, for instance, should be used more widely not only by UNESCO but all other UN bodies and States. Trainings should popularize it to make it a standard practice in schools and other institutions.

The UNDRIP has clearly spelled out all the rights which need to be protected, respected and fulfilled to ensure the realization and future of self-determined development. The Permanent Forum as well as UN bodies, agencies and funds at the global and state level are expected to ensure the Declaration's full and effective implementation (Articles 41 and 42). The States are the main duty-bearers to implement this Declaration, thus the UN System and the international community should help to provide technical and financial assistance to governments to enable them to fulfil their duty.

However, it must be made clear that indigenous peoples must be involved in the decisions made by States on how to implement UNDRIP. An Expert Workshop on how the Permanent Forum can implement its human rights mandate[79] has recommended that under UNDRIP Article 42, the Forum should integrate the Declaration into its recommendations in its six man-

dated areas, its special themes as well as ongoing themes and priorities. The experts also proposed the creation of a Forum Committee on UNDRIP and for the Forum to "...promote a constructive dialogue with Governments on the challenges, achievements and priorities that indigenous issues require in each country" with the participation of indigenous organizations.

The future is bright for the realization of self-determined development for indigenous peoples. In spite of the great threats and obstacles we face from modernization and globalization, there are still reasons to be optimistic. These include the growing strength and relentlessness of local, national, regional and global indigenous peoples' movements; the gains (e.g., laws, policies, UNDRIP, UNPFII, among others) they have achieved on all levels and the links they have established with other social and people's movements; the increased participation of indigenous leaders in political decision making bodies; the support provided by UN bodies, agencies and funds, intergovernmental bodies and bilateral donors; and the show of good will by States who understand that respecting indigenous peoples' rights is the solution, not the problem, to many of the global crises we confront today.

Endnotes

[1] Demetrio Cojti Cuxil, "The Theory and Practice of Indigenous Development," Indigenous Development: Poverty Democracy and Sustainability, eds. D. Iturralde and E. Krotz, (Washington D.C.: IDB, 1996) 48.

[2] These dominant economic and political theories give premium to the role of the market/private sector to generate wealth which will achieve development. The state is consigned to be a legislator and guarantor of liberalized trade and financial markets which can operate unhindered on a global or transnational scale. This led to the creation of laws which liberalized the entry of foreign investments and corporations into indigenous peoples' territories leading to further disenfranchisement of indigenous peoples of their lands. Thus, even if there are national laws put in

place to recognize indigenous rights to lands, there are other conflicting laws and trade agreements made by governments which undermine the implementation of these. <www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii> states: "Indigenous peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

[3] Article 3 of the UNDECRIP which is contained in UN Doc. A/Res/ 6/295 (download from <www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii>) states: "Indigenous peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

[4] The cultural rights cited in the Declaration are as follows; Art. 2. right to be free from any kind of discrimination; Art. 3 right of self-determination; Art. 5. right to maintain and strengthen distinct cultural institutions; Art. 7. collective right to live as distinct people. Art.8. right not to be subjected to forced assimilation; Art.9. right to belong to an indigenous community or nation; Art. 11. right to practice and revitalize cultural traditions and to receive redress for cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken with their free, prior and informed consent; Art. 12. right to manifest, practice, development and teach spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; Art. 13. right to revitalize and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies; Art. 14. right to establish and control their education systems and institutions; Art.15. right to have the dignity and diversity of their cultures reflected in all forms of education and public information; Art. 16. equal access to all forms of non-indigenous media; Art. 24. right to traditional medicines and to maintain their health practices; Art. 31. right to maintain, control and protect their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions; Art. 33. right to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions; Art. 34. right to their distinctive customs, spirituality, traditions, procedures and practices, judicial systems or customs; Art. 36. right to maintain and develop contact, relations and cooperation across borders.

[5] These include various instruments which compose International Human Rights Law (e.g., UN Human Rights Declaration, International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, Convention on the Rights of the Child, CEDAW, etc; the jurisprudence which emerged from the Treaty Bodies and other regional human rights bodies, etc.); Multilateral Environmental Agreements (CBD, UNFCCC, etc.), instruments developed by other UN agen-

cies like UNESCO and ILO, the decisions and recommendations of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, among others. The UN World Conferences include the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED, 1992), World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993) Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995).

[6] These instruments are the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), the Convention on the Safeguarding of the World's Intangible Heritage (2003) and the Convention on the Protection of the World's Cultural Heritage (1972).

[7] Tebtebba (Indigenous Peoples' International Centre for Policy Research and Education) organized this consultation and dialogue on Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development or Development with Identity. The participants were 20 key indigenous leaders from most regions of the world and 20 representatives of UN agencies, World Bank, CGIAR, NGOs who are supporters of indigenous peoples. This paper has been revised to include some of the discussions in this event.

[8] The resolution which established the Forum is contained in UN Doc. E/Res/2000/22 which is downloadable from <www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii>.

[9] This was adopted by the 61st Session of the UN General Assembly under Resolution 61/295 on Sept. 13, 2007. The full text is contained in Doc. A/Res/61/295. This can be downloaded from <www.tebtebba.org>.

[10] For more information on the work on indicators please go to the website of the Forum: <www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii>. The global composite report which consolidates what has been achieved in the various regional and thematic workshops can be found in the documents of the 7th Session. This is Document E/C.19/2008/9.

[11] This can be downloaded in the Forum's website.

[12] Other policies on indigenous peoples are the European Union, Council Resolution on Indigenous Peoples within the framework of the Development Cooperation of the Community and Members States, 1998; DANIDA Danish Strategy for Support to Indigenous Peoples, 1994; Germany, Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development with Indigenous Peoples of Latin America, 1996; Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indigenous Peoples in the Netherlands, Foreign Policy and Development Cooperation, 1993; Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, Swiss Action for Indigenous Peoples, 1998, Spanish Agency for Development Cooperation (AECI) Spanish Strategy for Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples 1997 and 2007; PAHO, Strategic orientations for the Implementation of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas Initiative, 1997; World Commission on Dams, Dams and De-

velopment, 2000; Extractive Industries Review, 2001.

[13] Gustavo Esteva, "Development," The Development Dictionary, Wolfgang Sachs, ed. (London: Zed Books: 1995) 7.

[14] Quoted from Arturo Escobar, Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World. (New Jersey. Princeton University Press; 1995 4.

[15] IWGIA, 1991: 173.

[16] Tauli-Corpuz and Carino, 2004: 8.

[17] Diego Iturralde and Krotz: 1996: 14.

[18] Pirttijärvi, 1999: 13.

[19] Anaya, 2004: 54.

[20] Mario Blaser, Harvey Feit and Glenn McRae, eds. In the Way of Development; Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects and Globalization. (London. Zed Books. 2004).

[21] For a full appreciation of what is contained in Convention No. 169 and also a guide on how to use this, visit <www.ilo.org/public/english/ standards/norm/egalite/itpp/convention/index.htm>.

[22] Sachs, 1995: 15.

[23] Escobar, 1995: 83.

[24] Iqbal, 2007: 15.

[25] The Like-Minded Group (LMG) members are Algeria, Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Cuba, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Vietnam.

[26] Marks, 2004: 141.

[27] A resolution on the NIEO (Res. 3201 - (S-V1) together with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (3281 (XX1X)).

[28] Gready and Ensor, 2005: 18.

[29] The US has consistently objected to the concept of right to development right from the start. Upon the establishment of the Drafting Group in l981 the US already stated the reasons why it objects to the Right to Development Declaration. This should not be used to revive the NIEO; should not create any obligation for transfer of resources (aid is a sovereign decision of countries); and it should not establish any legally binding obligations.

[30] What this report identified as obstacles to human rights are 'the concentration of economic and political power in most industrialized countries; non democratic decision making processes of international economic, financial and trade institutions; structural inequalities in international relations between countries; existing trade and financial arrangements dictated by a small number of countries for their own benefit; international development strategies which have been oriented merely towards economic growth and financial considerations at the expense of

human rights violations."

[31] See Barsh, 1990:4-6. The report says that fundamental to democratic participation is the right of individuals, groups and peoples to make decisions collectively and to choose their representative organizations, and freedom of democratic actions without interference; a fair distribution of economic and political power among all sectors of society; genuine ownership or control of productive resourcesuch as land, financial capital and technology; representativity and accountability of decision-making bodies, mobilization of human and natural resources and combating inequalities, discrimination, poverty and exclusion.

[32] See Doc. A/55/306, 17 August 2000, Right to Development, Note by the Secretary General. p. 3.

[33] Sengupta, 2000:1-2.

[34] Paragraph 10; Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the UN World Conference on Human Rights, June 25, 1993.

[35] In the Amazon part of the South America the COICA was established as a regional body; in the United States, the American Indian Movement; in Asia, the Asia Indigenous Peoples' Pact and the Asia Indigenous Women's Network.

[36] U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Study of the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations, U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7 & Adds. 1-4 (1986).

[37] Treaty Council News, 1977:13-14.

[38] Anaya, 2004:63.

[39] Declaration of San Jose, UNESCO Latin American Conference, Dec. 11, 1981, paras 2, 3, UNESCO Doc. FS82/WF.32 (1982).

[40] Some of these were the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED, 1992), UN Conference on Population and Development (Cairo Conference, 1993), World Conference on Human Rights (1993, Vienna Conference), Fourth World Conference on Women (1995, Beijing Conference).

[41] These include the Anti-Slavery Society, International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Survival International, Cultural Survival.

[42] What are included as part of International Human Rights Law are the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Convention on the Rights of the Child.

[43] Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

Article 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the rights of every one;
    a) To take part in cultural life;
    b) To enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications;
    c) To benefit from the protection of moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

[44] MacKay, 2000: 3.

[45] MacKay, 2000: 15.

[46] "General Recommendation XX111 Concerning the Rights of Minorities," 50th Session, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.5 (1994), para 7.

[47] Among these are the 1983 Decision of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights on Nicaragua on the situation of a segment of the Nicaraguan Population of Miskito Origin (O.A.S. Doc. OEA/Ser L/V/ 11.62 , doc. 10. rev.3 (1983); IACHR decision on the Yanomami of Brazil which viewed the incursions into their ancestral lands as threats not only to the Yanomami's well-being but also to their culture and traditions. The Ominayak v. Canada case handled by the Human Rights Committee stated that the cultural rights guaranteed in Art. 27 included economic and social activities which sustained the Lubicon Lake Band of the Cree Indians. The ruling stated that Canada violated its obligation to the Covenant and Optional Protocol by allowing the provincial government of Alberta to grant leases for oil and gas exploration and for timber development in the ancestral territory of said peoples. (Ominayak, Chief of the Lubicon Lake Band v. Canada. Communication No. 267/1984, Report of the Human Rights Committee, U.N. GOAR, 45th Sess.,Supp No. 40, Vol. 2 at 1, U.N. Doc. A/45/40 Annex 9 (A) 1990).

[48] Anaya, 2004: 135.

[49] CERD, General Recommendation XX111: Indigenous Peoples, U.N. Doc CERD/C.51/misc 13/Rev 4 (1997) para. 4. [CERD General

Recommendation on Indigenous Peoples].

⁵⁰ This was organized by UNESCO and the Organization of African Union (OAU).

⁵¹The full Declaration and its Action Plan can be downloaded from <unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf>.

⁵² Ibid., p. 15. Main lines of an Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity.

⁵³ Stamatopoulou, 2007:78.

⁵⁴ This Convention is downloadable at <unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001429/142919e.pdf>.

⁵⁵ Stamatopoulou, 2007:80.

⁵⁶ Ten Keys to the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Doc. CLT/CEI/DCE/2007/P1/32.

⁵⁷ This is Submission to CERD regarding the "Discrimination against the Subanon of Mt. Canatuan, Siocon Zamboanga del Norte, Philippines in the context of large-scale gold mining in their ancestral domain." The CERD heard this complaint at its 71st Session from 30 July - 17 August 2007.

⁵⁸ UNESCO created in 1998 an international distinction entitled the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. The current list of 90 masterpieces includes several expressions of indigenous peoples. Some of these are the Oral Heritage and Cultural Manifestations of the Zápara People (Ecuador/Peru), Graphic and Oral Traditions of the Wajapi (Brazil). Oral Tradition of the Aka Pygmies (Central African Republic), Hudhud Chants of the Ifugao (Philippines).

⁵⁹ In a consultation in Banaue, Ifugao in 2004 under the FAO GIAHS project, one of my colleagues, an Ifugao herself, reported that the Ifugao farmers who attended complained about the UN proclamation on their Hudhud, saying it might be the same experience they had with the Declaration of the Banaue Rice Terraces as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Millions of pesos were allotted for this project but the farmers who wanted to have their ricefields stone-terraced with these funds did not get what they want, as what was prioritized by the government were viewing decks. They also mentioned that they had not been informed of the declaration of the Hudhud as a masterpiece.

⁶⁰ Otilia Lux de Cojti was an expert of the Permanent Forum (2002-2007) and she is the representative of the Government of Guatemala to UNESCO.

⁶¹ The introductory sentence in every report made by the Working Group states; "By resolution 1995/32 of 3 March 1995, the Commission on Human Rights decided to establish an open-ended intersessional working group of the Commission on Human Rights with the sole purpose of

elaborating a draft declaration, considering the draft contained in the annex to resolution 1994/45 of 26 August 1994 of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (now the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights) entitled "Draft United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples" for consideration and adoption by the General Assembly within the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People. This decision was endorsed by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1995/32 of 25 July 1995.

[62] This Declaration contains 24 preambular paragraphs and 46 operational articles. To see the final text adopted and the record of who voted yes, no, abstained and who were absent one can go to these websites: <www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii> or <www.tebtebba.org>.

[63] The full text of my Statement is found in www.tebtebba.org and <www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii>.

[64] Before the adoption of the Declaration, Australia stated it was concerned that the Declaration placed indigenous customary law in a superior position to national law. Customary law was not "law" in the sense that modern democracies used the term, but was based on culture and tradition.

[65] 1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired.

2. Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired.

3. States shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources. Such recognition shall be conducted with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned.

Canada still voted against the Declaration and even cited this specific article as one of its problems as it will affect ongoing land claims in Canada.

Article 26 is particularly special and significant for me because I was one of the indigenous representatives who sat with the delegation of Canada to elaborate on it in the last years of the Working Group on the Draft Declaration. We finally agreed on the cited text which was carried in the final text.

[66] Stamatopoulou identified the following articles; Articles 2, 3, 5. 7 – 9; 11-16; 24, 31, 33. 34, 36. The contents of these Articles are contained in footnote #3.

[67] I was a member of the Advisory Panel of this HDR issue and participated in the discussions on the role of culture in development, the running theme of this issue.

[68] UN Doc A/CONF/157/24.

[69] See E/C.19/2005/4/Add.13 <www.un.org/esa/socdev/session_fourth>.

[70] See E/C.19/2006/7 <www.un.org/esa/socdev/session_fifth>.

[71] See the report of the Second Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues E/2003/43. p.7.

[72] E/C/19/2004/2:4.

[73] See report of the Third Session, E/2004/43. p.6.

[74] The IIFB Working Group on Indicators' main purpose is to respond to the immediate need to identify and test indicators relevant for the implementation of the CBD Strategic Plan and its framework for monitoring the implementation of the Convention and achievement of the 2010 Biodiversity target.

[75] See Doc. E/C.19/2008/9 which can be downloaded from <www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/session_seventh.html#documents>.

[76] Ibid.

[77] See Doc. E/C.19/2008/3: download from <www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/session_seventh.html#documents>.

[78] See Doc E/2007/43:2.

2

*Indigeneity: The Heart of Development with Culture and Identity**

by Jeannette C. Armstrong

The focus I provide is to outline the deeper fundamental truth regarding "Indigenous" peoples. Visiting this deeper truth gives an opportunity to locate my discussion around the broader issue of identity and culture for the discussion on the concept of development with identity and culture. I engage in this dialogue from a perspective expressed out of my own lived experience of "indigeneity" as a Syilx Okanagan person. From within that perspective, I provide comments on issues related to identity and indigenous peoples with a focus on identity and culture from within my experience as one of the founders and director of an Indigenous Institute for Aboriginal Adults.

Perhaps a distinction in my use of the term "Indigenous" is an appropriate place to situate my comments. At an earlier decade, UNESCO Director General Frederico Mayor defined indigenous knowledge as "…an immense knowledge of their environment, based on centuries of living close to nature" (Henderson, 2000). Paula Gunn Allen, a Native American writer, provides greater clarity in her description of that relationship in her statement that:

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* This was a presentation made at the International Expert Group Meeting on Indigenous Peoples: Development with Culture and Identity, Articles 3 and 32 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in New York, on 12-14 January 2010.

"The land…is not the ever-present 'Other' which sup-
plies us with a sense of 'I.' It is rather a part of our
being…It is ourselves…it not a matter of being 'close to
nature' (Henderson, 409). Melissa Nelson, in the intro-
duction of *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings
for a Sustainable Future*, states, 'In this sense, our bio-
logical and psychological space is a communal ground,
a commons…we cannot be separated from these places.
The bones and blood of our ancestors have become the
soil, the soil grows our food, the food nourishes our bod-
ies, and we become one, literally and metaphorically,
with our homelands and territories' (Nelson, 10 08).

The distinction that I wish to frame is the "indigeneity" that I
experience out on our *tmxwulaxw* or land, gathering its bounty
with my grandchildren and which forms the basis of my knowl-
edge, my experience and therefore my identity and culture, as
expressed through my indigenous language. Through the words
which produce the land's "images" in my mind, in my indig-
enous *Nsyilxcen* language, I "re-construct" being a part of my
"community" on my "land" in the land's images and dynamics.
That "re-construction" includes the physical, psychological and
philosophical dimensions of being.

One of the issues confronting a less biased view of identity
and culture is that definitions of "indigenous" resides in an op-
pressive framework of systemic struggle based in "losses" and
"recoveries" of control over indigenous customs, laws, jurisdic-
tion and tenures through various forms of colonization and im-
perialism. The measures taken to facilitate the process of
unfettering "resources and lands" as well as managing aborigi-
nal "claims," as a process, effectively renders invisible the di-
versity and uniqueness of each indigenous group as a People
and effectively continues to "arrest" the practice of "indigeneity"
in relation to identity and culture. As a consequence, develop-
ment initiatives of indigenous peoples, with, or related to culture
and identity, will be impacted by the various frameworks of op-
pression.

Without the vitality of a unique relationship to their lands in

an *in-situ* or lived experience of it, not only the social institutions and processes underpinning indigenous political, legal and customary practices are lost, but the very basis of "indigenous knowledge" is eroded and lost. As Battiste and Henderson explain in the *Introduction to Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: A Global Challenge,* "We have experienced the colonization of our creations, our ecologies, our minds, and our spirits…Tragically, the struggle has left indigenous peoples' order, knowledge and languages vulnerable and endangered. Indigenous knowledge disappears when indigenous peoples are stripped of their lands, their languages, and their lives" (Battiste, 2004, 11).

Daryl Posey, in his essay *Indigenous Ecological Knowledge*, speaks about the concept of "cultural landscapes" as a "merger between Nature and culture so complete it is impossible to separate the two." He provides a view through a Cherokee person speaking about the cultural loss when indigenous peoples are separated from the land, "For the Cherokee, when a dam floods the land, it also destroys the medicines and the knowledge of the medicines associated with the land" (Mander, 2005, 27). The losses of the lived experience of "indigeneity" as relationship of people to land, is directly accompanied by the massive global loss of living nature.

David Suzuki writes "…in the last century, Homo sapiens has undergone a radical transformation into a new kind of force…For the first time in the 3.8 billion years that life has existed on Earth, one species—humanity—is altering the biological, physical and chemical features of the planet on a geological scale" (Suzuki, 1997, 11). Unbridled "development" in every form has unleashed escalating and compounding problems cumulatively producing a global crisis, both from a humanities perspective in the form of social injustices, as well as from the sciences view of the environment.

Although indigenous peoples living in land-based cultures worldwide remain the most vulnerable to all forms of corporate globalization, all communities and peoples are affected. As Jerry Mander comments in *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples Re-*

sistance to Globalization, "In more ways than one, indigenous issues are the frontier issues of our time. They deal with geographic frontier struggles where the larger, destructive globalization process attempts to suck up the last living domains on the planet—its life forms, its basic resources, its peoples—in the empty cause of short-term wealth accumulation" (Mander, 2005, 28).

One of the compounding factors requiring serious attention in the process of "protecting" indigenous identity and thus their knowledge is also the loss of "indigeneity" internally within indigenous communities. Melissa Nelson characterizes the loss this way "…due to the trauma of colonization, assimilation and extreme poverty amid a capitalistic landscape, many Native Peoples have become 'Americanized' with the same materialism as any one else." The point is that is happening while others in the same communities struggle with maintaining their "indigeneity" in terms of their relationships with the earth and nonhuman relatives, setting in place the conditions for economic disparities, corruption and strife. This is the fate of many indigenous peoples as "the political structures of oppression…become so dominant in the minds of the oppressed peoples that they begin to believe these dominant narratives and internalize the oppression" (Nelson, 2008, 15-16).

Indigenous peoples engaged in the daunting work to articulate and define requirements to protect and sustain their "indigeneity" on their lands in this contemporary world, find a catch 22 situation in that "property rights" tools, structured by industrial economies, actually serve to deconstruct the authority and security of the "collective" authority safeguarding their commons with regard to culture and development. The outcome becomes a treacherous system of "individualization" of ownership and the ability to "capitalize" on collectively developed and collectively held rights. Indigenous rights held in an indigenous framework of traditions, customs and law in all situations are continually thwarted by systemic "oppression."

Darrell Posey and Graham Dutfield point out in *Beyond Intellectual Property: Toward Traditional Resource Rights For In-*

digenous Peoples and Local Communities, "…most govern-ments are dualist (international law cannot be involved in their national courts)…makes it difficult for an Indigenous group to turn knowledge of International law into a strategy to have them implemented in their own country" (Posey, 2000, 118). However, despite all of the faces of colonization, there has been a tremen-dous amount of ongoing and historical resistance on the part of indigenous peoples, expressed in the legacy of their struggles for the "protection" of their rights, their cultures and their liveli-hoods.

Indigenous identity and culture is significant, not just to in-digenous peoples but to the earth as a whole. As Mander suc-cinctly points out, "Indigenous nations of the world sit on much of the planet's remaining natural resource wealth. In itself, this is a testament to the long-term viability of their traditional values, and practices of stewardship, reciprocity, and integration with nature. It also confirms a highly advanced knowledge of how to be in the world; the rules, limits and practices of sustainability" (Mander, 2005, 193). Henderson and Battiste inform, "The first problem in understanding indigenous knowledge from a Eurocentric view is that indigenous knowledge does not fit into the Eurocentric concept of 'culture.' In contrast to colonial tradi-tion, most indigenous scholars choose to view every way of life from two different but complementary perspectives: first, as a manifestation of human knowledge, heritage, and conscious-ness, and second, as a mode of ecological order."

Battiste and Henderson go on to make the important dis-tinction that "Based on our experience, we reject the concept of culture for indigenous knowledge, heritage, and consciousness, and instead connect each indigenous manifestation as part of a particular ecological order" (Battiste, 2000, 34). They add insight to the issue this way, "Survival for Indigenous peoples is more than a question of physical existence; it is an issue of preserving Indigenous knowledge systems in the face of cognitive imperi-alism. It is a global issue of maintaining Indigenous worldviews, languages, and environments. It is a matter of sustaining spiri-tual links with the land" (Henderson, 2000, 12).

Development with identity and culture must be mindful that the practice of indigeneity as a "whole system" is the best real protection for maintaining indigenous identity and knowledge from loss, erosion and exploitation. A "whole system" approach would require protecting all aspects of "indigeneity" by developing protective measures and support structures to maintain, sustain and build on the healthy inter-relationships of people and land within a viable contemporary context.

Many opportunities are available for "collaborations" with indigenous peoples desperately trying to live their indigeneity "in-situ," as well as those "re-indigenizing" through the recovery of practices, customs, the arts and languages in a contemporary context. The act of "collaboration" to develop "whole system" protection and support systems could induce radical shifts in government policy and in the application of development assistance to indigenous peoples. The act of "collaborating" with indigenous peoples, on its own, would produce a transformative shift from a dominant framework of "control" toward instituting new ways of being. Such cooperation would be a crucial starting point of calling all peoples back to "indigeneity" through forging new relationships of "coexistence" in land use practices and structuring new economies as a process of "restoring" indigeneity to peoples and lands.

The "shift" that constructing such mechanisms would require would be tantamount to a pronouncement of justice for indigenous peoples as well as for all peoples. As the late John Mohawk said, "I think that when we talk about re-indigenization, we need a much larger, bigger umbrella to understand it. It is not necessarily about the Indigenous Peoples of a specific place; *it's about re-indigenizing the peoples of the planet.* It's about us looking at the whole thing in the broadest of possible ways" (Nelson, 2008, 259). In *Indigenous Ecological Knowledge,* Daryl Posey wrote, "To reverse the devastating cycle which industrialized society has imposed on the planet, we will have to relearn ecological knowledge and earnestly deal with the question: Can sustainable practices harmonize with trade and increased consumption?...These undertakings may be daunting, but the

wisdom of traditional and indigenous peoples continues to guide us" (Mander, 2005, 27).

Society can only shift, person by person, organization by organization, community by community, country by country when feasible opportunities for transformative experience are made available in a way that reduces fear and which provide strong incentives to sustain, increase and "normalize" change features as "desirable." Change hinges on actualizing into the concrete lives of people and community, work and other benefits as concrete new ways which supplant what must be stopped. Change in development approach is vitally necessary towards protecting indigenous identity and knowledge and therefore indigenous rights. As Henderson and Battiste warn, "Under the subtle influence of cognitive imperialism, modern educational theory and practice has, in large part, destroyed or distorted Indigenous knowledge and heritage" (Henderson, 2000, 86‑87).

Gregory Cajete outlined some fundamental ways to assist in conceptualizing indigenous knowledge which provide insight. He stated: "First, the way in which a people perceives and understands the world is directly dependent on the unique configurations of its belief system. Second, the meanings attached to natural phenomena are directly dependent on the conceptual structure of which they are a part, and this conceptual structure is highly conditioned by the people's culture and system of thought. Third, what constitutes a fact depends on the consensus of the community or group that evaluates what is real and what is not, and such consensuses are based on mutually held systems, rather than on rationality" (Cajete, 1986, 123).

Rather than to add further comments to define the issue, my own experiences may serve in providing a glimpse into the complexities related to identity and culture from my Syilx Okanagan perspective.

I use the word *indigenous* to situate the language of the Syilx people, as a language that emerged from, and is rooted in one particular place. My use of the word, *indigenous*, rather than a political designation, refers to a profoundly undisruptive asso-

ciation with one place that was developed over many millennia by a people who shared that place as *member* of its flora and fauna. I apply the word *Indigenous* in its formal sense to define Peoples in their particular human societal knowledge, who wove an ability to think, to remember, to dream and to live within the requirements of the delicate balance of retaining a healthy natural environment. From that perspective, indigenous languages are a critical link in identity and culture as a social paradigm.

The primary purpose of language is "communication" to navigate the world one is immersed in; however, languages evolve through generations of its past speakers, searching for ways to communicate knowledge of their experience within their environment. The editors of *An Introduction to Language* state, "If language is defined merely as a system of communication, then language is not unique to humans. There are certain characteristics of human language not found in the communication systems of any other species. A basic property of human language is its creative aspect…" (Fromkin, 2001, 5). In indigenous languages, the creative aspects are directly relational to the indigenous knowledge of relationship with environment. Meanings in language "relate" aspects of interaction and "construct" the way each language works. What is known and understood is "constructed" as language. Language is more a matter of the "structuring" of relationships from the human perspective, as a way to "identify" what the human must "know" in a particular place.

As S.I. Hayakawa stated in *Language In Thought and Action, Language and Survival,* "Language is the indispensable mechanism of human life—all life such as ours is molded, guided, enriched and made possible by the accumulation of the *past* experience of members of our species..." In speaking about what he calls the "Niagara of words" he states that one is "affected every hour of his life not only by the words he hears and uses but also by his unconscious assumptions about language…the way he uses them and the way he takes them when spoken by others—largely shape his beliefs, his prejudices, his ideals, his aspirations. They constitute the moral and intellectual atmosphere in

which he lives—in short his semantic environment" (Hayakawa, 1941 revised 1990, 11). In presenting theory on the science of communication in *Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry*, Gregory Bateson, in a collaboration between the anthropologist and clinical psychiatrist Jurgen Ruesch, in the chapter, "Values, Communication, and Culture," stated that "…communication does not refer to verbal, explicit, and intentional transmission of messages alone;…communication would include all those processes by which people influence one another" (Ruesch, 1987, 8).

Language is a critical component of identity and culture. The development of indigenous peoples must include the dimensions of their rights to viewing the world through their identity of place expressed as language. Although severe and irreparable social and economic damage has been wrought in indigenous communities worldwide, healing does take place through development in cultural affirmation with identity. Strengthening languages, and thus the arts and social institutions in the contemporary practice of indigenous economies, which "restore" balance to communities and to the land, is crucial in the success or failure of such development initiatives. An important area of focus is the natural systems of sustainability, which produced indigenous languages, social organizations and the arts and cultural practices of specific places. Concepts of "Indigeneity" as a social paradigm can be restored through development, as a right, mindful of Articles 3 and 32 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Indigenous Peoples.

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Laman laka[1]: Our Indigenous Path to Self-Determined Development

by Mirna Cunningham

In recent years a development concept has begun to be advanced in Latin America that attempts to incorporate the perspectives and views of indigenous peoples. In the Qhichwa language it is known as *Sumak kawsay, suma qamaña* in Aymara, *sumak ñandereco* in Guarani, *Laman Laka* in Miskitu, and *Buen Vivir/Vivir Bien* in Spanish.[1] These are summed up in the concept that living well does not merely refer to per capita income or economic growth. *Buen Vivir* or living well presumes common cultural mores, and harmony between human beings and Mother Earth. It is anchored on values that stand for culture, life, living together, complementarity not just among people but between us and nature, and protection of the commonweal for the benefit of communities and nations as a whole. Slowly gaining acceptance, this concept was recently included in constitutional reforms in Ecuador and Bolivia.[2]

These precepts coincide with those of indigenous peoples throughout the rest of the world,[3] as their approach to self-determined development is based on the fact that culture is a way of life. The land and resources that provide for their livelihood and their relationship to these are part of their spiritual lives. Self-determined development or development with culture and identity is characterized by a holistic, nonsectoral approach that seeks to build on collective rights, security, and greater control and self governance of lands, territories and resources. Our way to-

wards development builds on tradition with respect for our ancestors as we look and move forward.

This paper reviews the debate, proposals and some practices of indigenous peoples' development in Latin America within the framework of indigenous visions and perspectives. It includes *Laman Laka*, which reflects the development concept of the Miskitu peoples of Nicaragua.

Some basic conditions must be met if proposals for indigenous self-determined development are to advance favorably. In the Nicaraguan case, the establishment of a multi-ethnic autonomous regime lays the basis for exercising the collective rights of the indigenous peoples, starting with territorial rights. In Bolivia, the structural transformations promoted by the current government establish the foundation to move towards Buen Vivir.

Concept of Indigenous Peoples' Self-determined Development - Buen Vivir

María Eugenia Choque (2010) has pointed out that indigenous peoples derive their conception of living well from their own experiences and life systems, and from an integral relationship with Mother Nature. This involves a constant search for and reestablishment of collective, individual, political, economic, social, cultural, spiritual, and physical wellbeing in the framework of exercising our historic rights. It must not be understood from a concept frozen in time, but as argued, from the point of view of peoples who have been constantly confronted by the struggle to reestablish their wellbeing, their "Buen Vivir" or "commonweal."

Choque contends that the reconstruction or construction of the commonweal is connected to a close relationship with what we once were as a people. Memory of the historical past, known as a time of liberty, is one point of reference for us. The other reference is that down through the long period since the occupation by other cultures, our wellbeing has been undermined by a

process of assimilation, from the invasion and then the colonial republics whose national political constitutions refer to the "abolition of collective lands, abolition of traditional authorities," that is, the assimilation of indigenous peoples into the logic of western life.

Throughout this history, colonial relations remained intact and retained their oppressive character. They were shaped to legitimize a reality based on colonial order as being something normal and even being *national* in essence. This history, very different from its philosophical definition as being synonymous with liberty, has undergone some processes of change, thanks to the struggle of indigenous peoples. In truth, this history is a perverse one. The goal was to induce us to forget our identity, and to desist from exercising our rights to liberty and self determination as peoples. In that hostile framework the struggle for the reconstruction of our wellbeing has been incessant and has always depended on our capacity to resist.

Buen Vivir—our wellbeing—is linked to our profound spirituality that upholds our relationship with Mother Nature. It is linked to the economic conditions, rooted in our own systems and institutions that drive productive life, animal husbandry, and economic exchange relations. It is woven into indigenous identity that is the basis to assert who we are, where we come from, and to where we are headed. It is tied into our social organization systems that stem from interrelations established among indigenous peoples themselves, the communities—*comunidades, ayllus, markas* and *suyus, capitanías, tentas.*[4]

Our Buen Vivir develops from the living conditions established in relationships with our environment and natural resources, and connected to rights over resources originating within indigenous territories. The relationship nourishes spiritual and collective conviviality among the men and women of our peoples, and our will to exercise the right to control and administer our resources.

The vision of living well, of Buen Vivir, or *yearning* and *searching* for wellbeing, has to do with conditions of social life,

perspectives, and indigenous people's life quality. The *shared* framework of this pursuit is the principles of reciprocity, complementarity and redistribution in the distinct spaces for the people's social, economic, cultural and political life. The close relationship between indigenous peoples and Mother Nature stems from duality and wholeness or completeness, just as man and woman complement each other, like sun and moon, day and night, or male and female in animals, vegetables, and minerals. There prevails a complementarity: both cooperate and form a social unity, and the social and natural world, including even the symbolic universe, is reestablished. This is the dialectic of complementary opposition, a dual opposition that is therefore required for reciprocity and the integral whole.

According to Fernando Huanacuni (2009), "Living well is to live in harmony with the life cycles and with the multiverse,[5] and in balance with all forms of existence. Living well means to live in harmony and equilibrium, in harmony with Mother Earth's cycles, with cosmic cycles, with history's cycles, with all life's cycles, and in complementary balance with all forms of existence. Within this cosmovision, all forms of existence are equal in status; all have complementary relationships, all are living, and all are important." However the fundamental basis for the continuity of Buen Vivir is respect for Mother Nature, access to land and territory, in the framework of the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples.

Characteristics of Development from an Indigenous Perspective

The principles for the construction and reconstruction of self-determined development—Buen Vivir—must be understood in the juridical framework of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, in particular the exercise of the right to self determination, as provided in:

Article 3

Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

Article 4

Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions.

Article 32:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources.
2. States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources.
3. States shall provide effective mechanisms for just and fair redress for any such activities, and appropriate measures shall be taken to mitigate adverse environmental, economic, social, cultural or spiritual impact.

It is also important to return to the preamble of the Declaration on the Right to Development. It establishes the inalienable human rights to development, by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.[6]

Another instrument which helps to understand Buen Vivir is Article 8 (j) of the Convention on Biological Diversity (Rio de

Janeiro, 1992) and related provisions. They establish that each Signatory Party, to the extent possible and wherever appropriate, shall, in tandem with national legislation, respect, preserve, and maintain the knowledges, innovations, and practices of indigenous and local communities that entail traditional life styles pertinent to sustainable conservation and utilization of biological diversity, promote their broad application through the *approval* and *participation* of the concerned communities and members, and assure the sharing of benefits arising from their utilization.

Some characteristic elements of the debate about development from the perspective of indigenous peoples that have been identified are the following:[7]

Indigenous Vision

One of the first things that stands out in the proposals on Buen Vivir is the fact that nature is a "living being" within which all its components establish multiple connections, with human beings being a part of the cosmic fabric. For the Indigenous Council of Central America,[8] the cosmogonic vision is the philosophical axis of individual and collective thought and actuation. It implies an indissoluble and interdependent relationship between the universe, nature, and humanity where a favorable ethical and moral basis is constellated for environmental conservation, development, and a society in which harmony, respect, and balance prevail. Some fundamental aspects of indigenous people's cosmogony are community in relation to peoples, time, balance and harmony, consensus, dialog, respect, and a system of rights.[9]

This element is expressed in the following arguments:[10]

1) Giving priority to life

Buen Vivir strives for the revitalization of the forms of life and living in the community, in which all members look out for all. In that context, the most important thing is not *only the hu-*

man, nor is it *money. It is life.*

Hence people seek out ways of life that harmonize with nature and aim to save the planet while granting priority to humanity. It is important to stress that this argument transcends purely communitarian interests and pursues a more global goal. One of the expressions of this debate is the growing movement that puts forward the rights of Mother Earth and the commonweal,[11] when addressing human rights concerns.

2) Living in equilibrium with nature, and in complementarity

Another postulate of Buen Vivir is its prioritization of complementarity. It advances that all beings living on the planet complement one another. Hence, searching for an equilibrium point among all beings is fundamental.

One consequence of this vision, for example, is that for indigenous peoples, natural resources such as land, water, minerals, and vegetable life are not marketable, or that the aim of production is life quality and not just profit, and that production is mainly destined for self consumption. In many communities, therefore, the surplus is ritualized, and is redistributed for the sake of balance and harmony, and not only for economic development.[12]

For example, for the Mayangna nation in Nicaragua, the territory is the geographic space in which the human population lives in communities together with fauna, flora, water, subsoil, resources, both renewable and nonrenewable, and organic and inorganic materials. They develop such a territorial unit in harmony with their traditions and customs. They have ancestral dominion and property right, and/or the same through modern titles facilitated by the Nicaraguan state. In this territory, they carry on social, economic, cultural, and environmental activities along with those to conserve sacred sites and natural limits, hunting, fishing, and sustainable agriculture.[13]

To organize territorial management work and formulate their territorial development plan, the authorities can count on ecological management norms for maintaining and sustaining in-

digenous territory. In the case of the Mayangna Sauni As,[14] these norms, defined in February 1998, structure the territory with the following zones:

   a) Zone for agricultural use;
   b) Zone for güiricería (gold panning);
   c) Zone for hunting and frequent gathering activities;
   d) Zone dedicated to history and culture;
   e) Zone for plant and animal reproduction.

3) The economic subject is collective

For indigenous peoples, one basic difference between indigenous development and other development models is that the economic subject is collective. Although this characteristic has variants, especially given the massive flow of indigenous persons to urban centers, it has particular cultural connotations not dependent on the geographic and spatial location of indigenous peoples. This feature is reflected in the fact that natural and cultural property is collective and has the community as its reference point.[15]

The following are some expressions of that characteristic:

Strengthening mechanisms for social control[16] between residents of the same community. In ancestral times, all community members took charge of controlling the functions carried out by their main authorities. In the case of Bolivia, for example, this is also expressed through measures adopted to recover the natural wealth of the country and to enable all to benefit from this in a balanced and equitable way. In this case, it has been argued that the goal of the Buen Vivir doctrine is also to nationalize and reclaim strategic enterprises of the country in the framework of balance and relationship between human beings and nature in contradistinction to irrational exploitation of natural resources.[17]

In Central America[18] it has been put forward that from the point of view of indigenous cosmovision, natural resources are far from being an economic possession. Indigenous spirituality includes the belief that all forms of life in nature possess a soul. A spirit is present in all things, to which they owe their peculiar characteristics.[19]

Territoriality—Mother Earth—is one element that fosters collective identity and belonging to an indigenous people. It is considered sacred and cannot be the object of sale nor of personal appropriation. Indigenous territories are composed from all the elements that make them up: soil, subsoil and airspace, rivers, lakes, animals, metals. They are collective and represent a space in the universe where nature and human beings live together. Territory is the basis for building and elaborating our own development model as an integral part of a juridical, political, economic and social system of a specific people.

Indigenous peoples, in this context, also argue[20] that we possess and have engendered our own knowledges derived from our relationship with Mother Nature, the natural resources, culture, production, and ways of life. Therefore a necessary step in the process for defining a development model for, of, and by indigenous people will be to identify what knowledges stem from *our* cultural practices, and how the community protects, preserves, and recreates them. In Central America, CICA[21] has defined a planning methodology known as *Balu Wala*, and among its methodological principles are participation and inclusion.

The *Balu Wala*[22] is based on values and principles of indigenous cosmovision. It aims to strengthen the institutional, organizational, technical and political capacities of indigenous communities for the effective management of development. It facilitates the process of ordered territorial arrangement that conforms to the traditional knowledges and indigenous peoples' own wisdoms. Balu Wala also strengthens organizational systems for communal production in the framework of the indigenous economic model to improve the quality of life on the road to a life of wellbeing, our Buen Vivir. It establishes instruments that enable the community to manage communally, taking into account national and international juridical frameworks.

Scheme for Consultation, Consensus and Legitimation in Applying Balu Wala

Preparing Conditions Gathering Information Arranging information

CONSENSUS

LEGITIMATION

Validating Information Disseminating Information

CONSULTATIONS

Preview Free and Informed
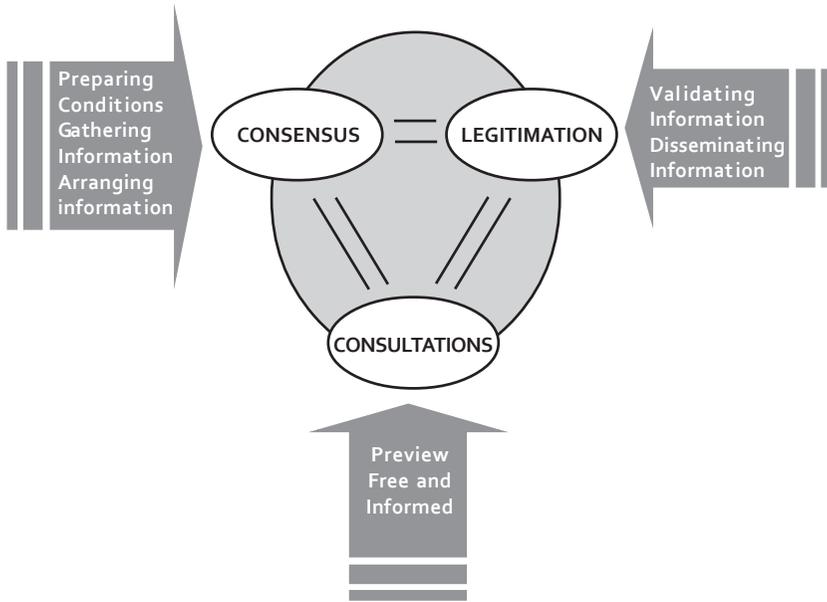
4) Role of indigenous economic institutions

Indigenous peoples, working within a territorial base and their relationship with nature, have engendered knowledge in the use and management of their resources. This accumulation of knowledge has enabled the establishment of systems of relations on political, economic, and social organization that allowed them at determined moments to attain stronger degrees of sustainability in food security and in the exchange of products.

Maldonado (2009) has mentioned some indigenous peoples' economic institutions such as the *Minga* and the *Ranti Ranti*, among others. Those systems are based on principles of reciprocity, complementarities, and communal work.

Indigenous Economic Institutions in Andean Zone

Name	Functions	How It Functions
MINGA	Collective labor for a common project or task	Participation of all the community
RANTI RANTI	Mutual support, moral obligation	Inter-familial participation
PRIOSTASGOS CARGOS	They assume, lead, and partake in a celebration	Collective decision-making, collective participation, input and social responsibility
COMPADRAS-GOS	Commitments that strengthen the family relationship	Accepts responsibility for supporting and guiding
MARKAK TAYTA	Take on a communal responsibility to achieve prestige, appreciation and respect	Accumulate capital for the celebration, share, and interact

Based on talk by Luis Maldonado, 2010.

An additional form of expression of this characteristic is the concept and practices involved in the work of indigenous peoples. Many of us hold a different concept of work, viewing it as an occasion for communal socialization, a fiesta.

Choquehuanca (2010) argues that the capitalist system of paid work is distinct from the new model of the Plurinational State of Bolivia where people have returned to the ancestral way of considering work as a fiesta, a party. Added to that, work is seen as a form of growth. That is why people in indigenous societies take on work chores from a very young age. That position generates a dilemma for many organizations that promote children's rights because they at times confuse these familial and communal socialization activities with child labor.

A range of rituals or ceremonies are linked to productive activities such as harvesting and planting. The communities con-

tinue to honor Mother Nature through dancing and music, mainly in tandem with seasonal agricultural tasks. However, in the cities the original dances are treated as folklore.[23]

Another characteristic of community labor is reciprocity. It consists of doing work to reciprocate help offered by a family in agricultural, fishing, construction and other tasks.

These characteristic features are related to people's cultural revitalization and daily practices involving indigenous identity and culture, such as recovering traditional foods, and holding fiestas as ways to socialize. Also involved is the role of spirituality in community life, to mention just a few traits.

5) Intercultural Relations based on gender and inter-generational equality

Another characteristic of indigenous people's development model is a search for forms of engagement with other sectors, including governments and the state. For that sake, one of the first steps consists of accepting differences and similarities between the diverse beings that populate the planet. It is stressed that to develop Buen Vivir, people must respect the *other*, know how to listen to all that he or she wants to say, without discrimination or any other type of suppression.[24] Various practical experiences have taught us that the search for consensus and the use of dialog are adequate forms for dealing with differences and hence must be promoted in the process of trying to attain our Buen Vivir.

The vision of future generations has been specifically addressed in the proposals and arguments regarding indigenous peoples' development. There is a call to respect women, "because she represents *our Pacha Mama*, our Earth Mother who possesses the ability to give life and care for its fruits." In the community, the woman is valued and is present in all life-oriented activities, raising the young, education, and cultural revitalization. Inhabitants of indigenous communities value women as the basis of social organization because they pass on cultural wisdoms to their children.[25]

Regarding intergeneration relations, Choquehuanca (2010) has stressed that "*Vivir Bien* is to read our grandparents wrinkles to find the trail forward. One of the main sources of learning for the community is the elders who hold onto stories and customs that over the years have been subject to loss. Hence, the elders are respected and consulted in the indigenous communities of the country."

Development Concept of Indigenous Peoples in Autonomous Regions of Nicaragua

Approved in 1986, the Political Constitution of Nicaragua recognizes the multiethnic and pluricultural character of the nation. With this Constitution, the State for the first time acknowledged ethnic pluralism as a principle of the nation, accepting the existence of indigenous peoples and Afro-descendent communities as societies culturally distinct from the rest of society with specific rights. And among their special rights established by Article 5 are "maintaining and developing their identity and culture, having their own forms of social organization, administrating their local affairs, maintaining their communal forms of property of their lands, and the enjoyment and use of those lands."[26]

To realize this principle, the State has promoted profound juridical and structural transformations and established the Regimen of Regional Multiethnic Autonomy. The Costeña Regional Autonomy represents a step taken by the State in favor of peoples that have been historically marginalized, excluded, and discriminated against under the global approach of individual and collective rights. It builds on the equality of opportunity for all Nicaraguans, and creates conditions that gives (or ought to give) them special consideration to overcome the discrimination they have suffered.

In 1987 the National Assembly of the Republic of Nicaragua approved the Autonomy Statute for the indigenous peoples and

ethnic communities, laying the bases for constituting an autonomous regional system. Among the characteristics of the autonomy model are the following:

a) It is of regional domain and those that live in the specifically determined territory have autonomous rights.

b) It is multiethnic and guarantees the establishment of special districts and members of a Directive Board of each indigenous and ethnic community.

c) Recognizes economic, social, cultural, legal, ecological, political rights maintaining an integral approach.

d) Recognizes as autonomous authorities the institutions of regional, municipal, and communal administration.

e) Establishes the right to patrimony, budget for regional administration and the creation of a Regional Development Fund.

f) Maintains the principle of national unity.

g) Recognizes the collective rights of indigenous peoples: communal territories, forms of organization, traditional authorities, cultural values and characteristics, languages, forms of administration of justice, and use and enjoyment of natural resources in their communal lands.

h) Recognizes the practice of traditional medicine.

i) Prioritizes the rights of women.

j) Is supported by the Political Constitution of Nicaragua and is complemented by specific laws.

k) Devolves functions like health, education, wellbeing, local development, and others to the regional authorities.

l) Establishes the requirement of coordination between the regional authorities and the Central Government.

The Autonomy Law of the Autonomous Regions establishes administrative bodies, authorities, and institutions at the regional, municipal, and communal levels, articulating indigenous peoples' own traditional institutions, with structures created by the State to address the multiethnic and geographical differences. They are:

a. Regional Autonomous Council or Regional Autonomous Parliament;
b. Regional Coordinator of Governor;
c. Municipal and Communal Authorities;
d. Others corresponding to the administrative subdivision of the municipalities.

With the approval of Law 445 in 2003, indigenous traditional institutions at the communal and territorial levels were reaffirmed as institutions of public administration, including communal and territorial assemblies and authorities. The responses of the State in the autonomy process can be classified basically into three areas: development of a normative juridical framework, advances in the establishment of public policies and structural transformations of the State, and construction of intercultural citizenship.

Indigenous peoples of the Autonomous Regions require a development model that can count on articulation between different levels of the existing autonomous authorities charged with the task of jointly promoting local development processes in ways that assure recognition and respect for historical individual and collective rights for all the peoples that live in the region. Under the *Buen Vivir* concept, the Nicaraguan government participates through the organs of the Regional Autonomous governments and municipal administrations. The Nicaraguan government has defined a Human Development Plan that has as one of its components the Autonomous Regions´ Development Plan. This plan is based on the precept that a subject with a collective identity exists and shall participate fully in public management though the exercise of their autonomous rights.

A common error is to define development as a function of increased productivity, modernization, technology and accumulation of wealth—seen as accumulated material goods and financial capital. That is the capitalist concept of development, one that is exogenous to indigenous peoples. In contrast, development as a tool for survival and wellbeing of the indigenous peoples of Nicaragua is based on the rational and sustained uti-

lization of natural resources available in our territories, under the ancestral principles of holistic vision for the interaction of humanity and the surrounding environment—work, collective property and the application and transmission of ancestral knowledges. Some of the resources we depend on are the soil, water, flora and fauna in the territories, and among which the human being interacts as one element.

Development for the Miskitu people, to which this writer belongs, is linked to what has been denominated as *laman laka.* It can be interpreted as a set of norms for harmonious living together within family and community, regardless of age or gender group. This could be what some sociologists and anthropologists call the "social fabric."

Economic norms guide territorial use through the laman laka which brings on the feeling that *yes, I have, you have, I have.* That implies interchange or *pana pana* (*mano vuelta* or acknowledging others' help with reciprocal help or work) that allows for interaction among people in which the value of the word, respect for the family, mutual confidence, ethnic loyalty, and the commonweal predominate. In this framework, tacit agreements are reached on ecosystem use in which everyone knows where to carry out individual planting and where collective planting is done. Also clear for all is where to hunt or fish and zones dedicated to maintaining relations with the spiritual world.

The basic principle of the laman laka concept has been defined as the common good or commonweal.[27] The principle functions as an articulating element of a system of cooperation in the communities. Its reach includes all persons and families, and it is based on social equality and social equity. It helps to strengthen associative relations that always require confidence, solidarity, reciprocity, and ethnic and territorial roots.

In the case of the Miskitu indigenous people, a schematic model can be sketched of the process of the search for Laman Laka, along the following lines:

Some Community Institutions of Miskitu People

Community Institutions	Functions Exercised
Pana Pana	Form of community work based on reciprocity. Families alternate to carry out work during the planting, harvest, seasons, house building and burials.
Bakahnu	Work is shared among family groups, and sometimes between communities.
Indigenous Health System	Comprises the knowledges, promotion, prevention, and delivery of care. Involves a network of traditional doctors and a referral system. It is based on the ecosystem, and fauna, flora, natural resources, and spirits that interrelate.
Community Education System	Based on reproduction of forms of knowledges and practices acquired through legends, myths, and advice. One learns by doing, and through family and community socialization.
Family Organization	It is based on the concept of "*taya*" that links all those who depend on ties with relatives.
Tala Mana	The community justice administration system based on the principle of community equilibrium and harmony. Transgressors of the norms of community unity and ethics must "pay" for their misbehavior with a sanction defined by a judicial authority, the WIHTA and his advisor group (elders, community authorities).

Community Institutions	Functions Exercised
Community Government	The Community Assembly chooses the government. It is the highest government body and elects community authorities in accordance with their customs. It is comprised by the persons responsible for justice administration (WIHTA), natural resources and territory (*Sindico*), health, education, and other aspects of community life. Other traditional authorities such as spiritual leaders, the Elders' Council, et al., also are members of this body.
Norms guiding use of territory and natural resources	Each community has norms that inform and guide the use of territory and natural resources. In some cases, the norms are written.

The principle of the common good is linked to protection and adequate use of the community´s natural and cultural patrimony. Territory, natural resources, language, knowledges, and practices regarding production, health, alimentation, and forms of life all make up the community. Hence, the commonweal helps to guarantee economic, social, and cultural reproduction for the people.

In the case of the indigenous peoples of Nicaragua, rights based on ancestral property on ancestral territory are now guaranteed in the autonomy statute of the Nicaragua Caribbean autonomous regions. Important steps are now being taken in demarcating territories and titling lands in territories of different indigenous peoples. By February 2010, 10 land titles had concluded the process of formal legal recognition by the State: six in the North Atlantic Autonomous Region, two in the Special Regimen Zone and two in the South Atlantic Autonomous Region.[28]

Land Titles by Region, Nicaragua. December, 2010.

No.	Territory by region	Com-muni-ties benefited	Popula-tion	Size by hectare	Observa-tions
I.	**RAAN:**				
01.	Kipla Sait Tasbaika Kum	14	5,164	113,597	1,135.97 km2
02.	Li Lamni Tasbaika Kum	26	9,103	138.227	1,382.27 km2
03.	Wangki Li Aubra	18	7,991	88,434.78	884.36 km2
04.	Awas Tingni	3	1,164	73,394	733.94 km2
05.	Mayangna Sauni As	16	10,000	163,810	1,630.10 km2
06.	Sikilta	1	870	43,241.40	432.41 km2
II.	**RAAS:**[29]				
01.	Awaltara Luhpia Nani Tasbaika.	16	9,679	241,307	2,413.07 km2
III.	**ZONA DEL REGIMEN ESPECIAL:**				
01.	Miskitu Indian Tasbaika Kum	20	7,500	65,230	652.30 km2
02.	Mayangna Sauni Bu	9	2,500.	94,838	948.38 km2
IV.	**TOTALES:**	123	53,580 habit-antes.	1,021,068 has.	10,210.68

All of the above are interwoven into a system of ancestral communal institutions that are linked to municipal and regional territorial administrations. Efforts are also underway to establish the interfaces and interactions in the administration of health, education, community justice, and elections of authorities. All that can be considered as a framework for governing from within.

There is another development sphere that extends "outward" and is focused on relations with the government or state, and with other actors. In those cases the indigenous peoples assume roles to manage and negotiate in function of collective interests, for example, for the granting of economic concessions or massive use of resources, whether by the community or by external actors.

Following the destruction caused by Hurricane Felix in September 2007, the communities and regional authorities agreed to use the felled timber for construction of individual housing and/or community infrastructure. In a complementary way, the surplus fallen timber was prepared for sale to buyers from outside the communities and the region.

Both internal and external relations have gone on to form part of the Nicaraguan constitutional framework, in which development results from balanced, multiethnic and multicultural relations in the context of the right to self determination through the regional autonomy statute. This opened the doors to the right to be citizens with current access to power and the right to take their own decisions.

The following traditional practices further and better illustrate our development concept and its dynamic.

Consolidation of ethnic organization and intercultural relations

Exercising political power: Multi/ethnic communal, territorial, and regional autonomy

Awareness of ethnic identity

Searching for Laman Laka

Developing the institutional structures and functioning of the Regional Autonomous System on three levels: Regional, Municipal, and Territorial/Communal

Developing local capacities

The catch from hunting or fishing is usually shared or exchanged among community dwellers: meat, grains, fish, tubers, wood. Hunting and fishing both take place in time and space within the territory. The two activities are never repeatedly carried out in the same place, and the incidence of choosing an already used zone is low. To that end, distant grounds are selected far from each other. That sometimes involves spending days away from the community. This practice implies collective labor among various men. It strengthens community unity and allows for the transmission of knowledge between generations or others, regarding nature management.

In contrast, for example, in the Rama villages and communities the extraction of oysters from the Bluefields Lagoon is an

activity carried out mainly by adolescents, women, and children. It takes place very close to the communities. The same happens with coconut picking by indigenous littoral communities. In all those cases, there is a high sense of collectivity in the work and in the distribution of the fruits.

In the beginning the humid tropical forest—or the pine plains, lagoons and littorals, keys and inlets, in addition to the riches found in their high biological diversity, and that from outside could be regarded as something greater and more wholesome than a mega supermarket—represents the survival and development of the culture, spirituality, alimentation, shelter, working instruments, home, health, and education of indigenous peoples. This forest gifts each and all who know how to relate to its spirit.

This development model is now threatened "from the outside." It is menaced by deforestation of watersheds and river basins, resulting from the invasive presence of colonizers who are pushing the agricultural frontier deeper into our territories. It is also undermined by chemical contamination through abuse of agrochemicals in highlands whose residues drain to the coastal lagoons and inlets, poisoning everything in their way. The effects of climatic change are now being felt in our territories through bigger and more frequent hurricanes and floods, putting biological diversity and crops at risk, and ultimately the lives and wellbeing of indigenous peoples.

In summary, Buen Vivir or good living for indigenous peoples still presents historical challenges and tasks such as territorial recognition. Peoples cannot understand the right to Buen Vivir when our territories are constantly threatened and appropriated by national and international companies, and when conditions of the quality of life get progressively worse. Indigenous peoples' life expectancy index has dropped from 100 years in the past to the current 50 to 70 years. And, we can be sure that future generations will have an even lower life expectancy.

When education continues to have a western focus; when our languages are on the road to becoming extinct; when we

indigenous women continue to be relegated to the private sphere; and when so-called *intermediaries* very far removed from us do not recognize our rights to enjoy Buen Vivir—we then have cause to conclude that there is still a long distance to go and that we still have to travel against strong adverse currents.

Faced with these gigantic threats, what can we actually pass on as a heritage to younger generations, if not but to refurbish our living vision that encompasses our profound sentiment for Buen Vivir?

Endnotes

[1] The part on Laman Laka was published last May 2009 by International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG). Poverty practice, Bureau for development Policy. UNDP. Indigenising Development - IPC May 2009. NUMBER 17. Authors: Myrna Cunningham Kain and Dennis Mairena Arauz on behalf of the Center for Autonomy and Development of Indigennous Peoples. Nicaragua. Translator: Felipe Stuart.

[2] There is not really any English equivalent in the idiomatic sense. "Good living" does not have the same sense, partly because terms like it and the "good life" have all been tainted by the egoistic and consumerist culture of capitalist civilization, explained in the paper. There is a term from the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism— "commonweal." It is the source of the word Commonwealth, as in the British Commonwealth (Mancomunidad). But its original meaning was much similar to the indigenous concept of Buen Vivir, that is living together and sharing the wealth, conceived not just as consuming things but enjoying social life in the community of associated producers and members. The Oxford entry for the term: commonweal/kommnweel/noun (the commonweal) archaic the welfare of the public. Oxford uses the term welfare in its sense of "well being," not charity or government handout.

[3] Arto. 8, Capitulo Segundo. Principios, valores y fines del Estado. Constitucion Politica del Estado. Republica de Bolivia. 2009. <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Bolivia/bolivia09.html>. T i t u l o VII. Regimen del buen vivir. Republica de Ecuador. Constitucion del 2008. <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Ecuador/ecuador08.html#mozTocId153283>.

[4] Tivoli meeting on indigenous peoples and self determined development. Tebtebba. 2008.

[5] These terms refer to the organizational and communitarian forms of the Andean peoples of South America.

[6] The term "multiverse" used by Choque (2010) alludes to the multiple ways of seeing and conceiving life, and not to "universe." The latter alludes to a sole truth or way of viewing life that everyone must follow.

[7] Declaration on the Right to Development <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/rtd.htm>.

[8] Luis Maldonado. Conference during the presentation of the Project for Development with Identity of the Fondo Indigenam (Proyecto de Desarrollo con Identidad). Panama. 2009.

[9] Balu Wala: CICA-PMIIE 2008.

[10] CICA. 2008.

[11] They form part of the 25 characteristic elements of the Buen Vivir. Interview with David Choquehuanca. Minister for External Affairs of the Plurinational State of Bolivia. 2010.

[12] The 2008 Constitucion Politica of Ecuador incorporates nature's rights. The UN General Assembly approved a resolution on MOTHER EARTH. The government of Nicaragua is promoting a Charter on the commonweal (Buen Vivir).

[13] Maldonado, L. (2009).

[14] Fidencio Davis. Elementos para formular el plan de desarrollo del territorio Mayangna Sauni As. URACCAN. 2009.

[15] Signifies Prime Territory of the Mayangna Nation.

[16] Maldonado, 2009.

[17] Choquehuanca, D. 2010. Interview with David Choquehuanca, External Affairs Minister of the Plurinational State of Bolivia. Taken from "Indigenous Groups and Economic Development." 2010.

[18] Choquehuanca, 2010.

[19] CICA. Metodologia del Balu Wala. 2009.

[20] For example, in the Miskitu people's culture, the water spirit is Liwa Mairin—that can be translated as the siren mother; trees, plains, forests have spirit protectors.

[21] Idem.

[22] CICA. Experiencia en la aplicacion del Balu Wala. 2009.

[23] It is a concept of the Kuna-Panam people that signifies tree of salt, and is significant in the preparation of a new authority. The balu wala must be for all, with rights equality and in harmony with nature.

[24] Choquehuanca, 2010.

[25] Idem.

[26] Choquehuanca, 2010.

[27] Asamblea Nacional de Nicaragua. Constitucion Politica de la Republica de Nicaragua. 1995.

[28] <http://www.idhnicaribe.org/pdf/5_capitulo_iii.pdf>.

[29] Aleman, C. Informe de gestion de CONADETI. enero 2010.

[30] This information dos not include the ancestral land titles of Mayangna Sauni Arungka (Matumbak), Sumu Mayangna Tuahka Takaln Balna in the North Atlantic Region and the Rama-Kriol Territory that were formally recognized by the Nicaraguan government in December 2009. <http://impreso.elnuevodiario.com.ni/2009/12/23/departa-mentales/116086>.

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4

Human Development Framework and Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development*

by Victoria Tauli-Corpuz

The lingering global economic recession, the ecological disaster due to climate change and biodiversity loss, the destruction of ecosystems, and the inequitable access to and distribution of land, food, water, energy and social services are all interrelated and can no longer be addressed fragmentally. While many studies and analyses have explained why these problems persist, very few holistic and bold proposals have been put on the table to address their structural roots. In the last three decades, countless multilateral, plurilateral and civil society processes dealt with these issues globally and regionally, resulting in legally binding agreements, political declarations and programs of action with implementing mechanisms at all levels. However, no serious or successful attempt has yet been made to assess what they have so far achieved or where their recommendations converge and can contribute to a more holistic solution to the problems we face.

Major disunities still exist in dealing with the structural roots of these problems. And we lack the political leadership and boldness in declaring that the world's prevailing economic, political and sociocultural system has broken down and needs to be replaced with one which respects human rights and the limits of our planet. Perhaps, what is required is to choose the analyses

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and solutions reached in various arenas that question existing assumptions head-on and advance radical ways to change a system, which is not working for the majority of the world's population and the planet. Obviously, no one answer or one-size fits-all solution will suffice but a plurality of options, considering the diversity of worldviews, ecosystems, histories, cultures and peoples. We also have to revisit the legacy of colonialism, racism and discrimination perpetuated for centuries to see how it has impacted our contemporary problems.

It is within this bigger picture and from the lens of indigenous peoples that we should look at the Human Development (HD) framework, Human Development Report and Human Development Index (HDI). Discussions and processes are underway to define and answer the following: What is a good life? or What does living well and solidarity with others and the planet mean? What are the indicators to measure these? How do these concepts relate with dominant development thinking and practice and with the HD framework and HDI?

As it is impossible to talk about living well without talking about the health of ecosystems we live in, a key question is: How can societies be reorganized so that human beings will live within the limits set by the natural world? Since it has been 20 years since the Human Development Report and Human Development Index were popularized, this is an opportune time to assess whether these are still appropriate or adequate in an era where the world faces multiple crises. It would also be instructive to see if these are useful for indigenous peoples who are going back to their ancestors' prophesies and knowledge, understanding the laws of nature as well as the impacts of colonization and discrimination on them, and putting into operation self-determined development.

The perspectives presented here are mainly based on this writer's insights, experiences and learning as an indigenous person, a human rights activist, a member of the indigenous peoples' movement and an official of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII). These also reflect what indigenous peoples have articulated in many forums and conferences. This

paper forwards the argument that culture, identity and environmental sustainability should be given equal attention as economic development in designing alternative development architectures. In addition, indigenous peoples should be key players in bringing about a more sustainable world, having proven they can live within the limits set by the earth, and can thus lead by example. Many of them continue to live by the wisdom and values of their ancestors, and because of this they still live in territories where ecosystems remain largely intact.

Several ideas are already on the table such as human development, sustainable development, and sustainable human development, among others. Others are evolving like low-emission or low-carbon development, and human rights- and ecosystem-based approaches to development. Each has its own strengths and weaknesses, and the challenge is to understand what these are in substance and in implementation, the obstacles in implementing these and how these should be addressed. We need to ask further: What are the elements of these frameworks consistent with indigenous peoples' self-determined development? And how can implementation of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and indigenous peoples' development concepts and practice become part of the pluralistic solutions the world badly needs?

Critique of Modernization and Development

Many indigenous peoples have strongly criticized the modernization theory and dominant development model promoted by western industrialized countries and emulated by most postcolonial nation-states. The economic growth-driven development model is inherently discriminatory against indigenous peoples, their traditions and cultures, worldviews and socioeconomic and political systems. In an earlier paper, this writer argued that:

> Development is essentially a dominating process where destinies of peoples were shaped according to a Eurocentric perception of the world...Our indigenous worldviews and philosophies, value systems, cultural, social, political and economic systems, which include our traditional livelihoods, were seen as obstacles to development and modernization. Thus, these were denigrated, destroyed or obliterated. Development, which was adopted as one of the pillars of nation-state building, became one of the root causes of the conflicts between nation-states and indigenous peoples.[1]

Modernization is the "idea that the state of economic and political advancement enjoyed by the United States and the industrialized West was normative, and that it was in the U.S. national interest, as well as the general interest of all people, that steps be taken to bring the other two-thirds of humanity up to a comparable level."[2] If this is the standard which developing countries should reach to be considered "developed," impliedly other ways of living would have to be destroyed or reconfigured to reach this goal.

When the United Nations was established after World War II, one of its first actions was to classify the world into developed and developing countries. The development process was defined to mean that changes in the developing countries should take place in order to attain the level of developed countries. Development became equated with economic growth. Thus, any country aspiring to be modern and developed should aim for increased economic growth. And nation-states are the key actors mainly responsible in bringing about national economic development.

International cooperation is regarded as one of the means to effect development. But such cooperation should be grounded on principles of equality, right of peoples and nations to self-determination and permanent sovereignty over natural resources.

Broad and Cavanagh, global development trend experts, describe how developing countries viewed their roles before the 1980s:

Prior to the 1980s, most developing countries favored a fairly strong governmental role in development planning and policies, fearing that unfettered markets in a world of unequal nations would put them at a disadvantage. In fact, most of the governments maintained trade restrictions of some sort and gave preferences to national over foreign investment. Regulating financial flows in and out of a country was the norm for both developed and developing countries. In many poorer nations, governments pursued different versions of what became known as "import-substitution industrialization," wherein they created incentives to help certain industries take off. [3]

Unfortunately, the strong role of the state in development planning and implementation gradually weakened because neoliberal economists wielded greater influence in the development discourse. The UN launched four Development Decades from the 1960s to 2000, with the aim of achieving independent national economic development for developing countries. Sadly, these Decades failed to achieve their objectives. In 1990, the UN General Assembly concluded that it did not attain its goals for the Third Development Decade (1981-1990). To address this, it established the International Development Strategy (IDS) for the Fourth Development Decade (1991-2000), which included speeding up the pace of economic growth in developing countries; devising a development process that meets social needs, reduces extreme poverty, develops and uses people's capacities and skills and is environmentally sound and sustainable. These objectives are reflected in the human development framework.

In 1986 the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Right to Development, and in 1990 established a Working Group of Governmental Experts to discuss concrete recommendations on how this should be done. The group identified obstacles to the realization of human rights, and these were:

- concentration of economic and political power in most industrialized countries;
- non-democratic decision making processes of interna-

tional economic, financial and trade institutions;

- structural inequalities in international relations between countries;
- existing trade and financial arrangements dictated by a small number of countries for their own benefit;
- international development strategies which have been oriented merely towards economic growth and financial considerations at the expense of human rights.

Unfortunately, these kinds of critical analysis and conclusions, which come out of the UN itself, are not used to design the necessary next steps to address the problems.

During this same period (1960-2000), many indigenous peoples' territories in developing countries were beset with large-scale deforestation, massive extraction of oil, gas and minerals, and huge infrastructure construction like mega-hydroelectric dams. This experience with "development" created great trauma for indigenous peoples, as it caused their forcible displacement and militarization, destroyed ecosystems they had lived in for thousands of years, denigrated their cultures and identities, and violated many of their other collective and individual rights.

The World Bank, International Monetary Fund and even UN programmes and other agencies like the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) became vehicles for promoting dominant development paradigms. The dogma that the unfettered market is the best way to produce economic growth and organize societies dominated development discourse and practice, and those against it were sidelined.

Former US Vice President Al Gore described the triumph of the market in a recent piece:

The decisive victory of democratic capitalism over communism in the 1990s led to a period of philosophical dominance for market economics worldwide and the illusion of a unipolar world. It also led to, in the United States, a hubristic "bubble" of market fundamentalism that en-

couraged opponents of regulatory constraints to mount an aggressive effort to shift the internal boundary between the democracy sphere and the market sphere. Over time, markets would most efficiently solve most problems, they argued. Laws and regulations interfering with the market carried a faint odour of the discredited statist adversary we had just defeated.[4]

Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines: A Case of "Development Aggression"

It is not any surprise that there is much resistance to the use of the term "development" because of many negative experiences with it and the modernization process. Indigenous peoples were among the first to oppose the idea of development and economic growth. In the Philippines, the indigenous peoples, in particular the Igorot peoples of the Cordillera region, advanced the concept of "development aggression" to refer to the way our human rights are violated by the State in the development process. In the 1970s, we successfully resisted the Chico River Hydroelectric Dam Project, which was funded by the World Bank and imposed on us by the Marcos dictatorship in the guise of development. Comprised of four big dams to be built along the Chico River, the project would have displaced around 300, 000 Kalinga and Bontoc peoples from their ancestral territories. The government and World Bank announced that the project was for national development and that the minority had to sacrifice for the good of the greater number. In 1975, the affected indigenous peoples, neighboring communities, churches, and some national and global NGOs sent a letter to then World Bank President Robert McNamara requesting him to stop the project.[5]

This struggle heightened our awareness about human rights instruments, and the indigenous peoples' movement in the re-

gion grew phenomenally. We questioned the kind of development being pushed, "For what and for whom was this development?" Our communities became heavily militarized and subjected to aerial bombings; many were arrested and tortured, and the dam resistance's key leader, Macli-ing Dulag, was assassinated by the military in 1982. When the Marcos dictatorship fell in 1986, the Aquino government cancelled the project and the World Bank stopped the loan.

This successful protest of the Igorot peoples, along with that of indigenous peoples in Brazil against the similarly WB-funded Polonoroeste project in the early 1980s, led to the formulation and adoption of the World Bank's Operational Manual Statement on Tribal Peoples (OMS 2.34) in 1982.[6] This was the very first time a multilateral development bank developed a manual to govern its projects involving indigenous peoples.

We fought and stopped the Chico Dam Project not merely for environmental reasons but to oppose the threatened loss of our ancestral territories and burial grounds and the arrogance of the Marcos dictatorship and the World Bank to define what development should be for us. We could not allow our ancestral territories to be destroyed, and our traditional livelihoods, cultures and socio-political systems to disappear by the hubris and power of those who regarded us as backward and primitive.

Economic growth, GDP and human development

The concept of human development emerged as a response to criticisms of the impacts of colonization and of the dominant economic development model. While it is UNDP and father of the Human Development Report, Mahmoud Ul Haq, who are associated with human development, it should be recalled that as early as 1953, Canada raised the issue of human development in response to the Soviet Union's criticism of its neglect of the "human development" of the Inuit (indigenous peoples in the

Arctic). Canada established the Department of Northern Development (1953) whose goal was "human development in the North to be measured by three indicators: longevity, education and standard of living."[7]

In an era where gross domestic product (GDP) is the main measure for wellbeing and economic growth is the main development goal, the Human Development framework has re-emerged to provide a balance between economic growth and social development. It aims to put people back at the center of development and enlarge people's choices and freedoms. The Human Development Index links human development and economic growth, and expanded GNP and income-based measurements. According to Ul Haq, the HDI was developed to "measure at least a few more choices besides income and to reflect them in a methodologically sound composite index."[8] He cited four ways to create desirable links between human development and economic growth: investments in education, health and skills and more equitable distribution of income. Social inclusion is a strong element of this framework. The Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measurement (GEM) were subsequently developed to ensure that women's issues are addressed by the development process.

Inspite of the attempts to put a proper balance between economic and social development, the dominant framework for economic growth and development remained and was further entrenched. Neoliberalism, represented by the Washington Consensus, succeeded in relegating the State to facilitate easy access by rich countries and their corporations to lands and natural resources, markets (including financial market) and human resources in developing countries. When developing countries fell into the debt trap in the 1980s, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund provided structural adjustment loans (SALs) that came with conditionalities that weakened the State and strengthened the role of the market.

The main policies promoted by the Washington Consensus are: a) trade liberalization and export-led growth, b) financial

liberalization and financial capital mobility, c) fiscal and monetary austerity, d) privatization, and e) labor flexibility.[9] The globalization of this framework was systematically pursued by international financial institutions like World Bank and IMF, bilateral aid donors and multilateral and bilateral trade agreements. Thus, laws on mining, investment, land tenure, and labor were further liberalized. These laws allowed further expropriation of indigenous peoples' lands and waters, more aggressive extraction of natural resources and wanton destruction of ecosystems in indigenous territories.

The poverty situation of indigenous peoples in most parts of the world has worsened because they have been dispossessed of their ancestral lands and resources. But the observation that the poorest indigenous peoples are found in territories which possess the richest natural resources is true. In Latin America, studies by World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank conclude that a strong correlation exists between indigenous peoples and poverty indices. The 2002, World Development Indicators show that indigenous peoples inhabit territories with vast deposits of oil, gas, minerals and forests but compose the vast majority of the poorest of the poor.[10]

The multiple crises we face today prove the failure of the Development Decades, the Washington Consensus and globalization. Poverty has not been alleviated, much less eradicated except for a very few. UN reports and many other studies show evidence "that economic globalization has consistently concentrated wealth in ever smaller number of countries and economic elites. The top one percent of the world population now account for 40 percent of the world's net worth; the richest 10 percent own 85 percent of the global assets and their holdings are increasing. The world's 946 billionaires have wealth equal to two-thirds of humanity."[11] Never in our world's history have such gross inequality and immoral disparity been seen.

A recent UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) report described the worsening poverty situation:

Estimates suggest that, in 2009, between 47 and 84 million more people have remained poor or will have fallen into poverty in developing countries and economies in transition than would have been the case had pre-crisis growth continued with its course. The setback was felt predominantly in East and South Asia, where between 29 and 63 million people were likely affected, of whom about two-thirds were in India. By these estimates, the crisis has trapped about 15 million more people in extreme poverty in Africa and almost four million in Latin America and the Caribbean.[12]

The phenomenal economic growth in China, India and Malaysia, which reduced the number of extremely poor people, took place because they did not follow the Washington Consensus. Most developing countries are not in this state as they were compelled to implement the Washington Consensus to continue borrowing from the World Bank, other multilateral financial institutions and bilateral donors. In fact, after the 2008 global financial and economic crisis, the situation further deteriorated in many developing countries, highly comprising their achievement of the Millennium Development Goals.

Taking all these into consideration, the UN Permanent Forum's recent "International Expert Workshop on Indigenous Peoples' Development with Culture and Identity" (January 13-15, 2010) concluded that:

The blind faith in self-correcting, efficient markets and the promotion of infinite consumption of finite resources coupled with the promise that economic liberalization will lead towards rapid economic growth, all too often, leads to the over-exploitation of natural resources where indigenous peoples, their cultures and identities, are seen to be "obstacles" to progress because their lands and territories are rich in resources and indigenous peoples are not willing to freely dispose of them. Further, indigenous peoples cultures and values are seen to be contradictory to the values of the market economy such as accumulation of profit, hyper-consumption and competi-

tiveness. In many countries, the history and the continu-
ing practice of assimilation has resulted in blanket pub-
lic policies which excluded indigenous peoples and are
discriminatory towards their cultures and identities. The
pursuit of economic growth, at all costs, are not only
destructive for indigenous peoples but for the rest of
humanity and the planet.[13]

Development, Culture and Identity

The process of nation-state building in the post-colonial era
and the view that the only development track is the path of rich
nations in the North, have undermined indigenous peoples' cul-
tures and identities. The concepts of one nation, one state, one
national culture, one national language is antithetical to realities
in the nation-state. Most nation-states are multi-national, multi-
cultural and multi-lingual. The 2004 HDR on Cultural Liberty
reported that "the world's nearly 200 countries contain some
5,000 ethnic groups. Two thirds have at least one substantial mi-
nority—an ethnic or religious group that makes up at least 10% of
the population."

Inspite of this reality, the report also recognized that "politi-
cal leaders and political theorists of all persuasions have argued
against explicit recognition of cultural identities—ethnic, reli-
gious, linguistic, racial. The result, more often than not, has been
that cultural identities have been suppressed, sometimes bru-
tally, as state policy—through religious persecutions and ethnic
cleansings, but also through everyday exclusion and economic,
social and political discrimination.

Because nation-states adhere to the notion that strength is
based on keeping and protecting national unity, sovereignty and
their boundaries, cultural diversity and indigenous peoples are
regarded in a poor light. Many governments resist indigenous
peoples' assertion that they have the right of self-determination,

which includes determining their political status vis a vis the State and freely pursuing their economic, social and cultural development. Since these rights conflict with its eminent domain claims, its power to reclassify lands and its fixation on the idea that human rights is about individual rights, the State has either assimilated indigenous peoples, suppressed them or discriminated against them.

Since the State is the main agency and unit for development and many nation-states are ruled by dominant populations, indigenous peoples' cultures are considered obstacles to national progress and development. It is very difficult for States to accommodate sub-state entities, especially indigenous peoples whom they usually consider backward, [15] into the modernization framework of nation-state building. This is one reason why many conflicts arise in indigenous territories.

Indigenous peoples have the most diverse cultures and speak 4,000 languages of the world's remaining 6,000 languages. The UNESCO defines culture as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group that encompasses not only art and literature, but lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs. To indigenous peoples, culture is vital in determining their economic and social wellbeing. The UN report on *The State of the World's Indigenous Peoples* highlights this:

> Indigenous peoples have rich and diverse cultures based on a profound relationship with their land and natural resources. Dichotomies such as nature vs. culture do not exist in indigenous societies. Indigenous peoples do not see themselves as outside the realm of nature, but as part of nature, and they have their own specific attachment to their land and territory and own specific modes of production based on a unique knowledge of their environment. Nor do indigenous peoples emphasize a radical duality between the sacred and the mundane as happens in Western culture. In many indigenous cultures, social and political institutions are part of the cosmic order,

and it is on the basis of their worldview, beliefs, values and customs that indigenous peoples define their customary laws and norms. Another salient characteristic of indigenous cultures is that they are based on a collective perspective. In the same way that indigenous peoples consider their lands and resources to be collective assets, they see their cultural values and activities—as function of the group not individuals.[16]

Culture, values and rituals, indeed, are the glue that keep the social fabric of indigenous communities together. And the continuing practice of these cultures and values has ensured that cultural diversity is still vibrant and that tropical forests and better protected ecosystems remain in the world today. The UNDRIP is cognizant of the link between indigenous peoples' development and culture, which is why 16 of its 46 articles refer to culture.

The connection between culture and development is similarly recognized by UNESCO's Declaration on Cultural Diversity adopted in 2001. The Declaration states that cultural diversity is one of the roots and a factor of development (Art. 3) and a means to achieve moral, emotional and spiritual existence. It stresses that the guarantee for cultural diversity to flourish is the respect of human rights. Its action plan for implementation is aimed at deepening the international debate on questions relating to cultural diversity, particularly its links with development and its impact on policy-making. Another objective is achieving respect and protection of traditional knowledge particularly with regard to environmental protection and management of natural resources.

The cultures of indigenous peoples who live in different ecosystems are linked to the way they regard and protect these ecosystems. The indigenous peoples in Cambodia, for example, consider a part of their forests as Spirit Forests and thus protect these at all costs, being where their deities and ancestors' spirits reside. They also protect these to secure and safeguard their forest-based traditional livelihoods and ecosystem. Their resistance against the expansion of Economic Land Concessions, which

are deforesting their territories on a massive scale, is growing stronger despite repression by the military and powerful groups within the government and corporations. Similarly, the Tagbanua indigenous peoples in Palawan, Philippines fought for the delineation of their ancestral waters not merely to better control the waters which are part of their ancestral territories, but because these are sacred grounds where their water deities reside, and which they are thus obligated to protect.

Nation-state building, which sets arbitrary boundaries of national territories, however, has helped to fragment indigenous communities and cultures. Many indigenous peoples were separated when nation-states carved out their territories. The Naga peoples for instance are found in Myanmar and India, prompting the Chief of the Naga Hoho (Traditional Council of Elders), who lives in a longhouse, to say he eats in Burma and sleeps in India. Similarly, the Sami peoples find themselves divided among Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia. This has posed complications for Sami reindeer herders whose cultural practice and livelihoods require access to their traditional grazing lands which cut across these national boundaries. They had to fight hard to get the three Scandinavian countries to recognize their need to freely move across national boundaries, but up to now they experience difficulties in gaining access to their Sami relatives in Russia. Denying such access violates their right to traditional livelihoods and culture, which are part of their Sami identity, and their right to development.

It is imperative to bring in culture into the framework of alternative development thinking and practice. If States acknowledge that the right to culture or cultural liberty is vital for human development and thus work towards its realization, there is no question it will have a positive impact on indigenous peoples and on the entire planet. The 2004 HDR Report clearly points this out:

Cultural liberty is a vital part of human development because being able to choose one's Identity—who one is— without losing the respect of others or being excluded from other choices is important in leading a full life.

People want the freedom to practice their religion openly, to speak their language, to celebrate their ethnic or religious heritage without fear of ridicule or punishment or diminished opportunity. People want the freedom to participate in society without having to slip off their chosen cultural moorings.[17]

Human Rights-Based Approach to Indigenous Peoples' Development

A holistic approach is important in developing an alternative path to development, and this has been recognized by the Expert Workshop on Development with Identity and Culture: Focus on Articles 3[18] and 32[19] of UNDRIP:

The failure of the dominant development paradigm as evidenced by the lingering global economic crisis and the environment crisis of climate change and erosion of biological diversity signals the need to evolve alternative ways of thinking and doing development. Indigenous peoples' visions and perspectives of development provide some of these alternatives which should be articulated and discussed further. Indigenous peoples' concept of development is based on philosophy that humans should live within the limits of the natural world, underpinned by the values of reciprocity, solidarity, equilibrium and collectivity. Development with culture and identity is characterized by having a holistic approach, seeking to build on collective rights, food security and sovereignty and greater control and self-governance of lands, territories and resources, it builds on tradition with respect for ancestors, but looking forward.[20]

The focus on Articles 3 and 32 is to ensure that any development work will have the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as its basic foundation. The human rights-based

approach to development is a critical element of a new design of development. The free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) of indigenous peoples, enshrined in six articles of UNDRIP, should be obtained before any development project is brought into their communities. Article 10 says indigenous peoples shall not be forcibly removed from their lands and territories, and cannot be relocated without their free, prior and informed consent. This is not an easy principle because most nation-states claim ownership over sub-surface resources, which means minerals, oil, gas and water. This explains their aversion to the idea of getting FPIC of affected peoples when they want to exploit these resources. However, indigenous peoples who know their rights assert the centrality of FPIC in any development process that directly affects them.

The San's struggle to reclaim their land is illustrative of the increasing assertion of indigenous rights. A few years back, the San people, representing the First Peoples of the Kalahari (FPK) from Botswana, brought a complaint to the UNPFII on their displacement from their traditional territory in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR). The President of Botswana, Seretse Ian Khama, demarcated 17 percent of Botswana's total surface area for national parks and game reserves, and another 34 percent as "Wildlife Management Areas," displacing the San from their traditional territories in the Kalahari. [21]

In a special Forum meeting held to discuss the San problem, several high government officials of Botswana argued that the government does not accept the term First Peoples and that everyone in the country is indigenous. Saying Botswana is a young nation-state composed of different tribes and marked by countless historical tribal conflicts, they explained that the government's mission is to bring about development and to unite everybody under the nation-state. They said giving favors to one tribe like the San could prompt other various tribes to equally claim land ownership which would be counterproductive to their development and nation building. This could lead to intractable conflicts, and thus giving lands to the San was not an option.

After they were displaced, the San through FPK filed a case against the Botswana Government in 2004. Citing a constitutional provision which guarantees protection of the Bushmen (San) in all parts of the country, they claimed that they were discriminated against, and their rights to their traditional lands, culture and identity, violated. An attempt was made to change the constitution to remove this particular provision. In December 2006, however, the High Court ruled two to one that the San had been "wrongfully deprived of their possessions," their eviction was unlawful and they have the right to return to the CKGR and continue to hunt for their food. They have been hunting and gathering in the Kalahari for 30,000 years, and the claim that they were causing the disappearance of game is untrue as Department of Wildlife and National Parks data show the animal population doubled in the past decade. Many of the San have now gone back to the Kalahari but they still report continuing harassment by government rangers.

This case also shows the conflict between a government's view of development and that of indigenous peoples. If the San have decided that development for them means continuing their traditional ways of living, a pluralistic society should allow them to do so. Unfortunately, many governments see pluralism and diversity as antithetical to development and state building. The arguments used by the Botswana government to displace the San peoples from their lands are classic arguments that other governments in different countries have used. These range from nation-state building, development and economic growth, conservation, addressing poverty or social services lack, to the sovereign right as an independent nation to determine what is good for their people.

None of these, however, can be used to justify violations of the rights of indigenous peoples to continue living in their ancestral lands and practicing traditional lifestyles. They should be free to exercise their socio-cultural, economic and political systems, which embody who they are, no matter how backward these may seem to the government or dominant population. This case illustrates why it is important to approach development from a human rights perspective.

In 2003, the UNDG adopted the human rights-based approach to development drawn up by UNDP and other UN bodies. This was done to ensure that UN agencies, funds and programmes apply a consistent human rights-based approach to common programming processes at global and regional levels, especially at the country level in relation to the Common Country Assessment and UN Development Assistance Framework. The "UN Statement of Common Understanding of Human Rights Based Approaches to Development Cooperation and Programming" says:

- All programmes of development cooperation, policies and technical assistance should further the realisation of human rights as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments;
- Human rights standards contained in, and principles derived from, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments guide all development cooperation and programming in all sectors and in all phases of the programming process;
- Development cooperation contributes to the development of the capacities of "duty-bearers" to meet their obligations and/or of "rights-holders" to claim their rights.[22]

Integrating Environment into Development

Environmental, social and cultural costs should likewise be accounted for in measuring a society's progress. A shortcoming in the Human Development framework is the disappointing weak linkage between development and environment. As early as 1992, Agenda 21 of the UN Conference on Environment and Development had already consolidated the concept of sustainable development, which integrates environmental issues with development policies. This means integrating natural resource con-

straints and environmental damage in measures of economic or human development.

Within this framework, the measurement of economic development includes costs of using the environment as production inputs, and as waste sinks such as for carbon dioxide sequestered by forests and oceans. Therefore, the costs of services provided by ecosystems and natural resource use as well as costs for protecting and preventing environmental degradation should be factored into the universal System of Standard National Accounts (SNA). As of now, SNA only recognizes depreciation of man-made capital assets but not of ecological assets.

Various efforts have already been made in conceptualizing and operationalizing environmental and natural resources accounting, but their results have not been effectively integrated into the SNA, GDP or HDI. Even when sustainable human development came into the picture, environmental accounting was not brought in.

The UNDP funded the Integrated Environmental Management for Sustainable Development (IEMSD) in 1994 and made the UN System of Integrated Environmental and Economic Accounting (SEEA)[23] as part of it. It is unclear if cross pollination has occurred between the two because this has not been included in recent national accounting systems in our countries. A recently released report, *The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity (TEEB)*, recommends "that an upgrade of the UN SEEA manual (2003) should be done to catalyze progress on measurement and incorporate ecosystem services into national accounts."[24]

In the Philippines, the National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB) has led attempts to integrate the SEEA into SNA. The NSCB head Romulo Virola stated:

> With environmental accounting, the state of the environment can be assessed—how much resources are available to us, how much renewable resources are being consumed, how fast non-renewable resources are being depleted, the quality of the environment and the

remaining resources, their economic importance/value and how much is spent by man for the protection of the environment. Through environmental accounting, it is possible to reveal the economic distortions in the production and consumption activities resulting from the subsidies granted to economic activities that are heavily dependent on the environment...[25]

Unfortunately, these efforts have not yet resulted in SNA's expansion to fully integrate environmental costs. All this good work done by well-meaning UN technocrats and government officials are not easily translated into policy, as most nation-states continue to impose the prevalent global economic growth framework. The Philippines, for instance, is becoming notorious for ignoring the cries of indigenous peoples whose lands are being given to foreign mining corporations despite the lack of free consent of affected communities. The Philippines is a classic case of a country which has followed World Bank and IMF prescriptions to the letter, and thus its terrible economic and environmental state.

There are countless stories and cases which describe the links between development, environment and culture as lived and practiced in indigenous territories and which strongly justify why the ecosystem approach has to be used in designing development. Josep-Antoni Gari, a scholar who studied indigenous systems in Brazil extensively, described these links succinctly:

The indigenous peoples of Pastaza embody traditional ecological practices that shape the conservation, use and transformation of biodiversity in diverse Amazonian ecosystems (field research, 1999). They have developed a complex land-use system, comprising spaces for agroecological practices, areas of low-intensity use, and spaces destined for wildlife to reproduce, among others. Biodiversity is essential for their agroecological practices, their food security, their primary health care, the local ecosystem resilience, and many cultural values alike. They have developed a whole indigenous agroecology, which is conveyed by both ecological prac-

tices and cultural meanings, and whose crucial component is biodiversity. They cultivate more than 50 different plant species inside the Amazonian forests, comprising nutritional, medicinal and ritual plants, among others. They also manage a wide genetic agrobiodiversity for many of the cultivated plants. The management of agrobiodiversity is fed by their cultural values, as demonstrated by a culture-biodiversity curve when comparing genetic agrobiodiversity and cultural values of the cultivated plants (field research, 1999). Their agro-ecological practices also comprise the cultivation of forests over their cleared fields. Their planting of many fruit trees and shrubs gives rise to anthropogenic forests in Amazonia, while reinforcing the ecosystem resilience.[26]

Indigenous Critique of HD Framework, HDR and HDI

The Human Development framework, Human Development Report, Human Development Index, and Human Poverty Index undoubtedly contributed to expanding the measurement of progress beyond GDP per capita and putting people at the center of development and enhancing their choices and freedoms. The HDI managed to include vital aspects of national wealth and wellbeing, such as changes in the quality of health and the extent of education. Indirectly these tackled the issue of violations of basic human rights and freedoms as an obstacle to development. However, the extent to which these changed development paths of countries remains a big question, as up to now economic growth is still the overarching measure for progress for most of the world.

For indigenous peoples, the HDR and HDI have not made any significant contribution to make our issues on rights and development visible; this is a basic weakness along with the HD framework.

While some initiatives were started to put indigenous issues forward, these failed to take off the ground. One was the proposal by UNDP Regional Initiative on Indigenous Peoples Rights and Development (UNDP-RIPP) to have indigenous peoples as the special focus of the Asia Regional HDR. This was the popular choice of the organizations UNDP relates with, but its Asia Bureau decided not to pursue it because it was not seen as relevant by many of its country offices. The Human Development Report and most National Reports do not disaggregate data on indigenous peoples, and while a few countries have developed some indigenous statistics, such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand, these are not necessarily within the HD framework.

Because of the HDR's shortcomings to reflect the realities of indigenous peoples at country level, the Permanent Forum in its first session in 2002 proposed that the UN generate a report on the state of indigenous peoples in the world.[27] The Russian government, with the support of the Indigenous Expert member from Russia Pavel Sulyandziga, hosted and paid for the first meeting of the writers of the report. *The State of the World's Indigenous Peoples*, which was finally launched on January 13, 2010 in New York and other world capitals, analyzes the statistics and HDR reports of some of the world's richest countries. The report notes that:

> In 2001, Australia ranked third; the United States, seventh; Canada, eighth; and New Zealand, twentieth in the HDI rankings, while U.S. American Indian and Alaska Natives ranked thirtieth; Canadian Aboriginals, thirty-second; New Zealand Maori, seventy-third, and Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, one hundred third. In all four countries, predominantly English-speaking settler cultures have supplanted indigenous peoples to a large extent, leading to enormous indigenous resource losses, "the eventual destruction of indigenous economies and a good deal of social organization, precipitous population declines and subjection to tutelary and assimilationist policies antagonistic to indigenous cultures."[28]

This shows the problem of using only national averages—these do not reveal the real situation of indigenous peoples. Thus, the importance of disaggregating data, which UNPFII has continued to advocate. Some countries have initiated efforts towards this, such as in the Philippines whose national census survey instrument for 2010 contains variables of language and ethnicity that will help disaggregate data on indigenous peoples.

An earlier review by the UNPFII Secretariat of some HDRs in Asia, Latin America and Africa and some MDG country reports also disclosed very minimal references to indigenous peoples, and even in countries where they have significant populations, they are hardly mentioned. A subsequent extrapolation by the Secretariat from data in regions predominantly populated by indigenous peoples revealed that their poverty situation was worse than the rest of the population. This can be confirmed by World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank poverty studies on indigenous peoples in Latin America.

Disaggregated data would have shown:

- whether and how indigenous peoples fare in income distribution (considering that many of them are not employed in the formal sector but are engaged in traditional livelihoods);
- their share in government budgeting and spending (as many of them live in the most remote areas unreachable by basic social services and are subjected to discrimination and racism); and
- how their empowerment is measured (considering that most countries do not even recognize their identities and most laws are for their assimilation into the dominant society).

Policy advocacy work at the national and global levels would be easier if these data were available.

A related problem is the use of some indicators that similarly do not reflect the reality of the indigenous peoples' situation. For example, the knowledge indicator using enrolment numbers is good but insufficient for indigenous peoples. Many indigenous

children, especially in developing countries, do not enroll in schools mainly because of reasons of poverty and their homes' remoteness from schools. Even among the few who do, drop-out rates are high because of poverty, discrimination and language barrier or the non-use of the mother tongue as a medium of communication.

Another issue is the content of education, with the curricula mainly patterned along Western education models, which are highly discriminatory or oblivious to indigenous peoples' epistemologies, ontologies and teaching methods. Special reports to UNPFII on Millennium Development Goals and on languages also raised the issue of content of the primary school curriculum, highlighting the problem with Goal 2 which aims to have all children complete primary schooling by 2015.

Most of the efforts to make indigenous peoples' situations more visible were done by indigenous peoples themselves with the support of some UN Bodies, NGOs and academic institutions. Since the establishment of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, PFII and the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people, a better global projection of our issues has emerged. This has further been aided by the UN publication of the *State of the World's Indigenous Peoples*, a major break-through that should be sustained.

Two other shortcomings of the HDF, HDR and HDI were discussed extensively in earlier sections. One is their weak integration of environment and culture, and in relation to this, HDF's anthropocentrism. Another is that they remain captive within the economic growth framework. Even if some of their indicators go beyond GDP, income remains the centerpiece because it is linked with access to education and health services. In most countries, education and health services are increasingly being privatized and even less accessible to indigenous and other poor people.

On balance, though, the Human Development Reports have addressed serious issues which are controversial for some gov-

ernments but important for the rest of humanity and the planet. They serve a good purpose in raising critical issues and sensitizing governments and the broader public on problems that need to be heeded. A fine example is the HDR 2004 Report on Cultural Liberty, which has several sections referring to indigenous peoples' situations and the importance of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogues.

Copenhagen Accord, Environmental Injustice and Climate Debt

The imperative to revisit development and to redesign it means we have to factor in the issue of climate change. To save the planet, the general call is for all to work towards a low carbon and climate responsive path to development. There is no way that we can continue "business as usual" if we want to save ourselves and our planet. Indigenous peoples understand this more than ever, not only because of our ancestors' prophecies but also because of our own traditional knowledge, cosmovisions and recent experiences.

The desire to sustain our practices and cultures is one of the reasons why some indigenous peoples decided to engage more actively with the processes of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), especially in the negotiations on reduced emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD). We wanted to ensure that our rights, cultures and traditional knowledge and practices in forest management are recognized and protected. This writer participated in the indigenous peoples caucus, which persisted in advocating that the rights of indigenous peoples should be recognized before any REDD mitigation mechanism is designed and implemented in our territories. We see threats to our control of our forests if REDD would be implemented without any respect for our rights. Thus, to ensure the risks would be addressed, we decided to engage ac-

tively with the UNFCCC processes.

As part of the Philippine government (on its invitation) delegation in the climate change negotiations and its lead negotiator for REDD in 2009, this writer had the opportunity to push for inclusion of safeguard language in REDD texts. These now contain references to the need to recognize indigenous peoples' rights and traditional knowledge, safeguard clauses against conversion of natural forests into other uses and the need for good forest governance.[29] The texts went as far as to note the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was the first time a legally binding global environmental Convention has referred to it.

However, the Copenhagen Accord, the agreement reached by a small group of countries led by the United States, cannot lead towards the global goal to limit temperature rise at two degrees Celsius or below. Industrialized (Annex 1 countries) and some developing countries pledged emissions cuts, which were appended as an annex to the Accord at the end of January 2010. But an analysis done by the Sustainability Institute (a non-profit organization in the US involved in simulation modeling of climate change), MIT Sloan School of Management, and Ventana Systems (a company involved in building simulation models) concluded that "emissions reduction pledges submitted under the Copenhagen Accord process fall short of the level of greenhouse gas emissions reductions required to limit temperature increase to two degrees Celsius, relative to pre-industrial temperatures. Instead, the proposals, if fully implemented, would allow global mean temperature to increase approximately 3.9 degrees Celsius."[30] They deem this global temperature rise to be disastrous for the environment and human life. The atmosphere can no longer absorb greenhouse gas emissions without causing irreversible climate change.

Scientists and the indigenous peoples in the Arctic have said that a two degree-temperature rise means six degrees for the Arctic, which would lead to faster melting of the ice sheets and permafrost than earlier predicted. Thus a 3.9 degree rise that would

translate to 12 degrees in the Arctic would bring unimaginable calamities to indigenous peoples and ecosystems in that region. This is why indigenous peoples and governments from Africa and the Small Island States are urging a higher target of 1 to 1.5 degrees Celsius. Scientists have projected that African countries will heat up even more, leading to more droughts, disappearance of water sources and famines.

The devastating typhoons the Philippines experienced in late 2009 previews what can happen more frequently for countries in typhoon or hurricane belts if greenhouse gas emissions will not abate. Two unprecedented typhoons battered the capital of Metro Manila and the Cordillera region for three weeks. The first one, internationally named Ketsana, poured in six hours the average monthly rainfall the country gets, causing widespread flooding, land erosions, thousands of dead and missing persons and millions of dollars worth in destruction to property in Metro Manila. The second, Parma, hit the Cordillera region, the ancestral territory of more than one million Igorot peoples. It lingered for 10 days, unlike a normal typhoon which lasts from 24 to 48 hours, resulting in massive landslides especially in communities already weakened considerably by mining operations, killing hundreds of people, destroying houses and farms, and burying roads that isolated communities.

Igorot communities near the disaster areas quickly responded with rescue and rehabilitation operations, bringing rice, other food, shovels and other needed items for the typhoon victims. Our traditional values, ethics and practice of solidarity, mutual aid and reciprocity, collectivity and support for the weakest and most vulnerable came into full play. While the recent global economic crisis also affected the Cordillera region, its impacts were not as significant as those brought about by climate change. The devastated communities were those where foreign and national mining companies had operated from 30 to 100 years and, along with those still around, did not rehabilitate after they left.

We did not cause the problems of climate change or the economic crisis nor we did benefit from mining operations, but we bear the heaviest burden of adapting to all of their adverse impacts. We, thus, see climate change as a case of environmental injustice. While rich countries have historically caused 80 percent of the greenhouse gas emissions we now suffer from, they have not issued much support in the form of relief and adaptation funds. They owe developing countries, nations and peoples climate and adaptation debts. Thus, under the UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol, they are obliged to provide developing countries the finances and technologies for mitigation and adaptation, aside from cutting their domestic greenhouse gas emissions deeply.

Indigenous Peoples and Multilateral System

Our participation in multilateral bodies and initiatives are attempts to make more visible the continuing violation of our collective and individual rights, and articulate our worldviews, values and practices of sustainable development. It has been more than 30 years since indigenous peoples started to participate in greater numbers in the UN system, which has deepened our understanding of the value and challenges of multilateralism. This has also led to the adoption of policies and declarations on indigenous peoples' rights and the establishment of mechanisms and spaces dealing with indigenous issues.

Among the fruits of our engagement in the UN are: the adoption of ILO Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (1989); adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007); establishment of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2000); the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people (2000); the Expert Mechanism on Indigenous Peoples' Rights (2008); UNDP Policy of Engagement with Indigenous Peoples (2000); and World Bank Revised Operational Policy and Bank

Policy 4.10 on Indigenous Peoples (2005), among others. Unfortunately, our engagement with the Human Development Report and Human Development Index and the processes around the Millennium Development Goals has not been as extensive as we had hoped for.

In addition, we managed to get the UN to establish two International Decades of the World's Indigenous People, with the first decade from 1993-2004, and the second, from 2005-2015. The objectives of these Decades include the promotion of indigenous peoples' perspectives in development and the development of indicators of their wellbeing and sustainability.

Indigenous peoples further helped to bring about various policies on indigenous peoples from UN bodies and agencies with development. In addition to UNDP and the World Bank, the following developed their own policies:

- UN Development Group (UNDG) Guidelines on Indigenous Peoples (2009) to sensitize and train its various national and international staff;
- International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) Policy on Indigenous Peoples (2009).

The UNESCO, FAO and UNEP are in the process of developing their policies on indigenous peoples. Aside from these, our engagement with other multilateral initiatives like the UN Convention on Environment and Development (UNCED), Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), and UNFCCC led to the inclusion of indigenous peoples in the agreed documents.

The UNCED adopted Agenda 21 in which Chapter 26 on the "Role of Indigenous People and their Local Communities in Sustainable Development" identified indigenous peoples and local communities is a major group under the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD). The CBD has Article 8j on respecting traditional knowledge, while the UNFCCC has a draft document on REDD, which contains references to indigenous peoples' rights and knowledge and UNDRIP.

The UN and the multilateral system have significantly helped in making us more visible not only in the multilateral arena but

also at the national level. We are now more active in bringing to UN Treaty Bodies like the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) our complaints and grievances on the way we are treated by States and corporations. In 1997, the CERD issued its famous Recommendation XX111 that deals specifically with the question of indigenous peoples' culture, identity and development. It called upon States to:

e) Recognize and respect indigenous distinct culture, history, language and way of life as an enrichment of the State's cultural identity and to promote its preservation;

f) Ensure that members of indigenous peoples are free and equal in dignity and rights and free from any discrimination, in particular that based on indigenous origin and identity;

g) Provide indigenous peoples with conditions allowing for sustainable economic and social development compatible with their cultural characteristics;

h) Ensure that members of indigenous peoples have equal rights in respect of effective participation in public life and that no decisions directly relating to their rights and interests are taken without theirinformed consent;

i) Ensure that indigenous communities can exercise their rights to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs and to preserve and practice their languages.[32]

Several complaints have already been brought before the World Bank Inspection Panel and the Ombudsman of the International Finance Corporation (IFC). One example is the case filed by NGOs and Indigenous Peoples' Organizations in Indonesia before the IFC Ombudsman, charging the Wilmar Group (one of the world's biggest palm oil corporations) of violating the IFC Environmental and Social Performance Standards. As a result of the Ombudsman's report based on fact-finding missions, World Bank President Robert Zoellick in September 2009 suspended IFC funding of the oil palm sector, pending development of safeguards to ensure that lending does not cause social or environmental harm.

Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development or Development with Culture and Identity

With the work so far achieved, indigenous organizations—in cooperation with the Permanent Forum, UNDP and other bodies, several NGOs and governments—can pursue the full development of a framework to promote and implement indigenous peoples' self-determined development. It is important to state at the outset that the framework should have UNDRIP as its foundation. For self-determined development to be realized, UNDRIP has to be effectively implemented, along with other human rights and international instruments. The right to culture and identity, as contained in UNDRIP, CERD Recommendation XXIII and UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity, are also crucial elements of self-determined development.

In addition, the ecosystem approach to development, to biodiversity conservation and to mitigation and adaptation to climate change, also has to be implemented. The CBD, which has adopted the Ecosystem Approach as its primary framework for action, defines it as the strategy for the integrated management of land, water and living resources that promote conservation and sustainable use in an equitable way. It involves taking account of vital ecosystem functions and valuing the ecological goods and services they provide in all decision-making processes or what is also referred to as natural capital. For indigenous peoples, this is simply obeying the laws of nature and practicing the indigenous values of mutual reciprocity, respect for Mother Earth and solidarity. We know too well that if we do not treat nature and other living beings as "our relations," we and our future generations will suffer the consequences of our misbehavior. This is natural law.

The indigenous peoples have their own views of development and wellbeing that must be considered in determining development models and approaches. The language of development as understood by dominant societies does not have equivalents in indigenous worldviews and languages. Thus, instead of

using "development," several efforts are being made to advance indigenous concepts of wellbeing or living well. Latin America, for example, has variations of this: among the Quechua, it is *sumaj kausay* (*sumaj*, beautiful, good; *kausay*, to live); the indigenous peoples in Bolivia and now the government have the concept of *buen vivir* (living well); the Maya use the word *utzil* (*utz*, well being; *il*, well living).

Among the Kankana-ey Igorot, we say *gawis ay biag* (good life), which is loaded with many rules and taboos. These taboos are embedded in the concept of *innayan* which generally means "do not do it." Thus we say *innayan* if you cut a tree and sell it to earn money or when you redirect irrigation water to your own field without equitably distributing it when you are assigned to *mananom* (refers to indigenous water management system).[33] If you flout the customary laws on forest or water management, accompanying sanctions will be imposed on you. Most of us respect these, and this explains why we still have tropical forests in our territories unlike the vast majority of communities of the dominant populations in the Philippines. We also practice mutual labor exchange called *ug-ugbo* when we plant, harvest, build houses, care for the sick and aged, and during weddings and death rituals. The care for the earth or what economists would call natural capital or assets and the strong social capital in terms of caring for each other are what we consider our wealth. We may not be rich materially, but we are wealthy in terms of values and the ecological integrity of our territories which we can bequeath to our future generations.

The Miskitu peoples of Nicaragua have similar rules linked to development called *laman laka*, which can be interpreted as rules of coexistence, offering harmony within the family regardless of age or gender. It might be akin to what sociologists and anthropologists term as "social fabric." *Laman laka* establishes economic norms on land use, signifying "if you have, you have; if you have it, I have it." This involves labor exchange or *pana pana*, which allows interaction between people and marked by the value of the word, respect for family, trust, ethnic loyalty and the commonwealth."[34]

Current work on indicators on indigenous peoples' wellbeing and development is also helping to bring to the surface more indigenous perspectives on these. In a joint project of CBD, Permanent Forum and Tebtebba, the lead in the International Indigenous Forum on Biodiversity Working Group on Indicators, indigenous peoples themselves identified the core issues to serve as basis for developing indicators of wellbeing and sustainability. Those identified in regional and global processes include the following;

"1) security of rights to territories, lands and natural resources, 2) integrity of cultural heritage, 3) respect for identity and non-discrimination, 4) culturally appropriate education, 5) fate control or self-determination, 6) full, informed and effective participation, 7) health, 8) access to infrastructure and basic services, 9) extent of external threats, 10) material well-being 11) gender, and 12) demographic pattern of indigenous peoples. The next step is to identify indicators which will measure progress in achieving these."[31]

The following case illustrates the importance of involving indigenous peoples in developing indicators of their own wellbeing. At the Asia Summit on Indigenous Peoples' and Climate Change, the indigenous peoples from Sungai Utik village in Indonesia said the best indicator for their wellbeing is cleanliness, and potability of water in their river and its tributaries. To them so long as the river water is adequate and clean, they and their animals, plants and forests are healthy and well. And to maintain and keep the flowing water clean, strict prohibitions are followed: they cannot use toxic pesticides or fertilizers, allow deforestation or entry of oil palm plantations, or throw waste into the river, among others. Their indigenous governance systems, which include customary laws, are used to regulate the behavior of the community people as well as the actions of the State and the market. They assert that their state of health is far better than their counterparts whose sources of water, like rivers and springs, are polluted by monoculture plantations and processing plants, mining operations and deforestation.

Many researches have gathered evidence that if human wellbeing and happiness become the standard to measure human progress, this would not be realized by relentless accumulation of wealth and commodities, increasing competition for power and excessive consumerism. The more fundamental conditions for wellbeing and happiness are sufficient food, decent shelter and clothing, strong family and community values of caring, reciprocity and solidarity, good health, security, meaningful livelihoods, freedom to express her or his identity, freedom of speech and religion and freedom to practice one's culture and a safe and non-polluted environment. These resonate with indigenous peoples concepts of living well (*gawis ay biag, buen vivir,* etc.).

As Bolivian President Evo Morales explained when he spoke of *buen vivir* at the Permanent Forum's 7th session, they do not like to live better, they just want to live well. Living better means competing with others to live better.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Indigenous peoples in various parts of the world and at the global level have organized various processes to discern and debate what indigenous peoples' development with culture and identity or self-determined development means. It goes without saying that the basic foundation of this kind of development is the respect, protection and fulfillment of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The right to self-determination, UNDRIP's foundational article, has to be respected and implemented by States and the UN system.

Several global processes organized by Tebtebba have resulted in a synthesis of what needs to be done to achieve self-determined development. The following summation consolidates not only what were discussed in these processes but also those reached in other indigenous processes. All these should be rel-

evant in expanding the HD framework and HDI and in bringing birth to a society characterized by sufficiency, equity, sustainability and peace and justice.

Indigenous peoples' self-determined development could be achieved if the following are ensured:

- Protect and enhance indigenous peoples' distinct identities and cultural institutions, philosophies and worldviews, customary laws, indigenous political governance and justice systems, indigenous knowledge systems and sustainable traditional livelihoods and other economic systems.
- Strengthen indigenous beliefs and practices which promote harmony and sustained interaction with their environment, holistic management (human-rights based, ecosystem approach) of territories and natural resources so that these can still be used by the future generations.
- Promote policies, programmes and projects which enhance the indigenous values and practices of reciprocity, equity, solidarity, sustainability, collectivity and interconnectedness.
- Reinforce indigenous concepts of economic, social, political, cultural and spiritual wellbeing (*sumaj kausay, buen vivir, gawis ay biag*, etc.) and cultural diversity and develop indicators to measure how such wellbeing and cultural diversity are promoted. Sustain the earlier efforts in developing indigenous peoples' indicators of wellbeing and sustainability.
- Recommend that the HDI be expanded to include indicators of ecological sustainability, cultural diversity and of empowerment and equity. The UNDP should consider developing an Indigenous Development Index and an Indigenous Empowerment Measure in the same way it developed GDI and GEM.
- Push for disaggregation of data on indigenous peoples at the national, regional and global levels. The HDR national and regional reports can start this process.

- Respect and protect rights to lands, territories and resources. Develop and promote laws and policies which ensure indigenous peoples' control, ownership and access to these.
- Respect and operationalize the right to free, prior and informed consent.
- Ensure that equality, non-discrimination and right to full and effective political participation are respected in all decision-making bodies and in the design and implementation of programmes and projects brought into their communities.
- Respect and promote cultural rights and right to identity and revitalize cultural traditions and customs but also consciously revise aspects which are not consistent with international human rights standards and which do not promote gender or intergenerational balance.
- As part of the implementation of the right to self-determination, autonomous regional governments or other self-governing traditional structures of indigenous peoples should be developed or enhanced and the control of these structures over economic development, cultural policies and programmes, social services such as health and education should be ensured.
- Promote indigenous peoples' participation in political governance, legislative and juridical bodies from the local to the national to the global level and ensure that the principle of respect for pluralism which includes recognition and support for the continuing existence and use of indigenous peoples' diverse governing and juridical systems.
- Reinforce traditional livelihoods of IPs which are ecologically sustainable (low ecological footprint, low-emissions and climate-responsive) and which ensure equitable sharing of resources and benefits.
- Promote demand-driven programmes and projects, meaning indigenous peoples are fully involved in identifying, designing, implementing, monitoring and evalu-

ating development programmes, policies or projects.

- Promote use of mother tongue, establish bilingual and intercultural education.
- Promote and support integrated local development projects that ensure the leadership role played by indigenous organizations and communities in project conceptualization, participatory planning, decentralized execution and local capacity building
- Protect indigenous peoples' intellectual, cultural, religious and spiritual property and provide redress for misappropriation.
- Provide adequate and appropriate intercultural social services in education, health, care for the aged and differentially-abled which are adapted to the socio-cultural and linguistic characteristics of indigenous peoples.
- Provide options for indigenous peoples to decide which aspects of the subsistence economy, intercultural economy (interface between the subsistence and market economies) and the market economy they will use and develop.
- Support the development and use of culturally appropriate and environmentally sustainable technologies.
- Support efforts to integrate environmental and natural resource accounting, such as integrating an upgraded UN System of Economic Environmental Accounting into the Systems of National Accounts. Ensure that the ecological services from indigenous territories (forests, rivers, oceans, grasslands, etc.) are included in the SSEA and the payments for these should go directly to the indigenous peoples.
- Rejection of the Washington Consensus and neoliberal economics which has undemocratic, unsustainable and inequitable elements and goals such as hyper-economic growth; export-oriented production and debt-dependent economies, deregulation of corporate behavior, privatization of public common goods and services, structural adjustment policies, and perverse incentives

for unsustainable agriculture and manufacturing.

- Call for major reforms of current international trade and financial institutions like the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, export credit agencies, bilateral trade agreement which have been perpetuating the unsustainable global economy of today. If reforms are not possible, there should be new financial and trade architectures put in place which will act in the interests of ecological sustainability, equity among nations and peoples, democracy and peace.

- Reinforce resilience, mitigation and adaptation processes of indigenous peoples especially in the face of climate change and ensure that the right policy incentives and approaches for mitigation and adaptation are formulated and implemented and that financial support and technology development are provided directly to their communities through authorities or structures supported and recognized by them.

- Include in the indigenous peoples' development architecture how to reinforce further their existing low-emission development models. This would include the installation of decentralized, locally-controlled, small-scale renewable energy projects, including wind, solar, small-scale hydropower, wave and local biomass. The continuation and strengthening of indigenous sustainable agro-ecological knowledge systems and practices as well as sustainable forest, water and soil management systems. Ecosystems-based approaches to climate change adaptation and mitigation measures should be expanded and supported.

- Recognition of the natural limits of Mother Earth and that the protection and preservation of biological and genetic diversity and of the global atmospheric commons is a primary goal for human beings and their societies.[35]

As this paper is meant to make suggestions to the HDR and HDI, the above recommendations can provide UNDP more con-

crete ideas on how to integrate indigenous peoples, culture, equity, empowerment and ecological sustainability in its expanded HD framework. This implies additional indicators under the HDI as recommended above.

The big concern however remains that much of what we have gained—such as UNDRIP; recommendations of UNPFII, Special Rapporteur on indigenous peoples' rights, and EMRIP; numerous policies of UN programmes, funds and agencies, multilateral development banks and NGOs—have yet to be operationalized and implemented by States to make significant changes in the lives of indigenous peoples. Thus, we see that bodies like UNPFII, UNDP, FAO, WHO, ILO, among others, play an important role to bring about needed changes at the multilateral level and within countries. While we cannot expect a radical overhaul of structures that promote unsustainable policies, programmes and projects, at the least these bodies should implement instruments and policies they have adopted. The mission of overhauling has to be done jointly with civil society organizations, indigenous peoples' and other social movements, enlightened bureaucrats from governments and inter-governmental bodies, and academics, among others.

We face many challenges and obstacles on the road to self-determined development. Such a development needs a critical holistic framework that includes economic, cultural, social, political and spiritual development as well as ecological sustainability. It goes beyond the consideration of people as the means and end of development and includes an ecologically sustainable planet as an end. This paradigm includes the prophecies and wisdom bequeathed to us by our ancestors, our cultures, values and traditions, knowledge systems, epistemologies, teaching and learning methods, governance systems and customary laws, traditional resource management practices, indigenous economic systems and traditional livelihoods.

But at the same time this framework challenges the indigenous practices and traditions inconsistent with these values, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and natural

law. Not everything indigenous peoples do is right. Some of us have internalized our own colonization and oppression, which means behaving in much the same way as oppressors. The scourge of consumerism, individualism and belief that we can dominate nature has afflicted some of us. Many others, displaced from their traditional territories, have had to rebuild their cultures and communities in urban centers, foreign lands and wherever they find themselves in. Thus, a process must unfold to reclaim and revitalize our cultures and values, and to go back to our roots to be empowered as indigenous peoples.

However we do not believe that we can bring about a more sustainable world on our own. The values we live by and want to promote are values that other members of society can also internalize and use. A process of re-indigenization allows those who have lost their indigeneity and those from dominant populations to learn what it means to live in harmony with Mother Earth, and in solidarity and mutual reciprocity with other human beings, other living beings and the unseen.

It is time the UN system broadens and promotes more meaningful participation of non-state actors, particularly those still oppressed and marginalized in its ambit. New multilateralism means that the UN should accommodate such views and participation, and implement the most relevant recommendations and programmes of actions that respond to the multiple crises confronting the world but which it failed to do in the past 30 years. This includes enforcing human rights agreements and instruments and ensuring these form foundations of human rights-based approaches to development. Furthermore, it means implementing the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities of UNFCCC and obligations of Annex 1 countries under Kyoto Protocol. The US, which is not a party to the Kyoto Protocol, has to bind its commitments legally under UNFCCC.

New multilateralism also means it is no longer possible to allow powerful states who fail to get what they want in a more democratic UN to create plurilateral mechanisms to push their agenda and interests. However slow the process of democracy is

within the UN, it does not justify undermining this body. The UN's one-country, one-vote system is still more democratic than any other.

Endnotes

[1] Tauli-Corpuz, Victoria. (2008) CLT/CPD/CPO/2008/IPS/02,2008. The Concept of Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development or Development with Identity and Culture: Challenges and Trajectories. UNESCO. p. 8.

[2] US Foreign Policy Encyclopedia: Development Doctrine and Modernization Theory, downloaded 3 Feb. 2010 from <http://www.answers.com/topic/development-doctrine-and-modernization-theory>.

[3] Broad, Robin and John Cavanagh (2009). Development Redefined: How the Market Met Its Match. (Paradigm Publishers, Colorado) p. 10.

[4] Gore, Al. (2010). Global Warming: The crisis is growing – we can't wish away climate change. (National Post, Canada March 8, 2010) p. 10.

[5] I was one of the Igorot student activists who joined the resistance movement against this. I was also one of the founders of the Kilusang Kabataan ng Kordilyera (Movement of Cordillera Students), an Igorot student organization which was involved in the campaign against the Chico Dam Project and in helping organize the communities who were directly affected.

[6] For more information about this struggle see Mander, Jerry and Victoria Tauli-Corpuz (2006), Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization. (University of California Press, Berkeley) p. 50.

[7] D'Anglure, Bernard, Saladin (2009) , The Inuit: Assimilation and Cultural Impoverishment, Indigenising Development, (International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth, UNDP and Brazil, Brasilia) p. 22.

[8] Ul Haq, Mahmoud (1)(1995). "Reflections on Human Development." (New York: Oxford University Press) p. 47.

[9] Palley, Thomas , J. (2002), A New Development Paradigm Domestic Demand-Led Growth: Why It Is Needed and How to Make it Happen. Foreign Policy Focus Discussion Paper. (Interhemispheric Resource Center, Washington, D.C.) p. 7.

[10] Patrinos, H.A. and G. Hall (2006), Indigenous People: Poverty and Human Development in Latin America, 1994-2004, (World Bank, Wash-

ington, D.C.).

[11] Mander, Jerry, ed. Manifesto on Global Economic Transitions (2007), Project of the International Forum on Globalization, The Institute of Policy Studies, Global Project on Economic Transitions, (San Francisco).

[12] United Nations, World Economic Situation and Prospects 2001, (UN, New York) p. 10.

[13] Draft Report, International Expert Group Meeting on Indigenous Peoples' Development with Culture and Identity; Focus on Articles 3 and 32; January 12-14, 2010. (UN, New York).

[14] Human Development Report 2004; Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World, (UNDP, New York) p. 15.

[15] Some States up to the present still officially categorize indigenous peoples or tribal peoples as Primitive Tribal Groups or PTGs (India), masyarakat terasing (isolated people or isolated communities) in Indonesia, etc.

[16] Kipuri, Noami (2009), Culture, State of the World's Indigenous Peoples, (United Nations, New York) p. 52.

[17] Ibid, Human Development Report 2004; p. 15.

[18] Article 3: Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

[19] Article 32:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources.

2. States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project.

20 Ibid. Draft Report of International Expert Group Meeting on Indigenous Peoples Development. p.10.

21 As Chair of the Permanent Forum I visited the Ambassador of the Permanent Mission of Botswana to the UN to discuss the issue and invited him to attend the Forum sessions. Several high level government officials subsequently participated in a special PF meeting held with them to discuss the San problem.

[22] The Human Rights Based Approach to Development Cooperation: Towards A Common Understanding Among UN Agencies. Downloaded from <http://hrbaportal.org/?page_id=2127>, on March 5, 2010.

[23] EEA was developed by the UN Statistical Division (UNSD) to

serve as the operational framework for the development of satellite environmental accounts to the SNA (System of National Accounts).

[24] TEEB—The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity for National and International Policy Makers—Summary Responding to the Value of Nature 2009. p. 15.

[25] Virola, Romulo, S. De Perlo, E. Angeles, Environmental Accounting in the Philippines, Presented at the Users' Forum on Environmental Accounting, Makati City, 29 June 2000. p. 3.

[26] Gari, Josep-Antoni, Biodiversity Conservation and Use, Local and Global Considerations. downloaded from <http://www.cid.harvard.edu/archive/biotech/papers/discussion7.pdf>, on March 5, 2010.

[27] This was one of the key recommendations I put before the Forum during the 2002 session. At that time I was speaking as a representative of my own organization, Tebtebba. It was during my term as Chair of the Forum (2005-2010) that the Forum Secretariat worked on this; it took four years for the report to come out.

[28] Carino, Joji, Poverty and Wellbeing, State of the World's Indigenous Peoples' Report (2010), (UN, New York) p.10.

[29] The exact language written in these REDD texts are found in the Annex G of UNFCCC Document Draft Decision_/CP.15 FCCC/AWGLCA/2009/17 , 5 February 2010. Paragraph 2. Further affirms that when undertaking activities...the following safeguards should be [promoted] [and] [supported]:...c. respect for the knowledge and rights of indigenous peoples and members of local communities, by taking into account relevant international obligations, national circumstances and laws, and noting that the General Assembly has adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. d) full and effective participation of relevant stakeholders , including in particular indigenous peoples and local communities in actions referred to in paragraphs 3 and 5 below.

[30] Raman, Meena . Developed countries' emission cuts pledges under Copenhagen Accord. (SUNS #6859, 9 Feb. 2010. Geneva).

[31] Tauli-Corpuz, V. (2008) The Concept of Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development or Development with Culture and Identity: Challenges and Trajectories. UNESCO CLT/CPD/CPO/2008/IPS/02. p. 39.

[32] Ibid, Tauli-Corpuz, V. (2008). p. 21.

[33] Mananom is a Kankana-ey irrigation water management system which ensures the equitable distribution of water to the rice fields belonging to all the members of the community. Each family is assigned days in a month to go to the source of the irrigation waters and redirect the flow to the fields which have their turn to be watered. This is still

practiced up to the present.

[34] Cunningham, Myrna and Dennis Mairena A. (2009), Laman Laka: If I Have It You Have It, If You have It I Have It, Indigenising Development, (International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth Poverty Practice, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP and Brazil, Brasilia) p. 8.

[35] Many of these are culled from the report of the Tebtebba processes around Indigenous Peoples' Self-determined Development contained in the UN Document E/C.19/2008/CRP.11, 18 April 2008, some from the Manifesto on Global Economic Transitions (2007) of the International Forum on Globalization, the Institute for Policy Studies and the Global Project on Economic Transitions, and some are my own additions.

5 | Latin American Andean Indigenous Agriculturalists Challenge Current Transnational System of Science, Knowledge and Technology for Agriculture: From Exclusion to Inclusion

by Tirso Gonzales, Marcela Machaca,
Nestor Chambi, Zenón Gomel[1]

*At the time the Spaniards arrived, in [...] 1531, Andean society had reached a stage of development comparable to that of Europe in the times of classical Greece and Rome. Tawantinsuyo, the great Inka...[**confederation**] extending through the Andes from Colombia to Chile, was a sophisticated urban society...The victorious Spaniards introduced an alien technology, which had been developed through thousands of years of experimentation, from the Old World's Paleolithic age to the Renaissance. It had served Europe well, but in a very different ecosystem. Convinced that the same techniques would work anywhere, the newcomers scorned those of native societies and set out to make the New World like the Old. Much of our continent's economic weakness and dependency can be traced to that fateful decision...*

*In the Andes, where the great Inka...[confederation] and its predecessors had achieved economic success on **entirely different principles**, the consequences were disastrous...We Andeans began to measure our success by an "index of modernity" which meant nothing other than how close our systems were to those of Europe. [...]*

The West became our paradigm; no *time or resources would be invested in developing or reproducing the methods of the indigenous world, considered the antithesis of development and modernization (Lumbreras 1991: 18-19, 22)* (emphasis ours).
"….We have to make the system of agricultural research change in order to respond to the diverse farmers' demands instead of making farmers change so that they adapt to the systems of agricultural research."

Eduardo Trigo, GCARD Montpellier
March 29, 2010

Long before Latin America, as a name and region, became part of the European colonizer imagery, and before Immanuel Wallerstein (2005) asked himself "Latin@s: What's in a name?" the region in question was already called by the natives *Abya Yala.* Major civilizations had already developed and ancient regional sophisticated (land-place based) cultures had flourished on the continent. In addition, other smaller hunting and gathering indigenous societies had already been living in the tropical forests.

This region, known to the settlers as Latin America, hosts a rich cultural and biological diversity. Paraphrasing Guillermo Bonfil Batalla (1996), there is a "Latin America *Profunda*" (Deep Latin America) and a "Latin America *Imaginaria*" (Imaginary Latin America). The tensions between these two Latin Americas have not been resolved for the indigenous peoples and their seeds and what is embedded in their cultures, languages, cosmovisions, food and spirituality.

For a great number of indigenous peoples in contemporary Abya Yala, life is agrocentric. The profound cultural, epistemological (ways of knowing), ontological (ways of being) and cosmological (ways of being related to the world) differences between the Culture of the Commercial Seed, CCC, embedded within Western(ized) societies, and the Cultures of the Native Seed, CNS, embedded within indigenous peoples' land-place based agri-cultures, have not been taken, from its inception, into consideration by the transnational network System of Agricultural Research, Extension, Education, Science, Knowledge and

Technology (AREESKT) and their respective dominant, exclusive and assimilationist theories and paradigms of rural/agricultural development. (Figure 1). Their approach has been, and still is, techno-bureaucratic and scientific and includes universalizing, homogenizing, paternalistic pretensions. This approach is part of a larger scheme related to "coloniality of power" (economic exploitation and race classification) (Quijano, 2000), "coloniality of the mind/knowledge" (universalizing the Eurocentric way of education and knowledge generation) (Lander 2000). Within the Development and Progress epoch inaugurated by US President Harry Truman in 1949, for more than 60 years the Euro-American centered AREESKT system, its guiding paradigms, application and outcomes have failed to support,

Table 1. Characteristics of the three Cultures of the Seed and their respective agricultural systems

Type of Agri-*culture*	Culture of the Native Seed System of Indigenous Agrofestive and Ritual Agri-culture	Culture of the Commercial Seed System of Conventional/ Productivist Agri-culture	Culture of the Agroecological Seed System of Agro-ecological Agri-culture
History	Between 8 to 10,000 years old to date	1800 to date	Pre-WWII: 1911... Post-WWII: 1960s & 1970s
Main actors	Indigenous communities, Afro descendants/ "peasants" Considered "third class citizens" largely excluded from /and marginal to dominant society	Agribusiness, small, medium and large producers	Small, medium and large-scale producers, professionals

World-view	Indigenous worldviews	Dominant Western positivistic, mechanistic (in crisis, unsustainable)	In progress. Not clearly defined yet
Paradigm	Indigenous self-determined. Holistic	Liberal. Modernization-Progress-Development, Technocentric. Reductionist	Eco-centric aiming holism
AREEKST	Indigenous	Conventional	Aims dialogue of "saberes," b/w local "saberes" & Western knowledge
State, AREEKST /NARS & /or Major donor/ funding support	Insignificant. Forced to adapt to dominant AREEKST trans-national system	Very high Very well served by AREEKST trans-national system	Supported by universities, NGOs, & some funding agencies. Progressively included within AREEKST trans-national system
Contribu-tion to general food supply	Very high. Global (70%). Latin America (41% in the 1980s)	Medium	Low high
Inputs (type & origin)	Low use of external inputs. Highly intensive use of local "Saberes" & technology.	Intense use of external inputs: chemical, technological, machinery & tools, fossil fuel	Low use of external inputs. Biological inputs produced from within the system. High tech integrated to endogenous, natural, physical & energetic processes.

Know-ledge & skills	Land-place based local, transgene-rational, circumstan-cial, sensuous, context-specific ancestral knowledge: **"Saberes"** (*Sapere*), something different than knowledge & wisdom. Strongly rooted to place & territory. No subject-object separation	Western, science-based, academic/ technological knowledge Universal pretension Standarized knowledge Subject-object must be separated Based on experimentation	Academic/ technological knowledge & know how with emphasis on local/ancestral knowledge. Scientific knowledge strongly based on ecological science (agroecology, ethnosciences— ethnoecology, ethnoveterinary, ethnolinguistics, ethnobotany)
Diversifi-cation of produc-tion	Multi-crops; high biological diversity	Great scale monocultures with spatial & temporal rotations	Multi-crops with spatial and temporal integration
Links to the market	Production largely oriented to family consumption and local market	Strong articulation with production chains & links to national & international markets Responds to & imposes Euro-american aesthetics & regulations of cosmopolitan conventional consumer markets	Little articulation with production chains, but strong linking with markets of differentiated products. Responds to & imposes Euro-american aesthetics & regulations of cosmopolitan organic consumer markets

Labor	Family & communal labor using different forms of labor exchanges	Dominated by hired labor	Family & hired labor
Culture-Nature relation	Not separated Human community belongs to earth mother/land	Separated Earth belongs to human beings	In transition Becoming natives to land & place Aiming to belong to the land
Cultural diversity (measured by language)	Very high (Culture diversity rich)	Low high	Medium
Biological diversity	Very high (Gene rich) High concentration of Centers of origin of genetic diversity (Vavilov centers)	Poor (Gene poor). Historical –colonial/neo-colonial seed appropriation through legal & illegal mechanisms	Good (Local seed banks/exchange)

Source: Adapted by the authors from IAASTD 2009a:8, Maffi and Woodley 2010, Merchant 1992, Battiste and Youngblood Henderson 2000,

much less understand, indigenous peoples agri-cultures, such as the Andean peoples (Ishizawa and Rengifo, 2009; Escobar, 1995; Gonzales, 1996, 1987). The dominant AREESKT system from its inception excluded the indigenous peoples' AREESKT system, and forced indigenous farmers around the globe to adapt to modern-conventional-productivist agriculture and to become "small scale entrepreneurial farmers." Indigenous peoples' cultures and agricultures have been the missing key component in the enterprise of development, and its supporting paradigms and

theories (Hoage and Moran, 1998; Warren, Slikkerveer and Brokensha, 1999; Sobrevila, 2008).

For indigenous peoples agriculture and the seed, like language, are culture-, worldview- and place-based specific. In contemporary societies the seed is embedded, in general, within two types of cultures: Western capitalist societies/cultures and indigenous peoples' cultures. Within the former culture and society we find what has evolved as the Culture of the Commercial Seed, and more recently the Culture of the Agroecological Seed (Altieri, 1995; Gliessman, 1990 a, b, c) (see Table 1). Indigenous peoples' cultures are Cultures of the Native Seed. Contemporary Western(ized) cultures are science-based, whereas indigenous cultures are land-placed based cultures and context specific. In the Culture of the Commercial Seed, nature and culture are separated (Pretty et al., 2008). In the Cultures of the Native Seed, they are not. One is embedded and interacts within the dominant Western mechanistic worldview (Merchant, 1992), while the other is embedded in the millenarian indigenous cosmovisions (see Table 2).

Indigenous Agriculturalists are Important

The Western scientific and techno-bureaucratic approach to indigenous peoples has created significant conceptual and practical distortions. First of all, indigenous peoples have become objects of science, rural and agricultural development. The campesino/peasant concept originates in Europe and stresses economic class over ethnicity, neglecting the complexity of indigenous peoples' cultures and their concepts of a fundamentally inclusive egalitarian ethnic identity and what culture signifies within these indigenous worldviews. Equally important is

Figure 1. The Dominant Productivist Transnational Network of Agricultural Research Institutions, Universities, Private Sector, NGOs, Agroindustry
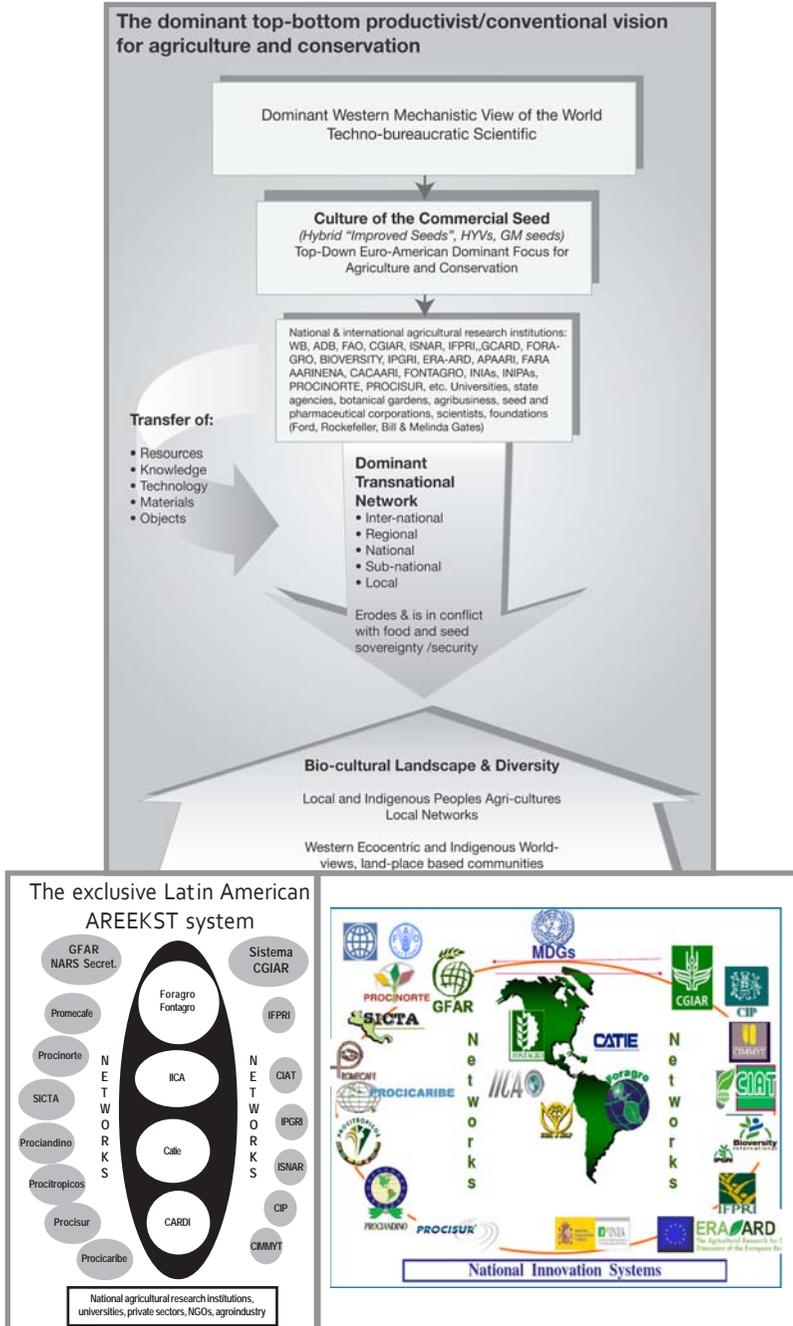
Source: Adapted from IAASTD (2009 a, b)

Table 2. Two Contemporary Worldviews

Dominant Western Mechanistic Worldview	Andean Indigenous Place-based Worldview
1. Western epistemology, ontology, cosmovision. Western way of knowing, of being and being related to the world	1. Andean epistemology, ontology, cosmovision
2. Grounded in the Judeo-Christian & Cartesian cosmovision	2. Grounded in indigenous, pre-colonial cosmovision
3. Man dissociates from nature (subject-object)	3. No subject-object separation. Human beings are part of life as whole. Mutually reliant.
4. Anthropocentric vision of the world: man is the center of the world	4. World is *Pacha*, which is made by *Ayllu*—natural collectivity of equivalent beings (*Runas*/Humans, *Sallqa*/Nature, *Apus-Huacas*/deities). All are relatives
5. Mechanistic worldview: world viewed as a machine	5. World is viewed as an organism/animal world
6. Life moves around men's material needs	6. Natural collectivity interacts through loving, filial, and respectful dialogue/conversation to procure balance/harmony and nurture life as a whole
7. Egocentric ethic: what is best for the individual is best for society as a whole	7. Agrocentric. Life is nurtured in reciprocal work: *ayni* and *minka*, joyfully
8. Based on Western mechanistic science and capitalism. Lab-based	8. *Chacra* (small plot of land: 1-2 ha) is the center of rituality and festivity. Mimics nature

Dominant Western Mechanistic Worldview	Andean Indigenous Place-based Worldview
9. Earth is dead and inert, malleable from outside, and exploitable for profits	9. *Pacha mama*/Earth mother and its *Ayllu* members are alive. It is consubstantial, immanent, harmonious, dynamic, variable. All are "persons"
10. Innovation protected by Individual Property Rights	10. Communal Rights. Customary Law (Rule of balance and harmony for the regeneration of life as whole: well being of all (*allin kawsay*)
11. Linear vision of history (past-present-future)	11. Circular vision of history: past-present-future are together
12. Knowing is scientific: specialized/fragmented/ reductionist	12. Knowing is cosmovisional: in *chacra* making, holistic
13. Production: homogenizing/ standardizing	13. Regeneration: local *Pacha*/place based biodiversity oriented
14. Often non-sustainable	14. Often sustainable

Adapted by T. Gonzales. Sources: Merchant, 1992; Valladolid, 1998, 2001; Grillo, 1990,1998 a,b

not to confuse agroecology with indigenous agricultures. These two ways of doing agriculture are closer to each other on a number of key aspects than to conventional agriculture. However, one is embedded within the realm of holistic Western science while the other is not. In other words there are fundamental epistemological, ontological and cosmological/spiritual differences. Development and Marxist theories neglect ethnicity identity culture (Stavenhagen, 1990). Official national and international statistics (FAO, IDB, World Bank) illustrate this. The concept favored the old, unproductive Euro-American "peasantization-depeasantization" debate. A review of the progressive/radical

NGO literature would show that NGOs such as GRAIN, IIED[2], ILEIA, RAFI, ETC Group, Third World Network and their partners around the globe still work with the above misleading techno-scientific bureaucratic terminology as part of Eurocentric approaches and historical tradition.

This comment does not undervalue or sets aside their important solidarity with and/or advocacy of indigenous peoples' agenda and their important contribution towards alternative paradigms of development, agricultural research, food and agricultural policy debates. We should not forget through language we express our view of the world and shape it.[3]

Whatever the Western scientific, techno-bureaucratic label, so called "peasants," "subsistence farmers," "small scale farmers" and "resource-poor small holders farmers and producers" make a fundamental contribution to global food production (Altieri and Koohafkan, 2008; ETC, 2009) (Table 3).

Agriculture is a source of livelihood for a vast majority of people in the developing world which accommodates a total of 5.5 billion people of which three billion live in rural areas (nearly half of humanity). Of these, nearly 2.5 billion rural people are involved in agriculture and 1.5 billion (more than half of the rural population) belong to small holder households. These resource poor, small holder farmers and producers (herein after referred as small holder farmers) make up a vast majority (85%) of farmers in the developing world. These smallholder farmers are distributed in all the three worlds of agriculture—i) agriculture-based, ii) transforming, and iii) urbanized (World Bank, 2008) but are mostly concentrated in the agriculture-based (typified by Africa) and transforming countries (typified by China, India, Indonesia, Morocco, and Romania). It needs to be emphasized that smallholder farming, also known as "family farming"—a small-scale farm operated by a household with limited hired labour—remains the most common form of agriculture, even in industrial countries (Metha et al., 2010: 4).

Table 3. Small-scale Indigenous peasant population in 1990 for 17 selected countries

Continent / Country	Agricultural Population in 1990 (millions)	% of Property with less than < 5 Hectares	Agricultural Population – small scale (millions)	Total World Indigenous Pop. (millions)
ASIA: China India Pakistan Irán Corea del Sur	679.56 535.60 35.38 14.64 9.57	100 84 71 73 100	679.56 449.90 25.12 10.68 9.57	
AFRICA: Argelia Egypt Tanzania	5.95 21.23 21.67	80 95 100	4.76 20.17 21.67	
LATIN AMERICA: Brazil Chile Colombia Costa Rica Ecuador El Salvador México Peru Venezuela	36.52 1.69 9.10 0.73 3.23 1.95 26.80 7.90 2.06	44 49 60 43 71 87 77 78 49	16.06 0.83 5.46 0.31 2.29 1.69 20.63 6.16 1.00	48
TOTAL			**1.276.86**	**350**

Source: Toledo 1995

According to the ETC Group there are at least 370 million indigenous peasants on at least 92 million farms. In addition,

"…peasants currently manage over half of the world's arable land. From regional data, it is fair to estimate: 17

million peasant farms in Latin America grow between a half to two-thirds of staple foods; Africa's 33 million peasant farms (mostly female) account for 80 percent of farms and most of the domestic food consumption; Asia's 200 million peasant rice farms produce most of its harvest. […] the 1,520 million peasant farm family members mostly feed themselves" (ETC, 2009:4).

Last but not the least, ETC notes that "an estimated 640 million peasant farmers and an additional 190 million pastoralists raise livestock for their own consumption and local markets" (ETC, 2009:10).

Given their relevance in terms of number (population and farms implied), and the rich uniqueness of their non Western languages, cultures, cosmovisions, indigenous knowledge, rich genetic pool of seed crops, animals, and medicinal plants, it is precisely this sector that must be acknowledged by the AREESKT system as a whole in its own right, as equal partners within such a system. If governments, international agencies and NGOs continue to force indigenous agriculturalists to abandon their ways and to accept a Western technological fix, this will result in continuing the piecemeal and fragmented managerial approach and will just add more to the pile of failures, short-term gains and waste of millions of dollars, such as those deployed so far by AREESKT.

Figure 2. Indigenous Peasants Feed at Least 70% of the World's Population
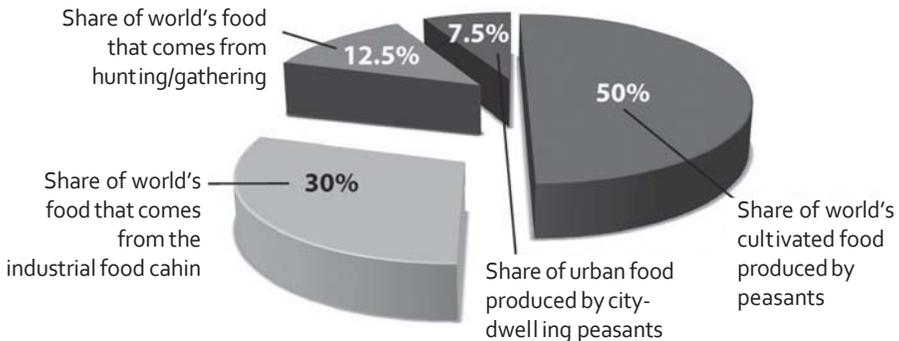
Source: (ETC Group 2009:1)

Indigenous people's agricultures from around the globe, including those in Latin America, continue subsidizing agricultural state policies. Latin America's official and dominant monocultural society, policy makers and political elites continue to have great difficulties with the incorporation of indigenous peoples within the larger society. Similarly the mono-ethnic Latin American state, with some exceptions (e.g., Ecuador, Bolivia), has not been able to incorporate, much less fund, indigenous agricultural systems of production in their own terms (cultural, linguistic, cosmological) within its national public system of AREESKT. Available data on budgets allocated for agricultural research at the global level (CGIAR system, Monsanto and Syngenta agricultural corporations), and at regional levels (public agricultural research in Latin America and the Caribbean and developed countries) is revealing in terms of budget allocation disparities. This invites the question of who sets the agenda, the priorities and the type of research to be carried out.

In that scenario indigenous farmers around the globe are being forced to a process of adoption of productivist science-based approaches, as the solution to pressing issues (famine, chronic hunger, food insecurity). So far there is not much available data that provide significant evidence of funding indigenous agricultural research on culturally appropriate grounds and in the perspective of self-determined development.[4]

It has been much easier, with agribusiness financing, to promote the modernization, assimilation and conversion of indigenous agri-cultures into sterile mono-cultures. To date, Latin American schools of agronomy do not teach indigenous agri-cultures in their classrooms. The 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), ILO Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, and tentative but positive amendments to the Political Constitutions of a number of Latin American countries offer a unique possibility to reverse the exclusion and erosion of the cultures and agricultures that compose the "Latin America Profunda" by supporting indigenous self-determined development, thus contributing to end 500 years of colonial power, knowledge, and exclusion. Underlying such a turning point is a great need for intercultural dia-

logue to counteract globalization "from above" and its homog-
enizing, monothematic/monocultural dialogues which have con-
tributed to a civilizational crisis. In that context it is imperative
through local, regional, national and international intercultural
dialogue and consultation to reposition and decentralize the cur-
rent AREESKT at both the global and Latin American levels so
that it can respond in culturally appropriate ways to the chal-
lenges posed to and by the complexity of each of the three sys-
tems of agriculture (conventional/productivist, agroecological,
and indigenous) (IIED, 2009a; Sain and Calvo, 2009) (see Table
1).

Figure 3. Research Budgets for Agricultural Research.

Research Budget of the CGIAR International Agriculture Research Centers, Monsanto Corporation and Syngenta

Evolution of the intensity of public agricultural research in Latin America and the Caribeban compared to developed countries.
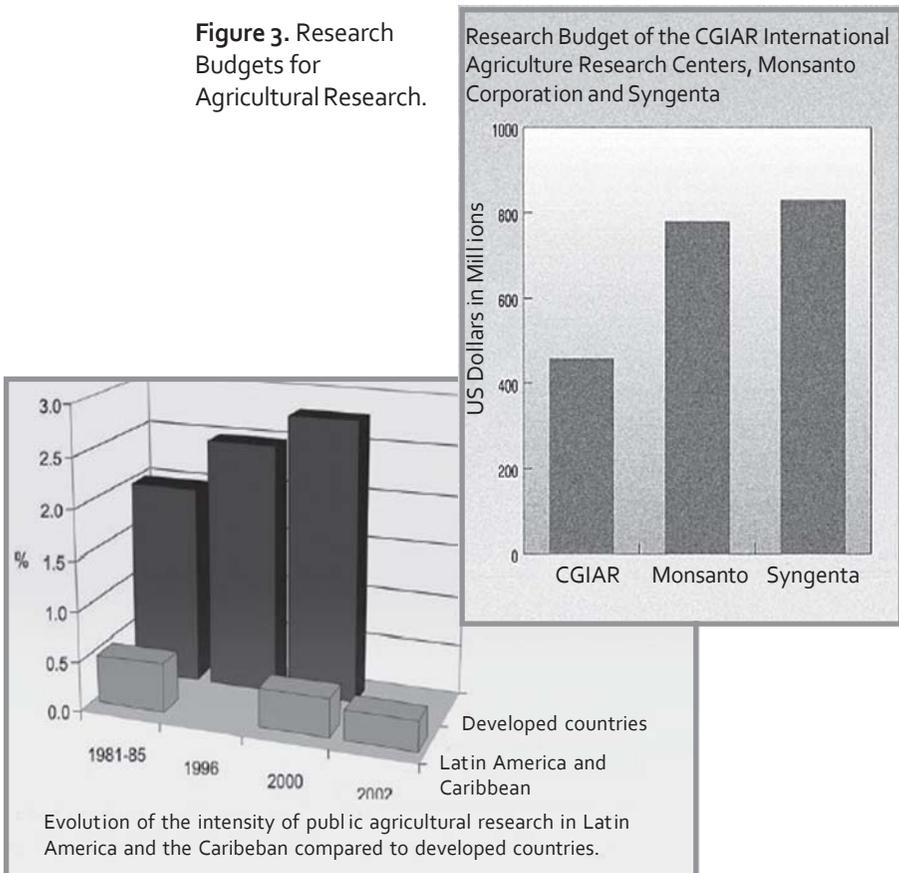
Source: IAASTD 2009a

Nature, Production and Culture: Violence of the Culture of the Commercial Seed

The violence of the Culture of the Commercial Seed, its significant impact, has taken place at the seed, social, cultural, psychological, livelihoods levels. Since the mid-1950s modern agriculture (monocrop agriculture, monocultures of the land), also known as the "Green Revolution" (GR) (Kloppenburg, 1988; Lappe et al., 1998) has been supported in Abya Yala by foreign funding/loans and a public institutional apparatus designed abroad (North America and Europe). The GR has aggressively invaded the Latin American fields by means of the AREESKT system. Its main goal: higher yields. The penetration of modern agriculture (capital, roads, synthetic chemicals, machinery) into Latin America has not been homogeneous. This is illustrated by the differentiated mechanization of agriculture and the adoption of agricultural inputs (knowledge, synthetic chemicals, capital), and by the presence of different types of farmers and farming practices (IAASTD, 2009 a,b).

Today this dominant type of agriculture is recognized first of all by indigenous farmers and by many scholars as unsustainable, and as a major contributor to the global environmental (Redclift, 1987; NRC, 1989; Deruyttere, 1997; IAASTD, 2009: a,b) and by extension ethnic, crisis.

Indigenous Andean Communities in a Regional and Historical Context

The spaces designated as the Americas (North America, South America, and Central America) are historically recent creations within a Western colonial imagery. The precolonial foundations of today's Latin American land-cultures can still be found within the indigenous groups that persist, namely in their ever present relationship to their appropriated and exploited homelands. The sustainability blueprint for today's Latin America is currently, at

least in part, alive and regenerating within the various strongholds of indigenous communities' land-cultures, with their languages and cosmovisions. This is rarely visible, however, to the population at large, or to the developmentalist intellectual elites and policy makers. Consequently, the past and present colonization process in Latin America has had a significant and deleterious impact upon the lives, agri-cultures, lands, territories and nature of the "Latin America Profunda."

There are about 6,000 languages in the world, of which about 5,000 are indigenous. Of the 6.8 billion people living on mother earth, between 200 and 600 million are indigenous peoples (Durning, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2003). Latin America's total population of some 580 million people live today mostly in urban areas, detached and alienated from nature or their land-cultures (IAASTD, 2009a; Gonzales, 2008), with little distinct sense of place (Gonzales, 2008).

In Latin America according to some estimates, 40 million people (Deruytttere, 1997) can be formally identified as indigenous peoples with a total of 800 to 900 languages. If a new census were implemented in Latin America, the indigenous population would be at least twice the current estimate (Deruyttere, 1997). By repositioning and reenvisioning the "mestizo," "mix blood," "ladino," "cholo" and "misti" populations into a wide stream of cultural reinvigoration, we uncover a deep process of coming back to our roots, and becoming native to our places. This means reindigenizing and renativizing towards sustainable ways of living—where body, mind and spirit are promoted (Gonzales, 2008). We would be opening the doors for a major process of decolonization which would favor a leap forward towards a much needed new civilizational project nurtured by both the western and indigenous civilizational models in a cooperative, intercultural, and respectful relationship. Nevertheless, Latin America is also facing a significant regional, national and international migration of indigenous peoples from the countryside to the cities, the so called indigenous diaspora. This phenomenon is unraveling its critical consequences regarding alienation, and breakdown of intergenerational transmission of knowledge, erosion

of native language, customs, spirituality, ties to the land and worldview.

The total area controlled by indigenous peoples throughout the Americas has shrunk significantly (Toledo et al., 2001:14) due to nation-state building and both external and internal colonialism (see Table 4).[5] We have thus seen, particularly from the 1940s onwards, the outgrowth of space-oriented, non-sustainable monocultures of the mind, land and spirit. This erosive neocolonial process has challenged sustainability rooted in indigenous places (see Table 4).

However, while the non-sustainable monocultures purveyed by dominant cultures continue to expand across Latin America, Andean *ayllu* (community/cultural places) continue to be nurtured through the spiritual values of indigenous communities.

Table 4. The shrinking/dissappearance of indigenous peoples' place: Surface in control of the Ind ian Peoples of Mexico and Central America

Country	National Surface (Has)	Surface under indigenous control	
		Has	%
Mexico	195,820,000	29,399,430	15
Guatemala	10,899,000	Not determined	Not determined
Belice	2,296,550	Not determined	14
Honduras	11,209,000	16,180.7	Not determined
El Salvador	2,104,100	Not surveyed	Not surveyed
Nicaragua	13,000,000	5,900,000	45.3
Costa Rica	5,110,000	320,321	6.2
Panama	7,551,700	1,657,100	22

Ayllu is a Quechua and Aymara (the two most populous indigenous peoples of the Andean region) word that implies all living beings are harboured in a place where the natural collectivity of

visible and non-visible living beings (people, birds, insects, llamas, rocks, mountains, microorganisms, rivers, and so on) is nurtured by *pachamama* (earth mother). In this way, *ayllu* is the regional land-based order around which indigenous communities base their livelihoods, ethnic organization, and, according to the Andean cosmovision, *ayllu* is also the seed of all life (Choque and Mamani, 2001). *Ayllu* refers to both the physical and non-physical. It is related to a particular land and territory but it can also extend beyond material political delimitations (see Figure 2).

For Latin America, and particularly for the Andean-Amazonian region, indigenous places or *ayllu* are considered to be the core primary and secondary centres of the origin of biodiversity (Diversity, 1991; Greenpeace, 1999). But these centres have been reduced, eroded, and marginalized by the colonial, mechanistic space-oriented worldview embedded within dominant industrial cultures. Today, indigenous peoples in the Latin American region are populated by more than 400 ethnic groups and more than 800 cultures (Toledo, 2007), each with its own distinct language, social organization and cosmovision, as well as distinct forms of economic organization and ways of production intricately adapted to their local ecosystems (Deruyttere, 1997). The inextricable link between indigenous peoples' cultural diversity and biological diversity is demonstrated through the frequent classification of indigenous peoples' lands as "gene-rich" protected areas. It has been estimated that indigenous peoples live in 80 percent of ecologically protected areas in Latin America (Oviedo, 1999; Colchester, 2003). In terms of ecosystem diversity the Andes holds 84 out of the 103 ecosystems identified in the world and is considered one of the eight principal centers of origin of genetic material for crops (ISNAR, 1987).

Latin America has been subject to biocolonial prospecting and exploitation since the "discovery" of the Americas through the Columbian exchange (Kloppenburg and Gonzales, 1992; Crosby, 1991). However, several recent historical events and social movements articulate the shifting relations of power, which is returning from the republican nation state to indigenous peoples (Quijano, 2000). For example, the right to land promul-

gated in state legislation in Peru in 1969 empowers a legal entity, the *Comunidad Campesina* (CC) or "peasant community" (based on the Agrarian Reform Law D.L. 17716), to make a legal claim to land through the state's juridical apparatus. This continues to take place well after the developmentalist land reform of the 1970s inaugurated this legal instantiation through which this indigenous right could be claimed. The number of indigenous communities or collectivities organized in accord with traditional indigenous knowledge and institutions can be shown to have increased over recent decades (Robles, 2004, 2007; Gutierrez, 2007). In Peru, there are about 63 indigenous ethnic groups, with a total population of more than nine million people. In the Peruvian Andes the organizational unit is the *ayllu* and in the case of the Aymara people from Conima, Puno, currently the *ayllus* have been divided into *Comunidades Campesinas* (Peasant Communities) and *Parcialidades.* Each *ayllu* divides into three or four *Parcialidades.* Previously denominated *Comunidades Ind genas,* in 1992 there were 4,976 *Comunidades Campesinas* officially recognized by the Peruvian State.

Despite destructive colonial policies and contemporary development policies applied by the nation-state, the "Peasant Communities" possess their own institutions, rituals, religions, languages, cultures and customary laws, as well as their own "philosophical" terms: ways of being, knowing, and being related to the world.

In Peru, as of July 2001, there were 5,827 CC (Peasant Communities), and of these 4,224 had property land titles registered at the Public Registrar and claim ownership of land, covering an area of over 18 million hectares. However, today, CC own only 10 percent of the total agricultural land (Maffi and Woodley, 2006:109), despite *chacras, ayllu,* and peasant communities making up 90 percent of the agricultural and pastoral units in the Peruvian Andean territory. Indigenous peoples were removed from their lands in order to make room for the emerging national citizens and their descendants, who inherited the colonial mentality reflected at the hemispheric level. We thus must attend to the outgrowth of a space-based (as opposed to place-based) Euroamerican/colonial mentality, which is spatially oriented and

creates monocultures of the mind-spirit-land. This detached view of land and nature challenges the spirit of sustainability and the sustainability of the spirit of indigenous peoples rooted in specific places. In contrast to space based, non-sustainable monocultures, indigenous regions in South America continue to nurture cultural places through the spiritual values of the *ayllu.*

The Bolivian social movement which grew in momentum, particularly in the 1980s, around "*la reconstitucion del ayllu*" (the reconstitution of the *ayllu)* continues today. It takes the form of an active coalition of traditional Andean indigenous leaders, called *malkukuna*, that represent the interests of the multiple *ayllu*s, and the *markas*, the unit of governance uniting multiple *ayllus,* as one indigenous governmental unit before the republican Bolivian state, *Consejo de Ayllus y Markas del Collasuyu* (CONAMAQ).

Several examples of Andean traditional life persist today and integrate what industrial epistemologies divide into the discrete concepts of "economy," "environment," "society," and "politics." Through this integration, nature and culture are inextricably related through the continuing rituals and daily practices of dialogue, mutual nurture and regeneration (Grillo, 1991, 1998: a, b). This integrative worldview occurs within the majority of Andean indigenous peoples in a ritual cycle of cultivating the land, *pachamama,* and continues to extend into urban sectors by the indigenous ethnic diaspora.

Latin American Indigenous Agriculturalists continue to be important

Regarding the contribution of indigenous peoples to society at large, Latin America indigenous agriculturalists are still important, despite the colonial and neocolonial encroachment on their bio-cultural landscapes due to transnational corporate interests and state policies on biological, mineral and oil prospecting/exploitation and the colonization of the Amazon basin forest. Their contribution to both the rich reservoir of languages

and cosmovisional diversity includes the important role of medicinal plants, indigenous knowledge, native crops, and total agricultural output[6] (Box 1).

Questioning Western Monoculture of the Seed, the Land, Language, Worldview, and Rural and Agricultural Development Paradigms

Nature and Culture, paraphrasing Jack Forbes (2001) are problematic concepts for indigenous peoples. Nature and culture are separated in the Western world. (Pretty et al., 2008) In the same way as there is not just one way of doing agriculture, the seed does not mean the same thing in every language and, by extension, every cosmovision. Nor does it have the same role in Western(ized) contemporary societies as it does in "indigenous" agri-cultures. Conventional agriculture, commercial seeds (hybrid, improved, genetically modified) and scientific agricultural knowledge are not what Quechua, Aymara, and other indigenous agricultures, are about.

The seed does not mean the same to supporters and practitioners of the three most important ways of doing agriculture: conventional agriculture, agroecology and indigenous agricultures (Table 1). This contribution is an invitation to approach these worlds on their own terms, and this means acknowledging that the seed is part of, and is related to, different ways of being, different ways of knowing, and different ways of being related to the world. For these reasons, it is necessary to acknowledge that terms such as "place," "culture," "kinship," "peasants," "peasant agriculture," "small-scale farming," "subsistence farmer," "traditional farmers/agriculture," "modern farmers," "*in situ* conservation" of "plant genetic resources," "management of natural resources," "germplasm" and "agrobiodiversity," "epistemology," among others, are not neutral, nor are they universal concepts (Pimbert, 1994a; Gonzales, 2000a; Gonzales, Chambi and Machaca, 1998, 1999; Machaca, 1998, 1997). In some indigenous peoples' cultures they do not even exist.

Box 1: Relevance of Contemporary Latin American Indigenous Cultural and Agro-biological Diversity to the Region

Mesoamerica and the central Andes host 2 out of 8 centres of origin of agriculture in the world [4]
Population

- Total in 2005: 569 million (77.6% urban; 22.4% rural) [1]
- Total Indigenous People [*]:
    - □ 48 million [5,6], 700 ethnic groups [2]; 800 cultural groups [3,8]
    - □ Central Andes (Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador): more than 15 million [8]
- Most peasants are indigenous peoples [3]

Surface Area

- Total: 2018 million ha [1]
- Total arable land: 576 million ha [1]
    - □ 28.5% of the region's total arable land [1]
    - □ 30% of earth's total arable land [1]

Indigenous Units of Production, IUP (End of 1980s)

- Total: 16 million IUP[2]
- Surface under control: 60.5 million ha (34.5% of total cultivated land) [2]
 Peasant population: 75 million people or two-thirds of Latin America's total rural population [2]
- Average size UPP: 1.8 ha [2] peasant plot (minifundia)
- Agricultural contribution to general food supply:
    - □ In the 1980s approximately 41% of the agricultural output for domestic consumption [2]
    - □ Responsible for producing, at the regional level (51% of the maize, 77% of the beans, 61% of the potatoes) [2]
        - ♦ **Peru** Minifundia in 1994: 84 % from a total of 1.7 million agricultural units, AU. Indigenous (peasant) Communities own only 10% of the agricultural land [10]
        - ♦ **Ecuador** Minifundia: 91% from a total of 843,000 AU[9]. Indigenous (peasant) sector occupies 50% of the area devoted to food crops (i.e., maize, beans, wheat, and okra) [2]
        - ♦ **Mexico:** Indigenous (peasants) occupy at least 70% of the area assigned to maize and 60% of the area under beans [2]

Adapted by T. Gonzales. Sources: [1] IAASTD LAC Report Chap 1, 2009a; [2] Altieri y Koohafkan, 2008, p17; [3] Toledo, 2007; [4] Diversity, 1991; [5] IDB, 2004; [6] Hall and Patrinos, 2005; [7] Posey, 1999; [8] Deruyttere, 1997; [9] Estrada, 2006; [10] Maffi and Woodley, 2008, p109

They are part of a set of Western concepts related to theories of modernization and development, rural and agricultural development blueprints, or conservation strategies. In short, they are culturally specific. These terms are coherent with the contemporary dominant Western/Euroamerican (Marxist political economy and ecology included) centered ways of being, ways of knowing, and ways of being related to the world. However, the Western dominant cosmovision informing the three ways noted do not necessarily inform the ways of knowing, being, and being related to the world of non-Western "indigenous peoples" (Ishizawa, 2006; Mander and Tauli-Corpuz, 2006). This crucial recognition should highlight the problems embedded in dominant Western blueprints of development proposed for, or forced upon, indigenous peoples' lives, territories or environments throughout this century (Noorgard, 1994). In that line of thought, Mary Battiste reminds us about the pervading role played by Eurocentrism.

> "Eurocentrism is the imaginative and institutional context that informs contemporary scholarship, opinion and law. As a theory, it postulates the superiority of Europeans over non-Europeans. It is constructed on a set of assumptions and beliefs generally accepted without prejudices by educated Europeans and North Americans who commonly accept them as the truth, as supported by 'the facts' or as 'reality.' A key concept behind Eurocentrism is the idea of diffusionism.

> Diffusionism is based on two assumptions: (1) most communities are hardly inventive and (2) a few human communities (or places, or cultures) are inventive and are, accordingly, the permanent centers of cultural change or "progress." On a global scale, this results in a world with a single center—Europe— and a periphery that surrounds it" (Battiste and Youngblood Henderson, 2000: 21).

Indigenous Peoples share a Similar Worldview/ Cosmovision

Indigenous peoples, such as the Quechuas and Aymaras in the Andes, acknowledging their particular cultural and institutional diversity, share in general a rich and unique cosmovision that is far removed from the dominant contemporary Western one. Today the West is starting to articulate and search for alternative paradigms such as "alternative agriculture," "sustainable agriculture," "organic agriculture," "permaculture" and "agroecology" in order to make the transition to move away from conventional, non-sustainable, antienvironmental capitalist agriculture (IAASTD, 2009a). The principles of "sustainable agriculture" are found, at least in part, in the agricultures of the *Pueblos Originarios* (First Peoples) which, as in the case of the Andes, are between 8,000 to 10,000 years old. This was long before agriculture became "scientized" and departed from an intimate, sensorial and context-specific experience (as opposed to an artificially controlled science experiment). The appropriate Western institutions, international and national, should make a wider and more open recognition of the worldviews/ cosmovisions and paradigms embedded in non-Western peoples such as the Quechuas and Aymaras, thus favouring and strengthening the search for sustainable ways of doing agriculture, such as those present all over the Americas (North, Meso and South) and the world over. Recent fundamental documents concur to affirm and reinforce the recognition of the cosmovisional and paradigmatic uniqueness of indigenous peoples in general, and Andean indigenous agri-cultures in particular. These include the 2007 UNDRIP and some Latin American political Constitutions, which recently have been amended to acknowledge the fundamental pluricultural, pluriethnic character of Latin American countries, societies, and the region as a whole. Appropriate funds are required in depth and breadth to support decentralized self-determined indigenous development and related agricultures. In particular to strengthen the Indigenous Peoples' AREESKT system.[7] At the same time a process of decolonization and cultural affirmation is on top of the agenda for the Latin American

region in order to truly honor the pressing need of intercultural dialogue in order to move towards sustainability among all countries in the region. The move towards sustainability in the lands of Abya Yala requires fundamental changes in the transnational AREESKT system, one of the cornerstones in promoting and encouraging the development of a science-based modernizing approach to agriculture since the late 1940s. In that line of thought, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) clearly states that it helps,

> "…developing countries and countries in transition **modernize and improve** agriculture, forestry and fisheries practices and ensure good nutrition for all. Since our founding in 1945, we have focused special attention on developing rural areas, home to 70 percent of the world's poor and hungry people" (FAO website accessed March 13, 2010 <http://www.fao.org/about/en/> (emphasis ours).

FAO, as well as the UN institutional apparatus as a whole, should undertake an in depth evaluation of its mission, procedures, and other mechanisms that make it unsuitable for the challenges ahead, more importantly in light of UNDRIP. The United Nations (FAO included) institutions and its nation-state members should move beyond their current underlying homocentric, paternalistic/patriarchal, Euro-american, colonial and neo-colonial, unsustainable paradigms and worldview/cosmovision. Many institutions of the current AREESKT system network, such as IFAD, Biodiversity International, International Potato Center, IPGRI, CIAT and IICA, seem to make a misleading use of indigenous peoples' pictures for purposes that do not necessarily support the strengthening of indigenous peoples agri-cultures on their own terms.[8] It is also unethical to adopt-manipulate-fragment words belonging to their sustainable indigenous cultures, languages and practices (see http://www.cropwildrelatives.org/). In order to produce culturally appropriate video, magazines and other media, it would be better if indigenous agriculturalists had an appropriate budget and infrastructure, and had the human capacity to produce in their own terms, within a larger frame of self-determined development, cultural affirmation, and

decolonization. Perhaps then we would be truly witnessing real efforts towards intercultural dialogue instead of cooptation, misinterpretation, and misappropriation of indigenous peoples' languages, agricultural experiences, seed and its wild relatives.[9]

Cosmovision and Culture of *crianza* (nurturing) in the Andes

In the Andes, Quechuas and Aymaras have always talked of the nurturing of life: to nurture and let oneself be nurtured. In our world everything is alive; nothing is excluded. We all are relatives. Our *Pachamama* is sacred and alive. That is why we may talk about the living Andean world. Life in the Andes is a culture of the nurturing of harmony. Harmony is not given; we have to procure it. Contrary to what happens in the Western contemporary world, the agricultures in the Andes are important for the continuance of life. In our localities we all accompany each other so that in this way life may continue to flow and regenerate as a whole. The living world that is the Andes has three principal components: the community of *sallqa* (nature), the community of *runas* or *jaques* (humans), and the community of *wacas* (deities). The *chacra*[10]*/Chagra* (or plot of land for Andean cultivation) is the place, par excellence, where the nurturing is rendered in the most complex and intense way, among the three communities. This is possible because in the Andes the members of the *sallqa*, the *runas* or *jaques*, and the *wacas* (*Pachamama, Achachilas, Mallkus, Kuntur Mamani, Serenos,* local and universal deities) are persons, have the attributes of living beings, and "find themselves intimately related" (Chambi and Chambi, 1995). *Sallqa, runas* and *jaques,* and *wacas* do not live independently, but rather are complementary, depending upon and nurturing one another.

In the Andes, nurturing is reciprocal. When we practice reciprocity, we make *ayni*. One must know how to nurture to be deserving of the nurturing of others. Those who nurture (mountains, water, clouds, *runas*, *jaques*, plants) are at once those being

nurtured: *uywaypaq uywanchik,* "nurturing we nurture" (Machaca, 1996). This takes place in this manner because what is dealt with here is a world of equivalents, where everyone is a person, and each one has dignity and treats every one with respect and esteem. Additionally, it is important to remember that:

> "…any person (whether they be man, tree, or rock) may present themselves in any of the three forms, when it is convenient as the physiology of the animal world is rendered in the nurturing of the harmony which sustains it. ... In this way, each one of these forms nurtures the other two, and is nurtured by them in turn. This is so because the Andean world is not a world of things, of objects, of institutions, of cause and effect relationships, but rather we are in the presence of a world of renderings, recreations, of renovations" (Grillo, 1993:5).

Conversation takes place in a reciprocal manner among the members of the three communities which compose and nurture the local *pacha* (earth). Pacha "refers to a territory of ritual and plastic boundaries, which is nurtured by the human community that inhabits it while the pacha simultaneously nurtures that community" (Ishizawa and Rengifo, 2009:65) "Conversation" is not a metaphor. Conversation denotes that the beings that communicate with one another do so in this way because they are able to understand one another. The term "conversation" includes every form of expression, whether it be feelings, emotions, or other diverse manifestations—and it is not necessarily conveyed in speech, as occurs with dialogue.

Conversation is possible as it is rendered between equivalent and incomplete beings. Life in its entirety, that is to say, the three basic communities of the *Pacha,* are regenerating themselves in every instance. As Van Kessel y Condori Cruz noted:

> "In this affectionate and respectful conversation, [the *sallqa*, the *wakas*, and the *runa/jaque*] fill with life and flourish. This nurturing is symbiotic: at the same time as the *chacra*, cattle, water is nurtured, these nurture the [*runa/jaque*] giving [them] life and making [them] flourish. A similar mutuality develops between the commu-

nity of *wakas* and the community of humans: while the first, headed by *Pachamama*, feeds the human life, the second feeds the divinities by means of its *wilanchas* and its *mesas*. It is the 'offering to the earth,' according to the principle of reciprocity. Good labour in the *chacra*, responsible and dedicated, is another way to feed the earth, 'nurturing *chacra*' and producing the fertility of the earth" (Van Kessel and Condori Cruz, 1993: 17).

The *ayllu* is a kinship group, but it is not restricted to human lineage/blood kinship: it includes each member of the local

Figure 4. Andean Cosmovision of Ever
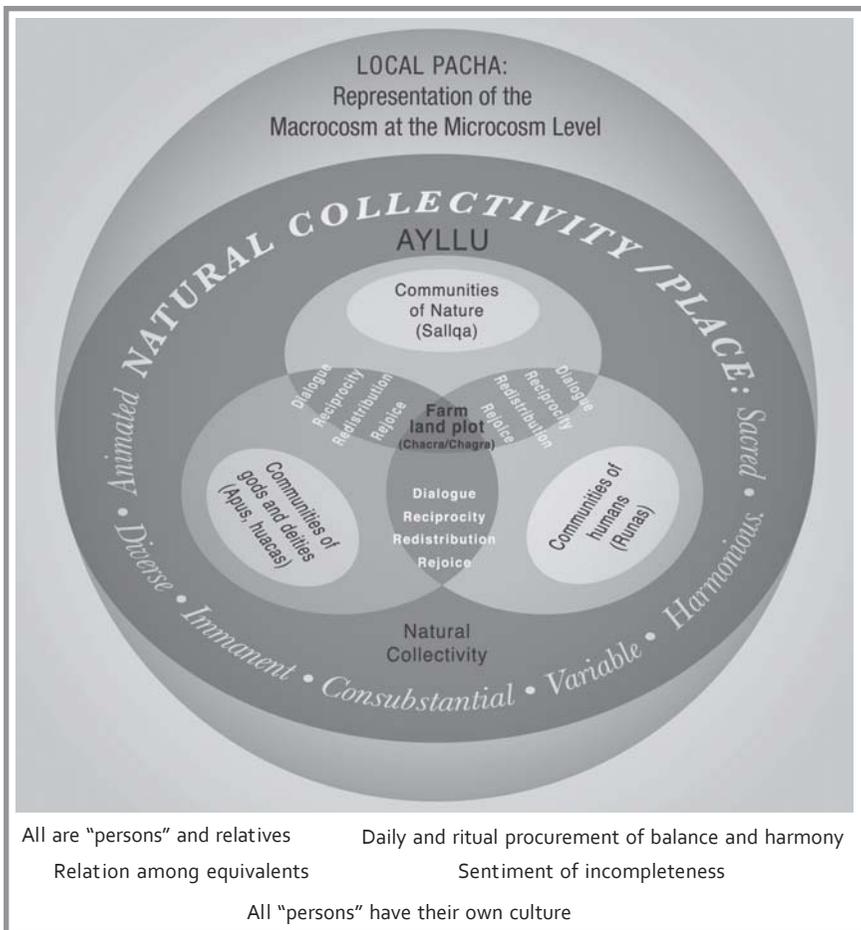
Source: IAASTD 2009a

pacha (local landscape; macrocosm at the microcosm level) (*cf.* Grillo 1993; Figure 2). The *ayllu* in the Aymara *pueblo* (village) of Conima, Puno, in its spatial aspect, is divided into *ayllus* for a better conversation and reciprocity in the nurturing of life (Chambi y Chambi, 1995: 12). A similar situation occurs in the Quechua communities, for example in the Community of Quispillacta, Ayacucho. The *ayllu* is found in the local *pacha* where the three components that comprise the natural collectivity live. The *pacha* is characterized by being animated, sacred, variable, harmonious, diverse, immanent and consubstantial.

The *chacra*, cultivated land, is the centre of rituality where all the members of the natural collectivity (the *ayllu*) interact. During the agricultural year, *wata* in Quechua, life-learning or *saberes* emerge in line with the signs and seasons of the agrofestive ritual year as it evolves, and Quechua and Aymara agriculturalists respond to all the groups of living beings who communicate through these signs. The agro-festive ritual year is ordered in accord with how distinct *pacha* in the past have understood and interpreted the signs that tell the indigenous agriculturalist when to plant, when to harvest, and so on. Indigenous agriculturalists celebrate these milestones, and rituals are the result of a constant tuning into the expansion and contraction of the cosmos in its entirety, phases of the moon and the sun, climate, soil, rain and insects. This Andean knowing is not a rational outcome resulting from the separation of subject-object or culture-nature, nor is there a separation of the subject from emotion.

In the Andean communities, time is not linear just as the community is not based on writing. The Aymara and Quechua cultures are not cultures that have utilized writing extensively; they are fundamentally oral cultures. On the other hand, time is intimately linked to the pulse of life, to its cosmic and telluric pulsing, as in for example, the rhythms and cycles of the moon, of the sun, of the climate, of the agricultural cycle (plant, harvest, plant). Because of this, it is said that time in the Andean world is cyclical. This does not mean that the cycles are the same every year. Quite the contrary, the cycles are rather varied (rains, wind, hailstorm, temperature changes, among others) for which rea-

son the activities corresponding to the different *crianzas* (nurturings)—the respective rituals and festivities—also vary in date. The agricultural activities are not determined by a calendar, but are carried out according to the rhythm of the cycles of nature. It is also noteworthy that for the Quechua and the Aymara, the "present," the "past," and the "future" do not have the same meanings as they do in the contemporary Western world. In this context, Grillo notes:

> "The 'present' in the Andean world, which is alive, renews itself, recreates itself, by digesting the 'past,' that is, by including the past. ...In the Andes there exists the notion of sequence, the notion of before and after, but these do not oppose one another as past and future do in the modern West, but rather they find themselves included in the 'present,' in 'the ever always,' always being renewed, always re-created" (Grillo, 1993:8)."

This brief presentation describes the way of living and seeing in the Andean world, that is to say, the Andean cosmovision, which intimately links the Quechuas and Aymaras with the living, visible and invisible world—their terrain, sacred mountains, sacred waters, animals and rivers. For example, the Quechuas of the Community of Quispillacta would call this their particular way of life.

> "...our customs, which differentiate us from other realities and cultures. Our custom is born from nature, from the soil, from the mountains, from the rivers, that is to say from the *sallqa* (nature itself), and from the *Pachamama*. The *runa* is part of nature and lives harmoniously with each one of the components in a reciprocal and equitable relationship" (Machaca, 1992:8).

Conclusion

The cosmovisions of the Andean indigenous peoples, which are rooted in nature and a culture of nurturing, have contributed greatly in fostering our world's cultural and biological diversity and in ensuring ecological equilibrium and a healthy environment. A center of origin of genetic crop material, their lands harbor most of the identified ecosystems in the world. Yet they are invisible and unrecognized in contemporary discourse and development in agriculture and conservation and use of genetic resources. These spheres, which impact on global food and ecological security, are ruled solely by Western paradigms, policies and practices, in what anthropologist Paul Richards (1983, 1995) calls the "oneness of the modern world."

Inherent in the indigenous peoples' alternative ways of seeing and being are the basic principles of sustainable development that the international community now espouses as a direction for the world's survival. Unique and extraordinarily important, their indigenous agricultures and knowledge systems can help inform and reshape and reposition the global and national dominant system of agricultural research, extension, education, science, knowledge and technology. This is a reality that contemporary mainstream institutions should recognize, which can only further enrich and improve agricultural development.

For the AREESKT business as usual is not an option given the pressing context of climate change, conventional agriculture's foot print, food insecurity, hunger, land degradation, indigenous agriculturalists exodus to the cities, famine, chronic hunger, poverty and environmental pollution. Part of the change is for the AREESKT system to respond to the demands of the three major systems of agricultural production—"AR4The Poor." The other part is creating/strengthening an AREEKST **by and for** the indigenous peoples. Such recognition should lead to a greater and more decisive participation of indigenous peoples in the ongoing debates (e.g., Global Forum on Agricultural Research) and forums on agricultural science, research and technology. This should also lead to wiser and more appropriate al-

location and use of research and development resources, and ultimately to genuinely sustainable and culturally appropriate policies and actions on AREESKT. As part of the process to arrive at policy recommendations, indigenous peoples should be consulted at all levels: local/communal, subnational, national, Amazon basin and regional or continental to enable them to share their wealth of wisdom, knowledge and experiences. This will contribute to appropriate policies and institutional changes.

Over the long term, recognizing the remarkable role of indigenous agricultures should move States throughout the world to address the critical issue of indigenous peoples' rights, that is, acknowledging their right of self-determination and control over their territories, livelihoods and cultural resources.

Endnotes

[1] Tirso Gonzales (Peruvian Aymara), Marcela Machaca (Peruvian Quechua), Nestor Chambi (Peruvian Aymara), Zenón Gomel (Peruvian Quechua). Machaca, Chambi and Gomel are part of the 17 Nuclei of Andean Cultural Affirmation (NACAs), spread throughout the Peruvian Andes. They are indigenous agri-culturalists working with and in their communities for more than 15 years, and some of these are the most poverty striken areas. Recommended Websites:

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/Ulis/cgibin/ulis.pl?catno =180754&set=49B9055D_0_3&database=new1&gp =0&mode=e>; <http://partnerportal.gn.apc.org/PRATEC>; <http://rolexawards.com/en/the-laureates/zenongomelapaza-withstandingclimatechange.jsp>; <http://d.yimg.com/kq/groups/ 21917822/1859134130/name/jorge%20ishizawa%2Epdf >; <http:// www.youtube.com/watch?v=jwKdhATzCgc>   <http://www. abaayacucho.org/>.

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[2] Michel Pimbert (2008), for instance, provides a definition of "Small scale food producers": "are those men and women who produce and harvest field and tree crops as well as livestock, fish, and other aquatic organisms. They include smallholder peasant/family crop and livestock farmers, herders/pastoralists, artisanal fisherfolk, landless farmers/work-

ers, gardeners, forest dwellers, indigenous peoples, hunters and gatherers, and any other small scale users of natural resources for food production."

³ For instance see Pimbert (2009), ETC (2009), GRAIN Seedling (2010-1990). Perhaps this mixed used of terms is because their websites and publications are mainly oriented to an Euro-american audience. A systematic search of key terms (e.g., peasant, campesino, smallholder, resource poor farmer, traditional farmer, indigenous people, indigenous farmer) as part of a deeper and larger content analysis might be necessary to clarify if this matter is superficial or worthy of attention.

⁴ On this matter the World Bank (De Janvry and Dethier 1985), IFPRI (Pardey et al., 2006) and IAASTD (2009a) provide data on public and private agricultural research, by regions, and by developed and developing countries only. An informed guess is that given the exclusivity of conventional/productivist agriculture within the National Systems of Public Agricultural Research, data on budget allocated to agroecological and indigenous agricultural research is insignificant.

⁵ Data on the surface area under control by indigenous peoples per country around the globe are scarce. Research on this topic is highly important.

⁶ More work needs to be done in this area in order to quantify and qualify the contribution of Latin American Indigenous Peoples (knowledge/saberes, technology) to medicine—medicinal plants, agriculture—food crops, hunting, gathering, fishing, and pastoralism.

⁷ The agenda for this pressing issue is long overdue. A consultation process must be implemented (local, subnational, national, Amazon basin, Mesoamerica and South America. Here suffice it to mention that it would be important to gather, organize a data base that covers non-successful and ongoing successful experiences on each of the components of the indigenous AREESKT system. The core population would be the sixteen million indigenous units of production related to agriculture, in addition to fishing, hunting, gathering and pastoralism. Indigenous worldviews, paradigms, research methodologies, among other key components, are central here.

⁸ Acknowledging the positive work of GFAR, IFAD, Bioversity, CIAT and after looking at their websites, an in depth work should raise questions such as: Within what logic/rationale and for whom those websites are designed and updated? What ideology and messages are conveyed? Who consumes (read reads) such construction of key issues such as seeds, wild relatives, conservation etc. A working hypotheses could be that the rhetoric, aesthetics, terminology used and presented keeps a high correlation with a scientific, techno-bureaucratic language and dominant

worldview which fragments, isolates, de-contextualizes and reduces complex issues (indigenous languages and Worldviews, indigenous "in situ" conservation, personal stories, indigenous knowledge) related to indigenous peoples agri-cultures. Thus not being conducive for meaningful and respectful intercultural dialogue.

[9] For Andean Indigenous Peoples the expression "wild relatives" has a profound and distinctive meaning, which is embedded in the Andean worldview/cosmovision of ever (Valladolid, 2005).

[10] *Milpa* for Central America. "In a broad sense *chacra* is all that is nurtured, thus the peasants say that the lama is their *chacra* that walks and whereof wool is harvested. We ourselves are the *chacra* of the *Wakas/Huacas* or deities that care for, teach, and accompany us" (Rengifo, 2005: 1).

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6

Affirmation of Cultural Diversity –Learning with the Communities in the Central Andes

by Jorge Ishizawa

> A universe comes into being when a space is
> severed or taken apart
>
> Spencer Brown, *The Laws of Form* (1972)[1]

> *Pachamama*, woman and the seed are the same; they share
> the same *qamasa* (life spirit)
>
> Santos Vilca Cayo (1998)[2]

This article is motivated by a concern for the continued regeneration of the biological and cultural diversity present in the central Andes, covering parts of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. We at the Andean Project for Peasant Technologies (PRATEC) have been working with rural communities on this issue for the past two decades. PRATEC started its work in 1986 with the valorization of traditional agricultural practices, and the knowledge implied in them, with the intention of compiling and disseminating technological booklets. To date, more than 2,500 such booklets have been generated and published. This documented knowledge, however, represents only one aspect of what we have been learning during the inspirational and exciting journey undertaken with the residents in these communities. The journey continues, as does our learning. Below is an attempt to summarize some of the main issues we have struggled with over the years.

The biological diversity that exists in this region, one of the "hotspots" recognized by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), cannot be explained by the local geography alone, with its diversity of ecosystems. Remarkable cultural diversity is also evident—a multiplicity of peoples whose livelihoods adapt, and are adapted by, these ecosystems. Nor is the biological diversity only about wild fauna and flora. It also involves an abundance of cultivated species with numerous varieties. This situation has existed for millennia and would not have been possible without sophisticated knowledge on the part of the people nurturing such diversity. International recognition of the value of such knowledge is increasing. For example, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and the Convention to Combat Desertification, signed at the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992, both highlight the value of traditional knowledge underlying the maintenance of biodiversity on the planet.

Further recognition of the importance of such knowledge in maintaining biodiversity requires that it is documented and shared more widely. We found these apparently straightforward tasks more challenging than we first imagined. What are the implications of using, for example, a scientific approach to compiling knowledge if the particular knowledge does not fit within the confines of such an approach? And how can that knowledge be effectively disseminated and shared with others? For us, this has not been a matter of ownership and intellectual property rights (IPR) but a question of how to express what exists in one knowledge system in a way that can be useful in a different knowledge system. In both cases the underlying challenge involves an encounter between two distinct "cosmovisions"—or worldviews.

Central to the discussions in this article is the encounter between different cosmovisions, and its implications for intercultural dialogue in general and for the promotion of cultural diversity in particular. A cosmovision refers to the basic ways of seeing, feeling and perceiving the world. It is made manifest through the ways in which a people act and express themselves.

PRATEC chose the valorization of traditional agricultural practices as an entry point to work with communities as a result

of past experience and our belated recognition that the "beneficiaries" of so-called rural development projects were far from being helpless objects in need of external intervention in order to achieve the status of civilized peoples. As university-trained professional technicians, the founding members of PRATEC had been involved in various forms of modern agricultural technology transfer, and honesty demanded the admission of our utter failure. What had been achieved was the accumulation of infrastructure built by us and other development workers, left unused by the communities once the project personnel had left—the so-called "archeology of development."

History records that a highly complex agrarian civilization developed in the central Andes. Were five centuries of colonization enough to obliterate it? We, along with other development workers, had proceeded for years on the assumption that this was the case—that there was nothing left of it. However, our initial explorations convinced us that the practices we were documenting were very much alive. Agricultural modernization, through state programmes and foreign development projects, had been a distraction and had contributed to the partial abandonment of traditional practices in some places. However, community elders still kept alive the memory of ancient know-how. This included knowledge about a great variety of practices, from sowing, planting, harvesting and storing, to reading natural signs for weather forecasting. Later we realized that the elders also maintained the memory of ancient "know-what." Indeed, they knew what to do to recover the rituals for petitioning for rain, appeasing the forces of hail and frost, and warding off plagues.

From Development to Cultural Affirmation

We directed our efforts towards the recovery of memory in the company of younger colleagues. They had left their villages to pursue higher education and a life of progress. Disillusioned with their agronomist profession and the formal education behind it, they were searching for alternatives. Together we real-

ized that the development efforts set in place had the purpose of more or less radically transforming communities whose state was diagnosed as backward and generally lacking. The means to achieve this was assumed to be the introduction of techno-logical packages. These ranged from those of Green Revolution origin (1970s) to friendlier approaches based on introducing ap-propriate technology (1980s). Today however, despite the grow-ing recognition of the importance of the communities' traditional knowledge, the approach of professionals remains one of ap-plying a technical protocol to validate traditional knowledge according to the criteria of modern science and technology. The whole spectrum of initiatives, from the indigenous technical knowledge and traditional ecological knowledge movements to the disciplines prefixed by *ethno-*, inherits the double bind of participatory research. The outside technical agent sets not only the agenda for the intervention (if not, why the need for partici-pation?) but also the approach to be used. The result is that local knowledge is subsumed into techno-science, and local ap-proaches are ignored. So far, little of substance has been pro-duced. The question is whether the lack of results (measured by the abandonment of the approach and practices as soon as the project personnel leave) is due to the limitations of the methods we have applied. Is it only a matter of searching for the "right" methodology? Or is the answer to be found in the theory sup-porting the intervention? Reflecting on our own and others' ex-perience over many years, we believe that the time has come to ask whether the reason for the poor results is to be found in some-thing deeper: something that belongs to the domain of what is taken for granted in the techno-scientific approach we adopt, or more generally, in the way we approach life. Does this some-thing involve an epistemological problem—that is, does it ques-tion the conditions, or the possibility of, obtaining knowledge pertinent to local conditions through a techno-scientific ap-proach? If it does, what alternative approaches could be used? Or is the problem, rather, of an ontological nature (concerning our taken-for-granted understanding of the nature of being and of reality)?

Our present conviction is that the problem goes beyond the ontological. Building new categories with the hope that they will allow translation between different knowledge systems will not enable us to approach a cultural universe with which we are unfamiliar. Intellect does not suffice. The basic issue at stake is, rather, the fact that there are different cosmovisions at play, and different ways of being in the world. We are thus constantly forced to understand a peasant's testimony reflecting his/her knowledge, perspective or explanation in the context of his/her own cosmovision. To understand what is meant here we would like to delve into the experience shared by Marcela Machaca Mendieta in her brief but important paper titled "Planning: *Quipa Hamuypaq, Ñawpapaq, Patachay?*" The paper offers her reflections on an interesting intercultural experience: the workshop for community planning undertaken in 1997 by her organization—Asociación Bartolomé Aripaylla—with the authorities of the twelve *barrios* of the community of Quispillaccta in Ayacucho department, Cangallo province:

> The first difficulty encountered during the workshops concerned how to refer to "planning" in our own terms. There is no equivalent word in the local language because planning as such is not part of the communal style of life... Some of the terms used in the translation were: *patachay* which means "one behind the other," or *quipa hamuypaq*, which means "that which will come afterwards," but *quipa* also means "behind," "delay," or it might also be "ahead" and *hamuypaq* is "what is coming." Another closely related word is *ñawpapaq* which is "ahead," but is also "behind" or "before." Each working group succeeded in finding and using their own terminology as alternatives to technical vocabulary. Examples include *tupachinakuy*, *patachay*, *kam a chinakuy*, "steps to walk," "weaknesses of our village"— phrases which are not close to the technical language of the planner.[3]

The translation difficulties already betray some of the deeper questions regarding the cultural encounter. One question, for example, concerns the attitude brought to the exercise by the participants:

> This way of relating with reality requires a distance between the planner who considers himself a subject and everything else as objects ready for manipulation...For example an activity planned in December for a ceremony for the Earth in March, implies having provisions for buying ritual elements, including the probable site for the deposit of the offering...Every ritual or offering takes place in conversation with *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) and the conversation flows between equivalent persons, is born spontaneously from direct contact, from affection and the desire to do so, which could not have existed with a pre-planned organised decision-making. Hence we take distance from our own feelings and emotions, and repress all feeling of immediacy and of rapport...which happens among persons in the living Andean world.[4]

What we want to highlight in this example of planning in a high Andean community is the lack of correspondence between the planners' deliberate concentration on future activities and the way of the local peasant community culture where "everything has its own time" and, hence, it is unnecessary to anticipate anything in any detail. The required attitude is rather one of tuning oneself in with the world, of attentive listening, of conversation. Marcela Machaca quotes don Marcelino Mendoza who says: "One cuts the wool of *alpacas* and sheep in their own time and rhythm. When this time is I cannot specify because it depends on the rain, etc. The wool is cut during the rainy season; this is favourable for good growth of wool for the following year and it simultaneously cleans the dirty wool. If one does not cut during this period, the wool will not grow due to the cold. This is how I cut the wool and also the way the majority of my neighbours do."[5] This lack of correspondence between the different cultures occurs at the level of what is taken for granted in each cultural

group and is regenerated in daily life. This is what we mean here by a difference of cosmovisions.

For a number of years now we have aligned our work with Andean communities in the direction of Andean cultural affirmation. The need for and possibility of cultural affirmation has been expressed during the five centuries of colonization since the Spanish invasion in the 16th century. The independence gained in the 19th century meant only that power was taken over by the local descendants of the colonizers and that the situation of domination over the first peoples' cultures continued basically unchanged. Yet the people of the central Andes have resisted efforts towards their modernization (understood as their transformation along the lines of the Western cosmovision). Colonization has sustained the official assault on local knowledge and, more recently, the so-called "modernization (industrialization) of agriculture" has promoted the outright erosion of biological and cultural diversity. In spite of this, it is increasingly recognized that the communities of nurturers of biodiversity are still alive and active in Peru. Hence, however despised, neglected and reduced during centuries of colonization, their strength as a people resides in their unique mode of living in diversity that developed in these lands.

What, then, is meant by cultural affirmation? Eduardo Grillo, one of the founders of PRATEC, has described it in the following way:

> Andean cultural affirmation is the attitude of vitality characteristic of those of us who are the living Andean world (deities [*huacas*], entities of nature [*sallqas*], humans [*runas*]). In continuous and animated conversation, charismatically led in each moment and in turn by those among us who have the best aptitude for it, we come to an agreement, with the participation of each and every one, in the nurturance of the harmony that is most congenial to the world that we are, according to the circumstances that each moment requires of us…

Andean cultural affirmation is neither a theoretical position nor a principled position, rather it is the living of the Andean people...Andean cultural affirmation is not a political position. Our living world of nurturance is ignorant of power or of struggles for power...Andean cultural affirmation is not a position of violence. Nurturance knows nothing of confrontations, only of caresses, of murmurs and of conversations. This is not a land of voluntarisms but of revelations.[6]

In our understanding, cultural affirmation is the process by which peoples who live in a place remember and regenerate their traditional practices, nurturing their *pacha* (local world) and letting themselves be nurtured by it. Since in the case of the central Andes, this local world is agrocentric, nurturance is the mode of being of the Andean *pacha*. Andean cultural affirmation is the continuous regeneration of this mode of being. This we have come to learn through our experiences being with the communities—it is not our invention. An expression that we found in different forms in both native languages (Quechua and Aymara) is: "We nurture while being nurtured." Mutual nurturance is the main characteristic of Andean life, as Julia Pacoricona Aliaga from Conima, Puno, clarifies with reference to the potato plant:

The potato is our mother because when it produces fruits it is feeding us, clothing us and giving us happiness, but we also nurture her. When the plants are small, we call them *wawas* (children) because we have to look after them, delouse (weed) them, clothe (hill) them, dance and feast them. This has always been done. My parents taught me to nurture them with affection and good will as we do with our children.[7]

Accompanying Cultural Affirmation

Cultural affirmation, then, is not an intellectual matter. For the people of the central Andes it is the sustained regeneration of biocultural diversity through the activities of mutual nurturance undertaken by the *campesinos* and the entities that make up their *pacha*. PRATEC's work in support of cultural affirmation included running a one-year university course on "accompaniment," which was offered to young agronomists and other professionals. In the context of this course, accompaniment meant living together and sharing with communities that affirm the Andean peasant mode of living, a way of life that is based on the nurturance of the *chacra*—that is, the cultivated field and the local landscape. The accompaniment of this sustained regeneration involves elements of reflection and requires an epistemology that supports this accompaniment. Such an epistemology is addressed not to the Andean campesinos, whose wisdom orients these reflections, but to the accompanying professionals.

Their motivation for accompanying the peasants is important. It is necessary that they believe that the Andean peasant mode of living is a viable alternative to globalization and that its nurturance is an adequate mode of being in the specific conditions of the central Andes. This belief underlies their support for the affirmation of the Andean peasant mode of living.

Coming from these rural communities, and disillusioned with the world of progress, they were in one sense going home, in a process that Néstor Chambi from the Asociación Chuyma Aru calls "re-ethnification." Wiser than before, and having learnt some humility, they soon realized that more humbling experiences were in store for them. The late Sergio Cuzco, who founded the Asociación Atusparia, in the Northern Peruvian Andes of Cajamarca, had this to say about his experience in the late 1980s:

> When we left the University, we tried to introduce all the innovations we had learned in the work we carried out with an NGO. We had resources, we could afford the *minga* (contribution to the common fund), bringing food.

The peasants accepted all of it, saying "It's OK." Soon we realized that all the common work achieved was ruined by the campesinos themselves. We were distracted a little and what we had done was no longer there…Having left the NGO in frustration we visited the campesinos and they said very frankly that we were doing wrong. I learned that they themselves had to decide how they were going to improve the *chacra* (cultivated field).[8]

So what followed was an extended effort to learn from the campesinos:

To engage in a relationship of equivalence with the campesinos…we got a *chacra* and we established a different relationship with the campesinos, a relation of reciprocity: we help them, they help us. What we get from outside the community is for the *ayni* [collective labour]…We are strengthening what the campesinos do. We tell them: What you have to improve is according to your understanding of how the *chacra* must be improved. It is a strengthening of their thinking, of their practices. We do not propose blueprints, because we are very much aware that the *chacras* are not all the same, because each *campesino* conducts his work according to his understanding and his possibilities.'[9]

It was through such experiences that these "accompanists-in-training" realized that their interest lay in letting themselves be nurtured by the communities in their efforts to decolonize their minds. Only by letting go of their technical baggage and assuming mutual accompaniment with their elders could they become part of their community and thus achieve some degree of effectiveness in their intervention. Furthermore, in the process they gradually acquired the strong conviction that the peasant mode of living is a valid alternative to the cultural homogenization embodied by globalization. Walter Chambi, a member of the Asociación Chuyma Aru, tells of his experience as an accompanist of his own community in Conima, Puno, in a personal communication to Loyda Sánchez:

There are several ways of understanding accompaniment. In order to accompany, the field personnel must be in the communities helping in the nurturance of the *chacra*, visiting the families. If, during a visit, the family is threshing, the accompanists must join to help in the threshing and, in the rest periods, they encourage reflection on the different aspects of nurturance or other tasks, reporting on the way communities do it in other laces, on secrets, on rituals, etc. When the field personnel come back after some time they ask the community how they do it. The field personnel motivate reflection in such a way that the practices they document are recreated according to the *campesino*'s own circumstances. To do this one has to be well prepared in everything, that is, one should have good field experience because one is directly helping in nurturing activities. One also motivates reflection and to do that one must know many things and be prepared to provoke fruitful conversation.

Walter's description emphasizes one aspect of accompaniment, the technicalities, but leaves out the other equally important aspect: how the accompanist is also accompanied. After all, according to its Latin etymology, to accompany means to share bread together. Juan Arturo Cutipa, a young and accomplished accompanist from Asociación Chuyma Aru, told Loyda Sánchez of his mother's gentle teaching of community values:

When I helped my parents in the fields on Saturday and Sundays I saw at harvest time that what they did was out of affection and reciprocity. I used to tell them that they were wasting money. Why are you so generous with helpers? If they are not good at work, stop hiring them. You can replace them with more efficient hands. My mother used to say: "This lady has no one to work on her *chacra*. Even if she works little, she talks with us and makes us laugh and thus furthers our work. Moreover, if we do not share food with her it could even be a sin and God would chastise us. Who can give her something, if she does not have anyone to make *chacra* for her?" I was

astonished, thinking that it was entirely her problem. I told my mother: "If she does not have anyone to make *chacra* for her, at least keep her from bringing her cow. It is eating what our cow should eat. My mother said: "Her cow does not eat a whole lot. Moreover, we could waste the straw. Let her bring her cow. Otherwise, who would take care of it?" With my university student's eyes I had completely forgotten mutual aid, reciprocity, compassion, even respect, all of which are most important in the field. At harvest time I realized that men worked more. My understanding then was to hire only men, or at least to pay them more. My mother gave them the same pay in kind. I then thought that paying more to the better helper would motivate others to work more but it just did not work that way.

The role of the accompanists and the skills they needed were thus quite different from those of the professional technicians. Indeed, what the peasant communities needed to further the nurturance of their *chacras* was not the spread of modern technical agriculture. Instead, they needed to recover the knowledge for nurturance still present in the memory of the community elders. Early on it was evident that the educational system was not attending to this need since none of the departments of agronomy in the universities in the Andes taught Andean peasant agriculture at all. At the same time, the accompaniment of cultural affirmation crucially depended upon the training of colleagues who could offer, in the field, concrete alternatives to the current approaches of agricultural/rural development promoted by government and international organizations. These colleagues also started participating in the courses, sharing their field experiences. In this way they became a crucial source of inspiration for the reflections of the PRATEC team. It was in these circumstances that PRATEC, prompted by the request of the vice-president of the National University of Cajamarca, started in 1989 an educational programme with the explicit purpose of training accompanists for cultural affirmation of Andean communities, in collaboration with local universities. The curriculum was based on

the idea that whoever wants to exercise the role of accompanist must realize that she/he has been subjected to colonization. Colonization is dual. The training received during the long period of formal schooling devalues the *campesino* mode of living, presenting it as a stage in the history of mankind that is outdated. Colonizers consider it to be an ignorant way of being in the world, subject to the determinations of a hostile nature, and the "obligations" inherent in community life. Also, the knowledge of the ancestors is looked on with contempt and considered the reason for the evident poverty and deficiencies of *campesino* life. This attitude affirms the dependence of the professional on a knowledge transferred without context and whose relevance in a new milieu is based more on faith and the power of those who originated it than on factual verification. What makes overcoming colonization personally difficult is the seeming impossibility of renouncing the privileges of professional status and the cognitive authority that professional training grants.

The PRATEC training programme for accompanists focused on the contrast between the Western worldview and an interpretation of the Andean cosmovision. The accompanist was prepared for a permanent dual task. On the one hand, she/he was trained to support the regeneration of the Andean mode of living. On the other hand, she/he was prepared to make a deliberate effort to decolonise her/his own mind. This consisted in making explicit to her/himself, and to others, what it is that she/he takes for granted and which prevents the healthy regeneration of life in the Andes and on the planet. The tricky aspect of this challenge is the ambiguous role of modern science and technology as provider of material wealth and, simultaneously, complicit in causing the ecological crisis.

The part devoted to the affirmation of Andean life requires participants on the one-year course to learn about five agricultural practices from the campesinos in their *chacras*. This gives them the opportunity to learn to listen humbly to expressions of traditional wisdom. They are also required to write a monograph on the testimonies collected during their accompaniment. Both components of practical work in the course have allowed

PRATEC gradually to build up a cognitive *corpus* on traditional *campesino* knowledge. This has stimulated a discourse on the Andean "life-world," which in turn has oriented field programmes and training. In the words of environmental philosopher David Abram:

> The life-world is the world of our immediately lived experience *as* we live it, prior to all our thoughts about it. It is that which is present to us in our everyday tasks and enjoyments—reality as it engages us before being analysed by our theories and our science.[10]

The programme was offered for 10 years during the decade 1990-99, and one of its most important outcomes has been the formation of a number of Nuclei of Andean Cultural Affirmation (NACA). These are small community-based organizations, staffed by graduates of the annual course for accompanists. After completing the course several of the course participants had decided to move back to their own community so they could become part of the process of Andean cultural affirmation.

On the Epistemology of Accompanying Andean Cultural Affirmation

By definition, epistemology is an examination of the origins, nature, methods and limits of knowledge. However, it is entirely placed within the Western intellectual tradition. There is no epistemology (as there is no planning) in the life of the peasant nurturers of the central Andes. This intellectual path to reflection on knowledge is unknown here. We propose, therefore, a wider understanding of epistemology, which does not reduce it to a theory of scientific knowledge but allows it to comprise the spectrum of ways of accessing the knowledge that facilitates the flow of life in a certain place.

In the context of accompanying cultural affirmation, epistemology will be understood as reflection on the conditions of a

rigorous knowledge capable of supporting the accompaniment of a culturally different group from the one to which the accompanist belongs. Here we are taking as reference a more general case than the one that Néstor Chambi called re-ethnification. It is the case of an interested technical outsider. Let it be clear, therefore, that the present reflections remain within the framework of the Western intellectual tradition. They can be pertinent to the accompanying person in her/his efforts to achieve an effective and enriching accompaniment but they do not pretend to be useful for the communities that are accompanied.

The challenge for accompanists trained in the Western intellectual tradition is to understand the basics of the other culture—that is, they must see the other and acknowledge the other's knowledge as valid. This demands that their spheres of knowledge encompass the other's, or at least that they acknowledge and respect that the latter exists in its own right. They must also endeavour to understand it from its roots. Hence, an epistemology for accompanying cultural affirmation should be oriented to supporting the elaboration of an interpretation of a cosmovision radically different from the modern Western cosmology—in this case, the cosmovision of the peasant nurturers of biocultural diversity. In this way this epistemology can help make effective the possibility of mutual learning.

At this point, however, it is important to note that PRATEC has attempted to follow three separate but complementary paths in its work. One is the task that PRATEC has carried out since its inception—that is, the formulation of an Andean discourse based on the expressions of the Andean peasants themselves, taken on their own terms. The epistemology implicit in this effort has sought to further Andean cultural affirmation. In our case, it has taken the form of an epistemology that contrasts with the one underlying Western science and technology, and is sometimes formulated in direct opposition to Western categories. It has proved useful in providing the impetus for the decolonization of our minds. However, most of our Western colleagues have felt all along that it was an exclusive position that did not welcome other epistemologies. An illustration of adopting such an epistemology will be provided in the next section.

The second path in the search for an adequate epistemology has been the exploration of alternative ontologies and their corresponding epistemologies within the Western tradition itself. This exploration involves a critical examination of modern Western tradition and an attempt to recover a non-modern approach that is hospitable to other traditions. In our view Ivan Illich's work is an exemplar in this search.

A third path appeared, actually as a deepening of the first, when we realised that contrasting an epistemology based on the Andean life world with modern Western epistemology can lead to a dualistic position that effectively precludes conversation with other cognitive traditions. This runs counter to the communities' present demand for radical cultural diversity, as documented below in the section on rethinking education in the Andes. Thus, the accompanied communities themselves accompany and nurture the accompanists, gently but firmly posing their agenda, which contains challenges with important epistemological implications.

As mentioned above, the term cosmovision has to do with basic forms of seeing, feeling and perceiving the world. It is made manifest by the forms in which a people acts and expresses itself. This means that a cosmovision does not necessarily correspond to an ordered and unique discourse (cosmology) through which it can be described/explained and understood. In some cases the only way to understand a cosmovision is through living it—by sharing experiences with people who sustain that mode of living and that life-world.

The life-world of the Andean communities as nurturers of biocultural diversity centres on *campesino* agriculture. *Campesino* agriculture is the specific form of 'being in the world' of Andean peoples, who nurture a diversity of plants and animals while letting themselves be nurtured by them, and by the local world to which they wholly belong. The centre is the small cultivated field, the *chacra.* It is important to highlight this because, in the Andean life-world, agriculture is not considered to be an earlier stage of development than industrial civilisation. In

industrial societies farming has become agricultural industry. Nor should Andean agriculture be seen as an equivalent of European peasant agriculture where the rural way of life has been subordinated to the sustenance of the cities ever since the late Middle Ages. The wonderful "fresco" of agriculture worldwide created by Jack Harlan in *Crops and Man*[11] shows the great diversity of species and agricultural systems throughout the planet (and the non-hierarchical relationship among them) even though his references to the central Andes do not stem from first-hand experience.

It is worth noting, for instance, that in many important respects Andean *campesino* nurturers are closer to the general attitude of hunter-gatherers than to the farmers who practiced agriculture in Europe in the early Middle Ages and who sought to exert increasing control over resources and nature.

The insistence on the centrality of the *chacra* is also because it provides the best expression of the nurturance that is the basic attitude in life of the *campesino* nurturers of diversity. It is through nurturing and being nurtured by the *chacra* that we can also learn to nurture in other contexts.

The concept of culture has, like that of cosmovision, an exceptional number of meanings, and is thus subject to misunderstanding. Here we are using it to mean "a people's way of life." In the case of Andean culture, "people" include not only the human communities but also their deities and the place itself, with its mountains, stones, rivers, lagoons, stars, and so on. In this sense, "culture" is equivalent to "cosmovision." We are not using it as a term that refers to a discourse on the "customs" of a people but to the form in which it regenerates its life on a daily basis.

A distinction that can be made in Spanish but not in English is that between *saber* and *conocimiento*. Both translate into English as "knowledge." Hereafter the Spanish words have been kept to make a distinction between them, following Eduardo Grillo.[12] The distinction is crucial in order to highlight the radical incommensurability of the two worldviews. Here again we have

to clarify that this does not correspond, even though there are some parallels, to the distinction between *episteme* and *techné* proposed by Steve Marglin.[13] For Marglin, they are two systems of knowledge, distinct and equivalent, which *complement* each other. The problem for him is that modernity has established a hierarchy between them, leaving *techné* in an inferior position, when not disregarding it altogether.

For us, *conocimiento* is the characteristic result of Western modernity, which can be understood, in a fundamental sense, as a project of knowledge. It seeks dominion over nature through the application of systematically acquired knowledge. *Saber*, in contrast, happens when tuning oneself in with the circumstances of life in the local world or *pacha*. Thus, it is circumstantial and strictly local, not general and universal.

In our understanding, *conocimiento* is distinguished from *saber* in a constitutive manner by the attitude of the knower, and in a derived form, by the method by which it is obtained. The mainstream paradigmatic knowledge of today is technical, scientific knowledge. At this point we will not delve into the possibility of complementarity between *saber* and *conocimiento*, and simply indicate that they imply different attitudes, as will be explained in the context of cultural diversity.

In the table on the next page some of the attributes of *conocimiento* are presented and contrasted with Andean Amazonian *saber*:

Conocimiento	Saber
Universal	Local/contextual
Cerebral	Sensuous/nurturing
Impersonal/disembodied	embodied in the Ayllu (Andean extendedfamily including natural entities and deities)
Articulated/explicit	implicit/tacit
Analytic	Hollistic
Unique access as the result of the application of a specific method	Multiple ways of access: watching and doing; through dreams; in master-apprentice relationship
Distance	Immediacy
Technical gaze	involvement
Hierarchical opposition of subject/object	Equivalence
Theoretical	Lived

The need for clearly distinguishing between these two ways of knowing became apparent early in our work with cultural affirmation—that is, since we started on our journey. This was not only because we believed in the intrinsic worth of the Andean life-world in its own context but also because we realized that a different life-world implied a different epistemology. This was made much clearer when we were invited to participate in the process of formulating a Global Environmental Facility (GEF) funded project on the *in situ* conservation of native plants and wild relatives. Five other institutions, both public and private, also took part in this formulation process. During the process, which began in 1995, it became evident that in this particular area of knowledge—the *in situ* conservation of a diversity of plants—modern science and technology proved counterproductive. The results of its application had been a radical reduction of

biodiversity and the spread of monoculture throughout the world, while traditional cultures still keep diversity. The knowledge about conserving plant diversity that existed with the Andean peoples was richly substantiated during the five years of project implementation (2001-2005). For us, it also strengthened our conviction of the pertinence of the distinction between *saber* and *conocimiento*.

One of the ways of incorporating the contribution of traditional knowledge in the understanding of biodiversity and its conservation has been to subsume it into the modern scientific canon by validating it through the application of techno-scientific protocols. However, the techno-scientific strategy has been *ex situ* conservation in gene banks. On *in situ* conservation only the traditional knowledge of indigenous and peasant communities, has proved effective. It is not just a matter of different strategies. The difficulty does not stem from methodological approaches but from the incommensurability of the cosmovisions involved.

The epistemology we are seeking to elaborate hopes to help outsiders understand a specific mode of being in the world that corresponds to a unique form of agriculture expressing a particular cosmovision. The contrast with Western technicized civilisation is stark and poses the question: What use is such traditional knowledge, based as it is on traditional agriculture, when this is increasingly regarded as a marginal activity? To answer this question it is pertinent to remind ourselves what it is, exactly, that the Western-trained technical professional knows. In school she/he has learned the application of a systematic method to solve diverse problems from a specific point of view motivated by an economic purpose. This systematic method is intrinsically oriented towards the mechanisation of increasing portions of the planet, since it is assumed that this can bring these portions under human control and management. Control and management and the subsequent domination of nature have been the objectives and results of this mode of knowing the world. It should not surprise us that there is now much evidence that science and technology are major contributors to the present eco-

logical crisis. Moreover, control and management demand mechanization and "artificialization" and hence the homogenization of components. Science and technology have great trouble dealing with diversity and often see it as an obstacle. For all these reasons the knowledge of the professional technician, taught in the formal educational system, today contributes to the ecological crisis and the destruction of diversity on the planet.

Perhaps the most important difference between the epistemologies for these two different cosmovisions is summarized in the quotes from Brown and Vilca Cayo introducing this article. In the Western tradition the basic intellectual operation is that of categorization, of distinguishing one thing from another. It creates the world and makes logical thinking both possible and essential. This basic operation has consequences that are generally taken for granted. It is reflected in the fact that European languages, including Spanish, are increasingly languages of objects. The Cartesian subject-object dichotomy forms the basis of a relationship of human domination over the other entities of the *pacha* (local world). At the same time it individualizes knowledge, basing it upon the certainty of the human that knows. Just as the Cartesian *res cogitans (*thinking matter or mind*)* is an individual, the *res extensa* (the world at large) is also populated by individuals. However, as Chet Bowers has written[14] all language is used to communicate about relationships and what Western understanding does is to emphasize the relationships among objects, hiding at the same time the relationship of the cognizant subject with these objects. A pertinent example is the notion of "resource" that refers, in the common understanding, to the collection of objects at hand for given purposes. But the relationship implies human domination over nature.

We also owe to Chet Bowers[15] the observation that "language also communicates the culture's understanding of the attributes of the participants in the relationships, thus reproducing its moral codes." He elaborates:

> In other words, how the culture understands the attributes influences what is understood as the appropriate moral behavior. For example, in the English language, the word

"weed" communicates the modern Western understanding that it has no useful or important attributes, i.e., it is morally acceptable to eradicate it. Likewise, the word "wilderness" carries the assumption that part of nature is out of control, a source of danger, and thus needs to be brought under human control and exploitation. Today, many now associate the word with being pristine and free of human exploitation, and thus the idea of cutting old-growth forests and clearing it for housing, etc., is viewed as immoral.

In the case of the Andean languages, the quote from Santos Vilca is a succinct statement that encapsulates Andean cosmovision: *Pachamama* (Mother Earth), the woman and the seed are the same person—the three are incarnations of the same *qamasa* (life-spirit). This implies, as we understand it, that distinctions are not helpful for understanding the Aymara life-world. Again this is not our fancy. In the February festival of the first fruits, which is a celebration of the *chacras*, people are considered as seeds. The male participants (both visitors and villagers) are *muchus* (grains) and the female participants are *ispallas* (tubers). All are deities in their human form. Throughout the ritual they are addressed as *muchus* or *ispallas.* Their relative abundance is a sign for the coming year—more tubers indicate a rainy year, more grains a dry year.

The purpose of the *saber* that goes with this cosmovision is not to manage community resources effectively for increased economic income. Rather, it is for tuning in with the variable circumstances that are lived in the Altiplano.

Chet Bowers[16] has introduced us to the notion of root metaphor as a way to clarify what constitutes cosmovisions and how they can be expressed. This notion recognizes the profoundly stratified nature of language and thought considered from their metaphorical character. Root metaphors are located at the foundational level, the layer that is taken for granted and is an integral part of the cosmovision of the human group that uses them. These root metaphors guide the analogical language and find expression in the higher stratum of iconic metaphors and the lower

stratum of image words. Probably, the central root metaphor of the modern cosmovision is that of mechanism, the view of the world as a machine. "The brain as a computer" is a powerful contemporary iconic metaphor corresponding to such a root metaphor and makes possible the associated metaphoric expression "architecture of the brain." Likewise, the image words that are derived from a mechanistic way of thinking include part, function, experiment, efficiency, measurement and control. The mechanistic root metaphor has not only influenced how the parts of the body are named or described (systems, heart as a pump, architecture of the brain, and so on) but also how, for example, Western agriculture, education and architecture are approached.

A root metaphor underlying Andean cosmology is that of the world as a weaving or a web ordered by affection and respect and woven by means of mutual nurturance. Associated with this are iconic metaphors such as "regeneration" and "conversation." These expressions in English do not fully express what the Quechua and Aymara say.

However, despite the limitations of translation, the possible connections between cosmovisions can be made evident through the use of metaphor. The example of the planning exercise mentioned above presents us with one such effort based on the cosmovision of high Andean communities today. Even though it was undertaken in the context of planning an outside intervention that could be unwittingly colonizing, the involvement of cultural mediators belonging to the community set off a process of collective reflection on what could be done for the community's cultural affirmation.

A cosmovision is expressed in language, meaning all possible forms of expression, not only speech. For this reason, language is one of the aspects that are taken for granted in a cosmovision. It is perhaps its most hidden aspect. In the realm of formal education for instance, it is assumed that literacy is a higher stage in human development than oracy. Hence reading (initially often out loud) and writing are imposed as prerequisites from an early age. However, as Abram has pointed out[17] its centrality in the search of knowledge marginalizes the other senses,

privileging sight and hearing, and limits how we use them. For the Andean *campesino* culture, this marginalization implies a very important loss of forms of human languaging with the entities of the *pacha*. For instance, the capacity to perceive the colour of the wind indicating, for example, the proximity of rains, has been lost.

Because color is the way in which the wind communicates what it knows about the coming weather, this important information is no longer available to campesinos.

The languages that express the cosmovision of the Andean peasants are Quechua and Aymara. Both are strictly oral. In the case of Quechua, Marcela Machaca's paper has referred to the difficulties of translation and the many meanings of each word. One word can mean one thing in a specific context, and in a different context it can mean the opposite. It suffices to briefly consult a dictionary of the Quechua language to realize the effort that Quechua-speaking teachers and students must display to master reading and writing and, with it and through it, the development of the capacity of abstraction to transform the world into a repository of objects.

The programme for the training of accompanists had to be attentive to the difference between cosmovisions. The course participants were people who had been trained to believe that the professional technician *knows*. They were trained in the belief that a professional because of knowledge in a certain discipline is in a position to teach others how to do things from the perspective of that discipline. The attitude that is "natural" to the technical professional is, as a result, to place her/himself above the others and to dictate what should be done. It does not occur to them to listen, especially with attention and respect, to other non-professionals. Thus, an agronomist is prepared to dictate to the *campesinos* what must be done to make their *chacras* profitable. She/he does not remember that they have been nurturing plants for numerous generations and that they do not need instructions to live in sufficiency.

In order for the professional technician to become an accomplished accompanist in the cultural affirmation of the Andean communities she/he must be able to:

> listen to the wisdom of the grandparents, suspending all professional capacities and assumed cognitive authority in relation to those whom she/he accompanies (deprofessionalisation); unlearn and question what is taken for granted in order to reflect on it with those she/he accompanies (decolonization).

It is clear that these skills are only pertinent for the professional technician, since the form in which community members acquire their skills has nothing to do with formal professional training, nor are they colonized as long as they do not take seriously the promises of modernization that the professionals have made their own.

Josef Estermann has undertaken the characterization of an "Andean philosophy" based on his stay in a high Andean community in Cusco. His work is particularly valuable for the development of an epistemology adequate for accompanists.[18] In our opinion, however, he misses the centrality of daily life in the maintenance of a cosmovision. Nurturance and the *chacra* are conspicuously absent in his interpretation. However, his identification and elaboration of the principles of the Andean life-world (relationality, correspondence, complementarity and reciprocity) remain a valuable contribution from an intercultural point of view. Estermann asserts that the "true foundation for Andean philosophy is the relationality of all, the network of links that is the vital force of all that exists."[19] He also calls the "principle of relationality," the "holistic principle." This principle asserts that "everything is related in one way or another with everything else…the basic entity is not the substantial 'entity' but the relation."[20] This basic principle manifests itself in a number of "secondary" or "derived" principles, according to the type of relationality present. "As a first 'derived principle' we mention that of correspondence. This principle, says, in general terms, that the different aspects, regions, or fields of 'reality' correspond

to each other in a harmonious manner,"[21] With reference to complementarity, Estermann asserts that "the principle of complementarity is the specification of the principles of correspondence and relationality. No 'entity' nor action whatever exists 'monadically,' but in coexistence with its specific complement."[22] The Western parallel is the principle of complementarity in quantum mechanics.

The principle of reciprocity is probably the most evident to Western observers of the Andean life-world. In Estermann's words:

> The principle of correspondence expresses itself at the pragmatic and ethical level as the "principle of reciprocity": To every act corresponds, as a complementary contribution, a reciprocal act. This principle pertains not only to human interrelationships (between persons or groups) but also to all types of interaction, be it intrahuman, between human and nature, or between humans and the deities.[23]

From Andean Cultural Affirmation to the Andean Affirmation of Cultural Diversity

Above we have argued for the need for an epistemology for cultural affirmation. The arguments have, hopefully, made clear that different cosmovisions imply different ways of accessing knowledge and thus require different epistemologies. However, one important conclusion is that, of all external interventions, only accompaniment fills the requirement of a respectful intercultural relationship. All other interventions in the name of development are, to varying degrees, colonizing. In the realm of knowledge, it is clear that when approaching people with a different cosmovision one's own knowledge must be put aside. The same is also true for the instinctive judgment that arises when confronting a basic attitude to life different from one's own. This

becomes apparent in the Western urban dwellers' experience when sharing the life-world of Andean communities. Their senses highlight the feeling of deprivation in sympathizing (suffering together) with them, the feeling that "these people are poor." This results in an urge to help change their situation.

This latter point touches on an even more fundamental issue and has been illuminated by the Argentinean philosopher Rodolfo Kusch (1922-1979). He identified a basic attitude in the Andean life-world, associated with the Spanish verbs *estar* and *ser.* They both translate as "to be" in English but *estar* in the sense of "just being" and *ser* in the sense of "essential being." Kusch starts his reflections from an experience of an encounter with an Aymara peasant in the Bolivian Altiplano. In an intriguing chapter in his book *The Indigenous and Popular Thought in Latin America,*[24] Kusch tells of the crucial encounter that he and his students have with an Aymara elder. In a dry, and to them, hostile environment, the students' obvious solution is to appeal to the local branch of central government for a water pump. Kusch finds this attitude well-meaning but lacking in understanding of the elder's comprehension of the situation as one that must be dealt with in conversation with the deities and natural entities, i.e., in ritual. His reflection goes to the root of the different cosmovisions involved in this encounter, the difference between *ser* and *estar*: What attitude is proper to such circumstances? Kusch notes the "inward-looking, participative" attitude of the Aymara elder—that is, the assumption of the circumstance as something that belongs to him and where appealing to outside help and thus creating dependence on unfamiliar forces is not, in his understanding, an appropriate way of dealing with the situation. This differs from the outward-looking, leading attitude of his students. Why is something that comes so naturally to each participant in the encounter lived in such radically different ways? Kusch offers a novel explanation based on the consideration of differing cosmovisions. He writes:

In Sanskrit, as in Greek and Latin as well as in Spanish, this dissociation into two verbs ['to be'] exists, but disappears in the Anglo-Saxon and French languages, be-

cause these latter belong to a field that has assimilated *estar* [just being] into *ser* [essential being], or rather it might be more appropriate to say that they have eliminated *estar* because they are essentially dynamic cultures…They are cultures of *ser* [essential being], unadaptable to anything because they create their own world…The central driving force of all Western philosophy is *ser*. It was taken first as a formal and logical element among the Greeks, and then as an "aspiration"…or "ideal"…In Western ontology there is undoubtedly an obsession with the essence of things, which the Eastern world does not know.[25]

Although he did not develop a whole philosophy based on *estar*, there are many references in Kusch's work that allude to this attitude of "just being" of the Andean peoples as a basic difference from the Western tradition which has been polarized between "essential being" and "becoming" since the Greek pre-Socratic philosophers.

A summary collected from the works of Kusch (2000) of the contrast between these two basic attitudes or ways of being in the world is presented in the following table:

	Western Essential Being/Becoming	*Andean Just Being*
Basic question	Why?	How?
Reference	Essence	Circumstance/context
Bodily disposition	Sedere, to sit, as in a position of control	Stare, to stand, in an attentive attitude
Thought	Causal	Seminal, originative
Attitude towards the world	(Hyper/pro) active	Relaxed, receptive
Goal	To create	To establish, in state
Strategic attitude	Taking the lead	Participating
Driving force	Efficiency	Favor/disfavor
Primary resource	intellect	Affectivity

"Being," in the sense of essential being, is linked with the identification of essences and their attributes. In conceptual terms, if something can be defined it can be manipulated. This is alien to Andean thought, as expressed in Santos Vilca's testimony about Pachamama (Mother Earth), seeds and women being the same person. The intellectual operation of distinguishing one thing from another belongs to the realm of control and manipulation and is associated with causal thinking. Kusch identifies the attitude of distancing oneself with respect to the world with such kind of thinking. Immersion in the world, the loving relating with its entities, forgoes any pretension of domination and control.

The distinction between causal thinking and another (seminal) kind of thought is linked with the similar polarity that exists in consciousness between intelligence and affectivity. In the field of traditional psychology a distinction is made between, on the one hand, a subject that *sees* the world, delimits it in detail to confront it with efficiency, and, on the other hand, a subject that *feels* the

favor or disfavor of that same world. In the former the subject asks for the *why*. This *why* refers to a constellation of causes and explanations that are offered in a lucid world accepted as such with full consciousness. In the latter the subject asks for the *how*. The *how* makes reference to the modality, to the tint of aversion and emotional adhesion that things appear to bring with them.[26]

Favor or disfavor (in the world of deities and natural entities) as a criterion for human intervention relates, as Kusch notes, to ritual as conversation and as a means of harmonizing with entities whose sympathy and empathy are sought rather than control over them.

The attitude of "just being" observed from a dynamic cosmovision like the Western one, which values action over seeming passivity, may be mistaken for resignation and conformism. In the Andean cosmovision this seeming passivity could be active nurturance, which has periods of intense activity as in rituals, festivities and communal cultivation, as well as periods of patient attuning to the circumstances.

Bridges Between Cosmovisions

In our understanding, Kusch affirms the radical incommensurability of cosmovisions, at least where the Western cosmovision is involved. This leads to the question: is it possible to build bridges or *passerelles* (footbridges) between cosmovisions? Is a dialogue between cosmovisions possible? If yes, what would the preconditions for such a dialogue be? Before trying to answer these questions the issue of cultural relativism must first be addressed. Cultural relativism is a double bind. Just posing the question of bridging cosmovisions implies distancing oneself from this relativistic position. On this issue we agree with Rajni Kothari, who writes:

It is not possible to wish away the West; the point is to expose the illusion perpetrated by it that the western scientific paradigm provides a universal and hence absolute referent and is the only basis for world unity. It follows that the search for an alternative paradigm has to be a search for a new basis of unity, not merely the assertion of a diversity of cultures and their corresponding scientific and technological traditions…The philosophical perspective that should guide such an endeavour should steer clear of both imperialist claims to universality and the normless striving for relativity: it should affirm both the principle of *autonomy* of each entity (human as well as social) to seek out its own path to self-realization and the principle of *integration* of all such entities in a common framework of interrelationships based on agreed values.[27]

The immediate implication of this proposal is that the stance implicit in cultural affirmation is necessary but insufficient for the dialogue of cosmovisions. A dialogue demands openness rather than a rational disposition towards defending an alternative view. It also requires conviction that dialogue is necessary. For us the answer to the question about the possibility of dialogue is affirmative. However, we also recognize the need for certain preconditions to be met. Moreover, we believe that what is sought in such a dialogue can be tried out in practical ways by accompanists involved in the accompaniment of communities engaged in cultural affirmation and that reflections based on these practices may have important implications for furthering the dialogue of cosmovisions. The example of the community of Quispillaccta in Ayacucho has already been offered, to show the crucial, though hidden, role that accompanists can play in brokering the dialogue between people with differing cosmovisions.

The preconditions for dialogue, as we understand them, are threefold. One is the need for respect and affection in the relationship. This means that it is not only a relation between equivalents but also that the participants hold the conviction that the

conversation between cosmovisions will provide key insights for the healthy regeneration of all involved. The second condition is the affirmation of the cosmovisions involved, a renewed conviction that each of them has something to offer that will be of value to the other. Following on this is a third condition: that the participants commit themselves to reflect on what is taken for granted in their own cosmovision and to derive from these reflections the consequences that affect the healthy regeneration of life on the planet.

Rethinking the Role of Science

We have already mentioned that our experience in the GEF-funded *in situ* project provided us with a privileged testing ground verifying the inability of the practitioners of modern technical agriculture even to articulate the project's challenges—that is, to suggest ways of contributing to the traditional regeneration of seeds. While implementing the project we have faced the conflicts arising from the glorification of modern science and technology as the ultimate solution for all of humankind's problems. The immediate consequence of such glorification is the implicit denial of ways of living and understanding reality that are alternatives, different from one's own. It also forced us to reflect on the many ways in which the practice and management of science has been corporatized. This has meant the increasing abandonment of scientific endeavours that are not aimed at corporate profit. This shift is achieved through the adoption of corporate values, economic profit in this case. In the *in situ* project, for instance, the basic rationale of the project assumed that the motivation of the peasant communities for conserving agro-biodiversity was economic gain. Our accompaniment of the community of nurturers of agrobiodiversity during the project has revealed, to the contrary, that biodiversity is the result of a different mode of being-in-the-world, of affectionate attuning to

the plants, animals and entities that populate their environment. In this context, biodiversity is valuable in itself.

How this corporatization is achieved in the career of distinguished scientists is illustrated by Bruno Latour.[28] Increasingly scientific endeavors not meant for corporate profit get less space, while corporate techno-science spreads and becomes more powerful, less socially responsible and freer from peer recognition, peer review and peer pressure.

Even non-profit initiatives like the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, a worldwide multidisciplinary effort to provide decision-makers with knowledge oriented to averting the ecological crisis, sees its recommendations compromised in spite of the redoubtable intentions and honesty of its members. Their conceptual framework adopts a uniting disciplinary ground provided by economics with its implicit universalistic values governing the relationships among disciplines. Thus, despite their cautious wording, their recommendations are decidedly monocultural, and in our opinion, counterproductive.

Upholding values based on economics can become especially counterproductive when applied to decisions on interventions for biodiversity conservation in the central Andes. Maps clearly show that the areas with the highest agrobiodiversity correspond to places with populations officially declared to be living in extreme poverty. This is not accidental since these peoples are the bearers of traditions that keep biodiversity for its own sake and not for economic reasons.

Respecting cultural diversity requires that science become one tradition equivalent to others to be nurtured by accompanists that travel between social spaces and have the ability to understand different ways of knowing, relating to and narrating the world. This must include familiarity with the mode of being-in-the-world which allows an affectionate attuning to plants, animals and other entities as well as the specific academic/scientific ways of understanding the world that are narrowly defined for and by each peer group. It must thus entail a capacity to find and to hold these different ways of understanding the world.

This in turn entails a capacity to shift one's own focus of understanding, and acknowledge that very different ways of understanding the world may be simultaneously applicable, even when they are or seem to be mutually exclusive.

To attain a proper framework for this understanding we need a comprehensive definition of the scientific activity, and we may adopt Jared Diamond's broad one as "the acquisition of reliable knowledge about the world."[29] It should be noted that reliability in the case of narrow areas defined by a community of peers requires the exercise of trust, generosity and openness.

Also required for this understanding is the practitioner's motivation in science. Science seems to cater to a very primal need: transcendence through the exercise of the intellect, the intimation of infinity that can be deeply regenerative at the personal level. Kepler's exultation in his introduction to Book V of *Harmonice Mundi* is unforgettable:

> The thing which dawned on me 25 years ago before I had yet discovered the five regular bodies between the heavenly orbits…which 16 years ago I proclaimed as the ultimate aim of all research; which caused me to devote the best years of my life to astronomical studies, to join Tycho Brahe…I have now, after discharging my astronomical duties *ad satietatum*, at long last brought to light…Having perceived the first glimmer of dawn 18 months ago, the light of day three months ago, but only a few days ago the plain sun of a most wonderful vision— nothing shall hold me back. Yes, I give myself up to holy raving. I mockingly defy all mortals with my open confession: I have robbed the golden vessels of the Egyptians to make out of them a tabernacle for my God, far from the frontiers of Egypt. If you forgive me, I shall rejoice. If you are angry, I shall bear it. Behold, I have cast the dice, and I am writing a book either for my contemporaries, or for posterity. It is all the same to me. It may wait a hundred years for a reader, since God h a s also waited six thousand years for a witness…[30]

Thus, the mechanical conception of an ordered cosmos began to take shape with momentous consequences for humankind. This is "ecstatic communion," according to Michael Polanyi.[31] Is there a fundamental difference between this and the experience of Robert Oppenheimer watching the test explosion of the atomic bomb at Alamogordo, New Mexico, in 1945, reported in Robert Jungk's account?[32] According to Jungk, when the explosion went off Oppenheimer was reminded of a passage in the *Bhagavad Gita*:

> If the radiance of a thousand suns
> were to burst into the sky,
> that would be like
> the splendour of the Mighty One.

And as the mushroom cloud rose into the sky, Oppenheimer thought of another line from the same source:

> I am become Death, the shatterer of worlds.

Jungk comments, "Sri Krishna, the Exalted One, lord of the fate of mortals, had uttered the phrase."[33]

Horror and fascination are experienced at the same time in another momentous event for mankind. One is reminded of Rilke's first *Duino* elegy:[34]

> For beauty is nothing
> but the beginning of terror we can just barely endure,
> and we admire it so because it calmly disdains
> to destroy us...

Bruce Wilshire has made a very powerful case for ecstatic experience as satisfaction of primal needs that are not catered for in modern urban life. He also convincingly argues for the care that must be taken in dealing with it because it can be regenerative but addictive as well. So with science: it can become scientism, based on the belief "that it alone can reliably formulate meaning and know—for example, know what's right to do, or what the lived quality of a situation is."[35]

One characteristic of scientific knowledge that Diamond's definition does not highlight is that it aims at generality. This, in our opinion, is as important as reliability. Knowledge that can be generalized can guide the re-creation of successful action in different contexts, circumstances and scales. In contrast to local or traditional knowledge, science aims at generality and this is, in our opinion, its specific contribution.

Rethinking Education

It was in the context of a programme called Children and Biodiversity (2002-7), containing an educational component, that the issue of the "two kinds of knowledge" in the school posed the question of the dialogue of cosmovisions. Actually we had noticed since 2000 that traditional authorities in the communities had been unanimously identifying "loss of respect" as the major obstacle for community wellbeing. During the execution of the *in situ* project as well, the school was identified as a major threat to the conservation of the diversity of native plants. The traditional authorities recognised loss of respect towards their deities (*Pachamama*, or mountain protectors), towards nature and among themselves. The signs were clear: "Children no longer greet their elders." However, they did not request that the schools be closed and the teachers sent away. Instead, in conversation with parents during the year 2004, it was made clear what they demanded from the school. This was expressed as *Iskay Yachay* in Quechua and *Paya Yatiwi* in Aymara. They both translate as "two kinds of knowledge"—their own and the school's. They were adamant that local knowledge should be included in the school curriculum. Fifty years had passed since these same communities had demanded that the educational system help transform their children and equip them with skills so they could migrate to the cities and to a life of progress. The feeling was: "Let the life that I have end with me." With the inception of the development era some 50 years ago the project of the Enlightenment took hold.

The character of the children was to be transformed and they were to be prepared to live in and for progress—that is, in a future against a present regarded as backward and inferior.

> Through their education…children learn to leave home, not to stay [at] home…The new social norm implies that the child's destiny is not to succeed the parents, but to outmode them; succession is substituted for super-cession. Neither school nor university looks toward passing on an unimpaired cultural inheritance. Instead, they push and promote the professional career…The emphasis is on earning money in a provisional future that has nothing to do with place, commons, or community.[36]

The experience of the past decades has changed the perception of the communities. They realize that development has not fulfilled its promises. Now even young university graduates do not find jobs in the city. They return to their communities where they can neither apply what they have learned at the university nor practice what they rejected when they left their rural communities and migrated to the city. As a result the communities now demand that the school host their *saber*. This has been done. Today one third of the contents of the school curriculum is their *saber*. However, they also demand that the school continue to teach reading, writing and maths.

This is the natural way for them. Andean communities have never rejected what has come to them, even in the form of pests such as the European invasion. They have nurtured the alien, adopting foreign crops and animals as their own. From this viewpoint, *Paya Yatiwi* as understood by the parents is not just a plea in favor of the coexistence of two kinds of knowledge; it is basically a demand for cultural diversity. This was made clear when don Rigoberto Ticona, from Juli, Puno, showed the contents of his *kumana*, the ritual bundle where he keeps his seeds, at the time of his presentation before a meeting with parents, teachers and accompanists in December 2005. The diversity of species of seeds (potato, quinoa, cañihua, oca, and so on) and varieties within each species was astounding. He said that *Paya Yatiwi* would

help him nurture these seeds. His bundle contained hybrid potato seeds along with native ones. Neither rejection nor exclusion is meant. Hospitality is extended to all seeds—they are considered to be relatives.

One of the main blind spots of the formal educational system has been the assumption that rural communities are cognitive vacuums. On the contrary, the Children and Biodiversity School Project has found that there exists a full educational culture in rural communities. It is oriented towards a kind of training that allows everyone to be a full member of the community, able to exercise all "duties and services" that constitute the community's traditional system of authorities. These responsibilities are assumed from the age of six or seven years. The great challenge for the present educational system is how to support the growth of this educational culture, how to respect it and build on it.

The meaning of *Iskay Yachay* or *Paya Yatiwi* has gradually become clearer although we are far from having worked out all its practical implications. It includes the contribution of the school in the community recovering respect for one another, teaching, reading and writing by building on the children's orality, and helping the community teach the children the "seven skills" that every community member must master to be able to "pass life."

A Dialogue of Cosmovisions?

Previously we had understood that meeting the challenge of a fruitful interaction between different cultural groups required building bridges between them. These bridges, we thought, were intellectual constructions. It is now clear to us, and hopefully also to readers, that reason and intellect alone will not achieve anything of promise. A rational approach will seek and use distinctions as a means of ensuring certainty while what is needed

is seminal thinking, the propitiatory (conciliatory), nurturing let-ting-be that allows the new to become real. Perhaps there is an equivalent in modern systems thinking—the emergent property of a learning system. Chet Bowers has suggested in a personal communication that Gregory Bateson's understanding of an ecology where everything is interacting and communicating might represent the basis for cross-cultural dialogue.[37]

However, for dialogue we also need a basis of unity, as Rajni Khotari asserts. We propose that it be constituted by the global concern for the mounting ecological crisis. This is a concern shared by most people. Even if the crisis cannot be averted it can be a source of unity. Proposals like Earth Justice or Earth Juris-prudence[38] call for a common quest, for a shift from an anthropo-centric worldview like the modern Western one to one based on the laws of Nature to which human law must be subordinated. It seems important to us that such an initiative comes from the Western world and can receive wholehearted support in most cultures. Of course, there is a great diversity of understanding of Earth Justice in different cultural groups and the sharing of such diversity could form the basis for a rich exploration in intercul-tural relations.

In this context it is clear that all *saber* proceeds from, and is for, accompaniment. If intercultural relations are sought, every project that implies the interplay of two cosmovisions is a project that demands a relation of accompaniment. In that sense, every accompanist is also accompanied. Every nurturer is nurtured, and for that they must tune themselves in with the specific cir-cumstances of nurturance.

What then does being an accompanist mean in the present global context, assuming this common global concern about the mounting ecological crisis? For us in the central Andes the ac-companist is a "transductor," an intellectual hinge, between cosmovisions. She/he has been educated for long years in a con-ception of life different from her original mode of living, and has, therefore, a lived experience of both. She/he has arrived through her professional experience to verify the impertinence

of modes of living alien to the specific context of the Andes and has reached the conviction of the validity of the knowledge of her ancestors and the customs regenerated by generations as a basis for wellbeing. In this context it is her/his role to promote and facilitate the conversation between different cosmovisions.

In the context of cultural affirmation we have been accompanying communities and humbly learning from them. This makes for a oneway flow of learning from the communities. To a large extent, this means that the accompanist's main role is to support the Andean communities in their affirmation as communities despite the modernizing pressures for enclosing the commons, aggravated by globalization (privatization of land, water and biodiversity). In many cases, the accompanists have been adopted as a non-traditional authority that prompts the community to remember the ways that used to bring wellbeing.

However, the communities' demand for radical cultural diversity indicates their readiness to take up the challenge of directly conversing with other cultures. We still find a role for the accompanists in accompanying this conversation, making such a conversation possible. For this to happen, one first has to believe it is possible. We are in the initial stages of finding this conviction, but we also acknowledge that there are a number of preconditions for such a dialogue. An important one is the willingness of all to participate, and this condition is not always fulfilled. In a country like Peru, subject to secular colonization, the government is not ready to listen to its so-called "poorest" communities, for instance.

Nor are international organizations ready to recognize the communities' capacity for good governance. This was made clear in the formulation of the *in situ* project. Project activities concerned with aspects such as international legislation, policies and markets for promoting biodiversity conservation were contracted to outside consultants.

In our opinion, the results in this area at the end of the project have been very poor, revealing that no techno-scientific expertise has been developed on these issues. In our view, if the com-

munities have the know-how of biodiversity conservation, they also have the "know-what" regarding policies that strengthen such conservation. Here again, it is apparent that to initiate the process the accompanists might play a crucial role in making possible direct dialogue between communities that conserve and all those others interested in the conservation of biodiversity.

In both projects mentioned above, the exchange of lived experience has been the main modality of the affirmation of cultural diversity and, with it, biological diversity. The discussion makes clear that the relationship between cosmovisions does not involve intellect alone. Senses and emotions are engaged: cosmovisions are embodied in given *pachas* and not only in the human communities. This is the reason for choosing, as the initial modality of conversation between cosmovisions, exchanges of visits between human communities, to take part in each other's rituals. In the central Andes, during these rituals, human communities are accompanied by seeds, animals and offerings, through which all entities of the visitors' *pacha* are present. Rituals are instances of conversation among different *pachas* facilitated by the host communities. The challenge now is to extend this exchange beyond the confines of the central Andes.

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7

Knowledge and Practice on Rotational Farming of *Pgaz K'Nyau* (Karen) People, *Hin Lad Nai* Community in Northern Thailand[1]

by Dr. Prasert Trakansuphakorn and Taworn Kampholkul

The Discourse of Rotational Farming in Thai Society

The Image of Rotational Farming under Pressure from Thai Government Policy

Several groups of indigenous peoples live in Thailand, for example the Karen (who can be divided into smaller groups, the Pgaz K'Nyau, the Ploung [Pwo], the Tongsu [Thaungthu], and the Bwe [Kohyor]), the Hmong, the Akha, the Lahu, the Lisu, the Mien [Yao], the Lawa, the Mlabri, the Htin, the Mani, the Palaung, and so on.

Most of these indigenous groups live in northern Thailand, which is also one of Thailand's important water source areas. Most of the indigenous peoples live by farming, including live-stock farming, wet rice culture and upland field farming.

From around 1959, changes began to occur in the communities of these indigenous peoples as the Thai government began to move in to integrate them into the Thai population. The reason for this, from the government point of view, was that it was necessary to make efforts to solve various problems arising from the presence of indigenous peoples. The government stated that there were three important issues: a) that the indigenous peoples were destroying the water source forests, b) that they posed a

threat to the security of the state because they were "others" and not ethnic Thais, and c) that they cultivated habit-forming drugs, such as opium, and so on. These three issues are still considered by the Thai government to be problems for which the government needs to make serious efforts to solve.

The problem of ethnic groups destroying the water source forests is thought to be especially serious, and has attracted attention as being a problem which is becoming more serious over time, and thus must be resolved seriously and resolutely. A large part of the problem is that most of the indigenous peoples practice a form of agriculture known as "rotational farming." This form of agriculture involves clearing plots of forest land by slashing grass, cutting bushes and bamboo, and felling trees, and then burning the plot in order to prepare the land for planting rice, vegetables and other plants. The Thai government calls this form of agriculture "shifting cultivation" and claims that it is destroying the water source forests, and that therefore is a problem that must be duly resolved as a matter of urgent priority.

Because of this, over the last 20 years from 1987 to the present, the Thai government has used a variety of methods of control and suppression in order to reduce the areas of land where indigenous peoples carry out rotational farming. Among these methods are: a) the declaration of various kinds of protected forest areas, such as national parks, forest parks, wild animal reserves, and conservation forests; and b) the classification of watersheds into class A and B by quality of watershed forest; and c) the dispatch of Royal Forest Department (RFD[2]) officials to suppress local villagers during field clearing periods, and so on, causing many villagers to be arrested and charged with forest destruction each year.

Besides these methods of control and suppression, the Thai government has also used the policy of promoting fixed-field farming, the production of cash crops on permanent fields, as a substitute for rotational farming in the hope that both the problems of reducing the land areas under rotational farming and the eradication of opium cultivation can be solved at the same time.

Although this policy has been very effective in reducing the land area under rotational farming, new problems arising from this change have been much more severe. In the process of cultivating the cash crops that were promoted, there have been impacts such as soil degradation and the invasion of weeds. The villagers' response to these problems has been to use chemical fertilizers when the crops do not grow well, to use herbicides before planting crops, to use weed suppressing chemicals after the crops have germinated, and to spray insecticides when the crops become infested with insect pests. The use of chemical fertilizers and other agricultural chemicals has increased continually, causing them to accumulate in the soil and crops, which is dangerous for both the environment and human health.

The changes that have taken place in the past, and the situation that these changes has brought about in the present, reflect the fact that the Thai government has lacked understanding of the ways of life of indigenous peoples, and that their methods of solving problems do not match the real situation. This has resulted in policies emphasizing only suppression, control and the limiting of the rights of indigenous peoples, which we may consider to be a severe violation of their basic rights, and also has resulted in the creation of contradictions and confrontations between indigenous peoples and the state over several decades.

Adjustment and the Search for Alternatives under Strong Government Policy Pressure

The understanding of Thai society in general, and especially state officials, is often that rotational farming has only one form, that it is static and unchanging, does not adjust itself to the outside situation at different times, is a backward form of agriculture that is wasteful of resources, and is inefficient in terms of labour productivity, and so on. However, the real situation is that rotational farming adjusts itself regularly and continually seeks new alternatives, especially when it is subject to strong policy pressure from the state, such as that mentioned above. Rotational

farming has adjusted greatly, but the details of the adjustment in each community differ, depending on conditions such as the local ecology, the power of the community to manage its own natural resources, the degree of interference from state policies, and the ability of the people to negotiate with state authorities. According to the research of Professor Anan Ganjanapan and his research committee in "Research Report on The Rai Mun Wian (Rotational Farming) Agricultural System, The Situation and Changes"[3] rotational farming communities can at present be divided into three types, as follows:

Type 1. Communities that have been able to adjust sustainability

These are traditional and still quite stable communities. They have not yet been subject to very much state policy pressure and still hold the rights and power to manage and determine the rotational period of their fallows (one plot for each year of rotation) and swiddens (the field that was cleared, burned and is being cultivated in the current year) according to the practices of their ancestors. Their environment is pristine, which is a very important condition for carrying out traditional rotational farming which is both sustained and sustainable. Examples of this kind of village are Umphai Village, Maelaanoi District, Mae Hong Son Province; Seif Dof Saf Village, Mae Chaem District, Chiang Mai Province; and Mae Laan Kham Village, Samoeng District, Chiang Mai Province.

Type 2. Rotational farming communities that have adjusted through alternative methods of farming and income generation

This type of community has come under state policy pressure to reduce the rotational period from a traditional six to 10 years to between three and five years, and the area that is cultivated from an area requiring 10 to 15 *thang*[4] of seed rice to an area requiring three to five *thang* of seed rice—the actual land area differing from place to place. Although the rotational pe-

riod has been reduced, the communities are still able to maintain a rotation owing to the relatively high potential of the community for negotiating with the state authorities. This has been achieved through their ability to manage the form of their rotational farming and other natural resources, such as soil, water, the forest and so on, by establishing clear written regulations, and also by being able to explain clearly to the state and Thai society in general what they are doing in order to gain greater understanding of the true situation. This type of adjustment of rotational farming also seeks alternatives for survival or for supplementing rotational farming in order to sustain it, such as trade, gathering bamboo shoots, growing tea, weaving, tourism, and so on. Examples of this kind of village are Hin Laad Nai Village, Wiangpaapao District, Chiang Rai Province, and Huaihoi Village, Mae Wang District, Chiang Mai Province.

Type 3. Rotational farming communities that have adjusted by complete elimination of traditional farming methods owing to heavy pressure from state policy to cease rotational farming

All former rotational farming land has been transformed into permanent fields. Communities of this type have had to adjust themselves to a dependency on the mechanism of the outside market by producing cash crops that the government has promoted and finding employment as labourers as the main sources of income. Community organizations do not have the power to manage former rotational farming lands, which were formerly community lands held collectively, and as time passes more and more land is becoming privately owned by individuals. This has resulted in a very worrying situation where decline in the collective supervision of the use of the land has led to a degeneration of balance and sustainability in land use. Examples of this kind of village are Mae Paakhi Village, Chiang Dao District, Chiang Mai Province; Paang-Ii-Kaa Village, Mae Rim District, Chiang Mai Province; and Khun Pae Village, Chormthong District, Chiang Mai Province.

Looking at the adjustments made by the three types of communities, the communities in Type 1 have been able to maintain their self-reliance, both in terms of food security, because rotational farming is still a very abundant source of food, having a high diversity of rice, vegetables and fruit varieties, and also in terms of the maintenance of a favourable state of the local environment. However, Type 2 and 3 communities are beginning to show problems in this area, especially Type 3 communities, where it is quite clear that the diversity of food plant varieties is declining. Many plant varieties cannot grow on land which has been fallowed for less than three years. Some plants require the charcoal and ash of a burned swidden for growth, and many plants only grow well when intercropped with rice, and so on. However, growing conditions such as these have been lost in the adjustment of the farming method, causing some of these plants to disappear. At the same time, the condition of the natural environment and the soil has begun to deteriorate because of repeated use of the land and intensive use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. This situation has led the Type 2 and 3 communities to make efforts to seek out alternatives for the survival of their communities, of which at least three kinds can be distinguished:

1) Increasing terraced wet rice ("paddy") fields. Many communities have cleared new wet rice fields along streams and brooks, as far as water availability will allow. This form of farming receives the least impact from state policies as wet rice fields are an important form of fixed-field food farming in Thailand. Thus, wet rice fields are the form of land ownership most sought after by farmers in highland villages. The amount of land now available for clearing new wet rice fields, however, is thought to be very small, or perhaps even non-existent.

2) Supplementing income through production from mixed agriculture, such as *miang* (a kind of fermented tea used for chewing), tea, and *makwaen* (a small fruit used for curry seasoning) gardens, and also from gathering seasonal forest products, such as bamboo shoots, rattan

shoots, wild banana blossoms (as food), bitter fruit (*luuk khom*), fruit of the wild peanut tree (*gor*), mushrooms, edible frogs, edible bamboo maggots, crickets (edible insects), honey, and so on.

3) Supplementing income through the use of local knowledge and wisdom. Some communities have developed local knowledge and wisdom for the production of value-added products, such as livestock, handicrafts and so on, much of which is carried out as a business service for tourists who visit the community.

The Debate over Rotational Farming – Claim and Counterclaim

For indigenous peoples whose main way of making a living is from rotational farming, the swiddens and fallows represent many important benefits, both in terms of their lives and of natural resources. They see their way of life as one alternative for a way of life where humans and natural resources can coexist, and which is stable and sustainable. Thai society in general, as well as the Thai government, however, when talking about rotational farming, often makes claims that are not backed up by facts or academic studies which show the true situation. This can result in serious impacts for ethnic group communities which live by carrying out rotational farming, especially with respect to the land rights of subsistence farming land. Ethnic group communities have recently started to become more skilful in articulating counterclaims to such claims concerning rotational farming and their way of life. Much greater understanding on the part of Thai society in general and the government has been forthcoming, and has led to action by those involved to solve some of the problems mentioned above in a more favourable direction than over the last several decades. The important claims and counterclaims are given below:

Claim A: Shifting cultivation

From empirical evidence on rotational farming, the land is cleared in order to make use of it for farming for one year, after which the people move on to another place, and this is often understood to be a use of land that is not tied to any particular place, which moves around continually, and is not associated with permanent settlements. This form of land use has been termed "shifting cultivation."

Counterclaim: Rotational farming is a style of land use of the kind "use-regenerate by fallowing-use again" in order to use the land sustainably

The reality is that a plot of land is used for one year, after which cultivation is carried out on a different plot, but that does not mean that the first plot is abandoned permanently. The land is allowed to return to the forest again until it reaches its prior condition of fertility, and can be made use of for farming again. The farmer then returns to that plot, clears it and makes use of it for food production again, and then keeps on going around in this way. This rotational period is usually between six and 10 years, depending on the local ecological conditions in each area. For this reason, we feel that the term "shifting cultivation" does not fit the true situation, and that this form of agriculture should therefore be termed "rotational farming." In fact, these two forms of agriculture have a very great difference between them. Rotational farming is a system of farming that uses land along with regenerative fallowing to return it to a high degree of fertility in order to use the land sustainably over long periods of time. "Shifting cultivation," on the other hand, is a form of land use which uses the land repeatedly over many years until the condition of the land deteriorates. The land is then abandoned and a new plot is then cleared. The farmers do not return to the old plot to cultivate it again.

Claim B: Rotational farming destroys the forest

Since rotational farming land, in which the forest is allowed to re-grow for several years in order to regenerate its fertility, is prepared for cultivation by clearing and burning, for many years this has been understood as amounting to destruction of the forest. The government considers these areas to be forest areas which must be conserved, and not subsistence farming areas. The activities of clearing and burning to prepare the land for use are thus considered to be directly destroying the forest.

Counterclaim: Rotational farming preserves the forest and increases biodiversity

Although the government considers that clearing and burning destroys the forest, indigenous peoples see clearing and burning as methods of preparing the land for cultivation which are almost certainly unavoidable. Even though these methods do clear the forest by cutting, slashing and burning, followed by use of the land for cultivation for one year, the land is then abandoned to return to its prior condition. These fallow areas, which are left to regenerate for differing lengths of time, from six to 10 years, show a variation according to the length of the period of fallowing, and a high degree of biodiversity. It can be observed in the early stages of fallowing that the plants which reappear first are mostly grasses and herbaceous species, such as *Chromolaena odorata* (Siam weed)*, Inula cappa* (sheep's ear) and so on. Later, trees with longer life spans appear and it is found that there are more saplings than previously. Especially, large numbers of new sprigs and shoots appear from the stumps of trees that were felled during the clearing of the plot, some of the tree trunks having as many as 15 to 20 new shoots. The diversity of plants and wildlife is also enhanced. From the experience of indigenous peoples, different types of wildlife prefer to live in and feed in areas of forest in differing conditions. For example, small birds prefer to visit, make their nests in, and seek food in first or second year fallows: barking deer, wild pigs and porcupines often seek food and shelter in third and fourth year fallows; and forest fowl, pheasants and doves prefer to be in and seek food in fifth and sixth year fallows. Because of this, rota-

tional farming is an agricultural system which can preserve the state of the forest in a robust and sustainable manner over long periods of time. Further, it is also a system which contributes to an increase in biodiversity in the ecosystem.

Claim C: Burning swiddens is a cause of air pollution

From the phenomena that occur when the swidden is burned, it can be concluded that it is a cause of air pollution. Scientific principles show that the process of burning wood releases CO_2 (carbon dioxide), a gas which is dangerous to human life and the state of the environment. This is also linked to problems in the tourist industry, where the transport of tourists to and from the country becomes inconvenient. For example, passenger planes are not able to land because of smoke from burning wood during the hot season (March and April), which is the time for burning swiddens, especially in areas of Mae Hong Son Province where the largest number of examples of this occur.

Counterclaim: Swidden burning increases nutrients in the soil and kills pathogens

This claim is refuted by indigenous peoples, who say that the period when swiddens are burned is very short, being about two weeks for the burning to be completely finished all over the country. In each day during this period, the time when swiddens are burned is at the most two hours, and then the fire dies down. For this reason, the amount of fire smoke and CO_2 that result from the burning are very small, so much so that it is possible to say that it is of a level that has no effect on the generation of air pollution. This is a matter that should be researched and proven by a serious scientific study. As that has not yet been carried out, this claim is still simply a theoretical conjecture. On the contrary, indigenous peoples have observed the interesting fact that the CO_2 that emanates from distant industries appears to be a large cause of the pollution. The various activities such as the different kinds of means of transport, industrial factories, construction, and so on have been carried out continually over a long period of time since the beginning of the 20th century. Because

of this, there should be scientific proof concerning the quantity of CO_2 that is produced from rotational farming and that arising from industrial activities and means of transport to see which of these is at a level that can cause air pollution.

One further issue that indigenous peoples mention is that, from their experience, about three or four days after burning swiddens a rainstorm often occurs, which they explain by saying that the black fire smoke floats up and becomes incorporated into the rain clouds in the sky. This greatly increases the density of the clouds, which causes rain to fall. This empirical observation should also be explained and proven through scientific study, which might be able to explain the increasing density of clouds scientifically. This increase in density could be brought about by the heat from the burning of the swiddens, which draws in cool air from the surroundings and causes increased condensation of moisture, resulting in the formation of rain clouds.

In addition, indigenous peoples also summarize their experience concerning burning swiddens by saying that burning is a process that helps bring about an increase of nutrients in the soil and also kills various pathogens, both in the soil and those on seeds. Farmers say that right after burning the field, while there is still smoke hanging in the air, they immediately begin to plant some kinds of plants, such as maize and pumpkins and so on. Within the first three days of burning the swidden, the farmers will also plant many more kinds of plants, for example taro, potatoes, sugar cane, banana, eggplants, beans, and so on. This is called *soof hswai meif hki* or "planting after burning." The farmers' experience is that this "planting after burning" will help the plants develop and grow well, without any problems from disease or insects. If, however, the planting is carried out after the first three days, the plants will not develop and grow as well and may meet with problems of disease and large numbers of insects that come to eat the plants.

Claim D: Rotational farming causes streams and rivers to dry up

The ecological theory which says that forests are the source of streams and rivers, and the forest gives rise to moisture, so that where there is a forest there will be rain, tells us that rotational farming is a serious social problem, as it is seen as an important cause of decreasing amounts of water in brooks and streams, resulting in rising aridity in the country, thus causing a serious loss for the nation.

Counterclaim: Rotational farming helps the streams and brooks to flow all year round

Indigenous peoples reply that, from their experience, when rotational farming was carried out much more than today, the streams and brooks were full of water and flowed all year round. Today, however, rotational farming land has been reduced and conservation forest areas increased, but the volumes of water in the streams and brooks has decreased, so much so that some have dried up. Even places that were previously ponds have become dry. Villagers explain this by saying that cutting or slashing plants and trees releases back into the ground the water that the trees and plants have drawn up, and this water flows into streams and brooks. When abandoning rotational farming land and increasing the area of permanent conservation forest, however, the trees which grow up first draw up water until they reach saturation point, when they release water into the streams and brooks. It is very likely that this is the principal cause of the falling volumes of water in the streams and brooks that we are experiencing today. Another cause of this problem may also be global warming, which is having an impact on the whole world.

Claim E: Rotational farming gives rise to sediment which settles in watercourses

Clearing land for rotational farming appears to be the cause of topsoil loss, which results in sediment accumulation in the streams and brooks, making them shallower and reducing the volume of water flow.

Counterclaim: Rotational farming makes water clearer and cleaner

Indigenous peoples refute this claim by saying that, from observing rotational farming land, they have never seen the phenomenon of streams and brooks becoming shallower because of sediment from swiddens. The streams and brooks flow as usual, and on the contrary, the clear waters flow even clearer than before. While work is being done in the swidden, the farmers use the water from the brooks and streams for drinking and cooking. Villagers explain that the water is clear and fresh because the ash and charcoal which drops into the water is an important factor in helping the water to be clear and pure.

Further, from the results of research by Professor Anan Ganjanapan[5] and his colleagues, it was found that topsoil loss and sediment formation in rotational farming were a mere 0.1 tons/hectare/year, a level which is not at all harmful for the environment and certainly does not do the harm that outside society sometimes assumes it does.

Claim F: Rotation farming gives rise to erosion of topsoil

Because rotational farming clears forest land, it is accused of being a system of land use that results in the erosion of topsoil. When heavy rain falls it strikes the soil and the volumes of water flowing over the soil cause the topsoil to erode, which is the cause of mountain subsidence and gives rise to severe flood disasters.

Counterclaim: Rotational farming is the most stable and sustainable land use system

The experience of indigenous peoples is that they have never seen the phenomena of topsoil erosion or land subsidence in rotational farming lands, but that these phenomena do occur in virgin forest areas and water source forests at higher elevations than those at which rotational farming is carried out. This is because there is more moisture in the ground in these areas and the moisture is held at saturation because of the higher levels of

rainfall in these areas. The forest is older, the trees are larger and so are heavier, and as the water in the soil makes it heavier also, there is a higher likelihood of subsidence. Rotational farming is carried out at lower elevations, where the forest is younger, the moisture in the ground is not held at saturation, and the structure of the soil is strong and stable. Further, when using the land in rotational farming, the topsoil is not turned over, the trunks and roots of trees and bamboo hold the soil firmly in place, making it very unlikely that topsoil erosion will take place. Because of this, the accusation that rotational farming gives rise to topsoil erosion does not match well at all with the true situation, and in fact, on the contrary, indigenous peoples consider that using the land under the system of rotational farming is the most stable and sustainable land use system known to them.

Claim G: Rotational farming is an agricultural system that is wasteful of natural resources

Rotational farming is often superficially accused of being a system that uses land and natural resources wastefully by showing that the rotation period is long, six to 10 years, and thus uses many rotational farming plots, as many as the number of years in the rotation period. The production from rotational farming is also said to be very low in cash terms. By noting that the average production of rice from a swidden is 100 to 150 *thang*/plot and the price of rice is 60 Baht per *thang* (2007), when calculated in terms of cash income this gives an income of 6,000 to 9,000 Baht/year, or 200 to 300 Baht/month.

Counterclaim: Rotational farming is a secure source of food which can feed the family for the whole year

Indigenous peoples' response to this claim is both interesting and rational. Even though the value of the rice produced from rotational farming in each year is very low when calculated in cash terms, the people carrying out the rotational farming can survive for that year even if they do not have a single Baht of cash income. This is because the produce in the swidden is not only rice, but also very many other varieties of vegetables and

fruits. The season in which these plants can be harvested differs, so there is always something available right from the beginning of the year to the end. Thus we can consider rotational farming to be a secure source of food, which can support the family cultivating the swidden for the whole year. If we calculate the value of the produce from the swidden in cash, then we must include the produce from all of these plants for the whole period as well, not just the value of the rice. The family which cultivates the swidden can survive on the "income" from the produce of the swidden. Simply calculated, how much income would a person living and working in the city require for survival of the family per year? If the city family has five members and the rate for manual labour is 137 Baht/day (the minimum daily rate for manual labour), then the minimum annual income for survival of the family would be 137 Baht x 5 people x 36 x days = 250,025 Baht. In this way an indigenous peoples' family of five has an "income" from produce from rotational farming equivalent to this much in cash if we consider survival to be the most important priority.

Claim H: As the population rises, the land area under rotational farming will also rise

This is a claim against rotational farming which clings to basic theoretical principles of demographics by explaining that when population rises, the requirement for rotational farming land will also rise with it. As rotational farming land area increases, the area of forest destroyed will then also rise along with it. In the long term, this becomes unsustainable because land is limited, but the rise in population has no limits.

Counterclaim: When the population changes, rotational farming adjusts dynamically

Villagers consider that the government does not understand this issue and does not believe in the potential of the community to manage its rotational farming lands. It is said that the government understands that the land which villagers clear for swiddens is part of the forest lands, while the villagers believe that the

rotational farming lands in question are lands which alternate between farming lands and the forest, in a ratio such that the number of years as swidden to the number of years as forest is between 1:6 to 1:10. This means that for most of the time the lands are forest lands. Further, the condition of the forest lands is that they have diversity in terms of environment, climate and ecology, since fallows are at differing stages of fallowing as they have been abandoned to the forest for differing lengths of time. The counterclaim of the villagers is that even if the population increased greatly, and the amount of land used for rotational farming increased—even increased to the extent that every piece of land under the authority of the village were used for rotational farming (this does not occur in reality because each village has conservation forest which is larger in area than that used for rotational farming)—the forest would still be in a sustainable condition because the plots used for rotational farming are all allowed to return to the forest after one year of use.

Another issue which the villagers refute is the use of demographic theory to explain what is happening in rotational farming. Villagers say that this considers their lifestyles to be static, that they do not develop, that they have no knowledge or wisdom, that they do not have minds or human awareness, that they do not adjust to changing circumstances, that they are stupid, and so on. This does not match with reality at all, since the real situation is that the community always adjusts itself to changes in circumstances. In the past, the government has not created opportunities for the villagers to prove this fact finally themselves, but on the contrary has one-sidedly used legal measures to reduce rotational farming land compulsorily. Mr. Priichaa Siri, a Pgaz K'Nyau villager who lives in Hin Laad Nai Village (Baanpong Sub-district, Wiangpaapao District, Chiang Rai Province), has stated:

> "It is true that the population is rising, but we have ideas and wisdom about how to manage this. The people know that we depend on nature for our living and that if we use nature without taking care of it, or if we destroy it, then that would be the same as killing ourselves. For sure, we

would never do that to ourselves. We have to look for alternatives that are appropriate until we find them, and in fact, the rising population in my village has made it all the more necessary for us to manage the forest ever more carefully and to take better care of it, because we want to live with the forest and with nature even if we have to allow farming land to be abandoned to become forest land. For example, in our *miang* gardens we have also planted many other kinds of trees, and for every 10 rai of wet rice fields we plant one rai of forest as a food source, and so on."

Mr. Mongkol of Huai-ii-khang Village (Mae Win Sub-district, Mae Wang District, Chiang Mai Province) has presented an interesting viewpoint concerning this same issue.

"If the government says that our descendants will increase and that they are afraid that we will clear more forest for rotational farming, then I would like to ask that they give us the legal right to limit the land that we clear for swiddens, and give us the freedom to manage our rotational farming in our own way; how we rotate, how many years we fallow land, and so on. We will absolutely not encroach onto the forest lands to increase farming land, and as for the rise in population, we ask that we be allowed to take responsibility for that ourselves."

Besides this, there is other evidence from practices within the communities. From the actual experience of ethnic indigenous peoples in different localities, when compared with the past, the population of indigenous peoples has risen, but it has been observed that the land areas used for rotational farming have been reduced as a proportion of land in the whole village, meaning that conservation forest areas have been increased. Even in some localities where there has not been a reduction in land areas used for rotational farming, the areas have not been increased over the areas traditionally used. This is because the villagers adjust the style of management of the rotational farming fields by reducing the size of the fields per household from

an area which previously would require 10-15 *thang* of seed rice to an area planted with 3-5 *thang* of seed rice today (or about one-third of the area). Another way to adjust the land areas used is for four or five households, who would normally be blood relatives, to share a field previously farmed by only one household. Besides this, it is now possible for villagers to engage in a variety of other trades, which has resulted in a situation where some villagers have turned to other forms of work outside rotational farming, for example trading, employment, the civil service, livestock farming, ecotourism and so on. This includes a large number of youth who leave the community to study or to seek employment opportunities in the towns and cities, a large part of whom never return to the village to carry out rotational farming.

Since 1987, the "Karen" who practice rotational farming have called themselves the "Pgaz K'Nyau," the traditional local people who have lived with the forest, looked after and managed the forest in a sustainable way right up to today. This can be seen from the lands where they have lived since the past, which are still very fertile forests. The mechanism by which they manage, use, and look after the forests to keep them in a sustainable condition to this day is "agriculture of the rotational farming type." This can be proven from the Royal Forest Department air maps of the upper north of Thailand in 1989, as shown below.

The Pgaz K'Nyau have endeavoured to prove this themselves and have made presentations to people of all sectors of society at all levels, but for the most part these people do not yet understand or accept the Pgaz K'Nyau point of view. Especially state officials, even today, still lie in wait and arrest Pgaz K'Nyau people who carry out rotational farming. This trend is on the increase as the campaigns against global warming continue to explain that it is caused by burning the forest.

How Rotational Farming Contributes to GHG Emission

Dr. Somsak Sukkhawong, a Thai expert on forestry, has given an explanation that naturally, forest which is recovering has high capacity to absorb carbon that is necessary for its growth. Rotation fields which are left for 1-8 years also have potential to absorb carbon. His study found that rotation fields have the capacity to absorb carbon about six tons/ha/year.

Regarding greenhouse gas emission from rotation fields particularly in the process of burning the fields, some believe that it is a major cause of smog problems in the North and of climate change. The issue of burning rotation fields has become a controversial issue in Thailand for decades.

According to Dr. Prasert Trakarnsuphakorn's study, burning rotation fields is not a cause of climate change and smog problems as the fields will be burned only once a year for only 2-3 days with a certain burning period of about 1-2 hours per day. Furthermore, fire breaks will be constructed before burning. Together with the recovering rotation fields for 1-8 years, these have the potential to absorb carbon rising from the burning fields. Therefore, there is rarely green house gas emission from rotation agriculture.[6]

The study of Prayong Doclamyai et al., (2010) on Forestry Agriculture and Community Forest and its Roles to Enhance Food Security and Reducing Green House Gases also found that carbon storage in the community forest at Huay Hin Lad Nai and two nearby communities, Huay Hin Lad Nok and Pha Yeoung, which covers 19,481 Rai (3,119.68 ha) is approximately 661,372 tons. While carbon storage in farming areas (3,547 Rai or 567.52 ha) which cover shifting rotation fields, paddy fields and tea gardening, is about 59,459 tons. Total carbon storage in the community is around 720,831 tons

Concerning the shifting rotation agriculture (left for 1-10 years), which covers 1,476 Rai (236.16 ha), net carbon storage from this kind of farming system is account for 17,348 tons, while carbon dioxide emission from the burning rotation fields is only 480 tons.[7]

Knowledge and Practice of Rotational Farming in the Process of the Cycle of Yearly Calendar

The knowledge of the process of rotational farming in Hin Laad Nai Village is similar to the knowledge held generally by the Pgaz K'Nyau people; it is a way of life that has its rules and practices that exist as a cycle of life in the annual cycle of production, which begins at the New Year and ends at the end of the year. This cycle can be summarized according to the following stages (2.1 to 2.13). Each of these stages and their special features related to the intergenerational transfer of knowledge are described below.

*The New Year (*Nif Sauhkof*)*

The process of rotational farming is a cycle of life within the annual cycle of production. It begins around the beginning of February with the celebration of the New Year (*Nif Sauhkof*) in the villages. In the New Year celebrations, each household first brews rice wine, the household of the *hif hkof* (village chief) being the first to start and all the other households beginning the process after that. Each family kills a pig or a chicken to eat, and also prepares special foods, such as cooked rice wrapped in leaves (*meiz tauz*), pounded rice cakes with sesame (*meiz toj pix*), and so on. Before eating on New Year's morning, the mother and father of the family tie white thread on the wrists of the children (*kij cu*) and call back their spirits (*k'laz*), reciting a prayer as they do so.[8]

> "Pruꞏ Hey, come back, k'laz of the daughters. Pruꞏ Hey, come back, k'laz of the sons. It is the first day of the annual cycle. We will carry out the ritual of kij cu, perform the ritual of kij cu. After this we will go to the mountain and clear the fields, go to the mountain and slash the fields, slash the trees, cut down trees. Now the tree will fall down, now the tree will fall over, the mountain will spark a fire, the mountain will burn, will burn the field,

will spark the vegetable garden, now the fire will rise, now it will burn and spread out into the field…Daughters and sons! Come back and be in the home, come back and be in the house, come back and be with father, come back and be with mother…Come back and eat delicious cooked rice, come back and drink clear, pure water, come back and eat the meat of bird, come back and eat the meat of chicken, today we call you to come back, to come back each and every one of you, come back right to the last one of you, Pru! Hey, come back, k'laz of the daughters. Pru! Hey, come back, k'laz of the sons."

When the tying of the wrists is finished, the head of the household carries out the ritual of "pouring the wine" (*hkwaiv siv*), which is a ritual to ask the Supreme Being to bless and watch over the lives of everyone in the coming year of rotational farming. Rice wine is poured into a small glass, from which the wine is flicked a little at a time onto a pillar of the house while reciting a prayer.

"K'caj (owner-spirit) of the earth, k'caj of the water. Today I have performed kij cu for the New Year. Come and drink the first of my rice wine (siv hkof), come and eat the first of my rice (meiz hkof). When you have finished eating, please look after me… From now on I will start to clear the fields, I will slash the fields. Please bestow on me a good wind, and please bestow on me bright weather, let me be plentiful, not smothered by weeds, let the rain fall in season, let it be dry in season, give us boar to eat when we lay down traps, give us rice to eat when we clear the fields, do not abandon us to starvation, do not abandon us to poverty, allow us to live well and to eat well, and please allow me to live peacefully and in happiness."

When the prayer is over, each member of the family drinks a small glass of rice wine. For the small children who are as yet unable to drink rice wine, the mother and father take one drop of the wine and lightly touch it to the crown of the head of the child

as a sign of participation in the ritual. After that the whole family eats together. The first bone (connected to the body of the chicken) of each wing of the chicken from which all the meat has been eaten is not thrown away, but washed clean. The two bones are then inserted into the underside of the roof of the house. When all the families have finished this meal, all the people from each household go together to the *hif hkof*'s house for the ritual of pouring the rice wine, which the *hif hkof* must perform for all the villagers. The method and prayer for this ritual are the same as for the ritual of pouring the wine in each family. While the *hif hkof* is performing the ceremony, everyone present folds their hands and remains silent in order to listen carefully to the *hif hkof*'s prayer. When the prayer is completed, everyone drinks together the bottles of rice wine that have been brought to the ritual. When all the rice wine has been drunk, the *hif hkof*'s ritual of pouring the rice wine is considered to be over. Following that, all the people present go to perform this ritual in every house in the village.

When the villagers carry out rituals and drink rice wine together at the different houses, they sing chants which involve chanting couplets and responses back and forth (*hpa wa hta*[9]). One side starts and the other side answers. There are different kinds of chants that can be sung for all occasions; chants for building a house when moving to a new area, chants for being together as a society, chants about old people, chants about God, chants about one's predecessors, chants for young men and women, and chants for praising others and being modest about oneself. Many kinds of chants can be sung on this occasion, but the one chant that cannot be sung at this time is the funeral chant. In general, chants for building a house when moving to a new area, chants for being together as a society, and chants about old people are sung at the New Year, as in the following examples:

> P'mei t'maz taj div iz, lauz maj moj dauv paj av miz.
> (If we did not do things in this way, the names of our fathers and mothers would disappear.)
> Dau puj waij sif laux cune, moohkof lauz pgauz hsauf htauf cez.

(We brothers and sisters are like hands clasped together in prayer [we are united],

We can support each other even if the sky collapses.)

But if some people do not know the chants, then they cannot sing them, so they talk together. The content of the conversation will be similar to the contents of the chants. They talk about living together in the village, about making the village secure, about unity, about the administration of the village, about the problems of the village, about making a living, about clearing fields in the annual cycle, and about the various prohibitions and restrictions. They talk together and drink rice wine together, and when one topic is finished then they go on to another one, continuing on like this.

Beginning the cycle of life of rotational farming by celebrating the New Year in the customary way is thought to be a form of management of the body of knowledge of rotational farming which has both importance and a deep meaning, and can be summarized as follows.

Firstly, the Pgaz K'Nyau, who live and make their living in the forest, on the mountains, in the valleys and ravines, have only themselves to rely on. They cannot depend on anyone else. They have to grow their own food, and they have to plant their own rice. They have to weave their own clothes, and they have to find their own medicines. The customs and culture that they share are their own. They have to build their own houses, and they have to establish their own villages. They therefore have a way of life of their own that has carefully detailed stages to lead them throughout the year. For example, clearing and slashing the fields, carrying out the various rituals of the annual cycle, promoting the security of the village, building houses, laying out roads and paths, and very many other things. They have all of these things of their own to carry out as a whole and complete the cycle for the year.

Secondly, they believe that the land, the water, the forested hills, and the forested areas where they live and which nourish their lives have "owners" *(k'caj)*. Because of this, before clear-

ing fields each New Year, they must ask permission to use these things from the owners in advance. By carrying out the ritual of pouring the rice wine, they pray to the owners of nature to please permit them to use the earth, the water, and the forest in making their livelihoods. They ask them to please bring about an abundance of produce for the people, including asking the owners to please protect the people and look after them throughout the year.

Thirdly, before clearing the fields each New Year, they must, in their families, build up their spirit and encourage the children through the ritual of the *kij cu*, calling back the *k'laz*, and by giving them good things to eat in order that they will have the strength of body and mind to do battle, and to do both seriously and enjoyably the great amount of work which waits for them in the fields in the days to come. When the spirit is firm, they will be safe from fevers and diseases, serious in their work, and have a lot of time to look after the fields. The rice will then grow well, the vegetables will grow profusely, and they will reap an abundant harvest.

Fourthly, in their community during the previous year there may have been some arguments, some disturbances, or some discontent from time to time. When this happens, the people must talk together to arbitrate, compromise, and forgive each other at the New Year, because at each stage of the work in the fields, they cannot avoid having to aid and assist one another, and depend upon one another. So everyone must refresh the purity of their hearts, without harbouring any feelings of anger toward each other, and be ready to aid and assist one another during the coming year.

Choosing a plot to clear for a swidden

Not long after the New Year celebrations, the time for choosing a plot to clear for a swidden arrives. The *hif hkof* goes with members of each household to choose the plots, the representative from each household taking along with her/him the chicken

wing bones which were kept after eating the chicken on New Year's Day. When they arrive at the plot, a divining ritual for choosing the plot is carried out using the chicken bones. Summarizing the ritual, firstly a tree with fine branches and leaves and no vine growing on it is selected. This tree is called *hsau qi htoof*, or the "chicken bone tree." Then two chicken bones are wrapped together in a leaf with the ends sticking out. A sapling about as thick as a wrist is then dug up, the ends cut off and one end sharpened. This sharpened stick is then used to dig a handful of soil out from under the *hsau qi htoof*. This handful of soil is scattered into the forest in the opposite direction to the village, while reciting a prayer.

> "Go away…go away ghost, go away spirit, go away water spirit, go away earth spirit, go away starvation, go away famine, go away suffering, go away hardship, go away sickness, go away injury! I am going to clear a field here, I am going to slash a field here…"

> "Hey, chicken bone! I am going to clear you. If it's okay then tell me it's okay, if it's not okay then tell me it's not okay. If it's right then tell me it's right, if it's wrong then tell me it's wrong. I'm going to clear a field here, I'm going to slash a field here. If it's okay to cultivate a field here, if I can cultivate a field here, please come up and give me happiness, come up and give me comfort, always come up every time. However, I will clear a field here, if it is not okay, if I cannot, if the field won't dry out, the fire won't burn, if we cannot eat, if we cannot drink, meet with injury and sickness, meet with sleeping sickness, become weak, become exhausted, please always come down every time."

The prayer is spoken while scattering the soil. When the prayer is finished, the chicken bones are inserted into the hole and then pulled out again. Then another prayer is recited.

This ritual has important meanings, which are that permission is asked to use the plot from the Supreme Being, who is believed to be the "owner" of nature, and also to ask the Su-

preme Being and other living things to leave the plot and go elsewhere temporarily before cultivation of the field starts. Carrying out the ritual like this naturally means that there is belief in and trust for the Supreme Being, and also consideration for the impacts of clearing the field on the various living things there. It is thought that this body of knowledge helps the Pgaz K'Nyau to use natural resources carefully and in a secure and sustainable way.

Clearing the field

When all the plots have been chosen, each family begins to clear their plot, but before doing so each family holds a ritual for the work leader *waiz hkof*. The work leader is chosen from among the family members and should be a person who will likely improve the livelihood of the family. The work leader is the first to begin the work of rotational farming at every stage and is often the mother, the father, a son or a daughter. This ritual is called the "ritual of sweeping the hand" (*kij wa cu*). This "sweeping" uses two small bamboo strips, one for sweeping up (towards the body of the work leader) and one for sweeping down (away from the body of the work leader), the first being sweeping down, which is carried out while saying a prayer.

> "Sweep away things that are not good, sweep away things that are not beautiful, I sweep all of you away today...Do not be with me, I send you away today, go away completely, hurry off far away!"

When the prayer is finished, the bamboo strip which was used to "sweep down" the hand of the work leader is thrown down under the house, and then the second bamboo strip is used to "sweep up" the hand of the work leader, while reciting a prayer at the same time.

> "Sweep good things back, sweep beautiful things back, may your work be happy, may you eat with relish, arrive when you go, arrive when you return, be calm and happy

through all the months of the year, throughout the year, smile radiantly, laugh cheerfully forever!"

This sweeping of the work leader's hand is carried out to build up the spirit and guts to do the work ahead, because this is the beginning of the work for the whole annual cycle. In this first stage of production of the annual cycle the family prepare the land and prepare for the planting or sowing. When the spirit and guts as well as the health of the work leader is good, the work of preparing the ground will go smoothly, without any problems or obstacles, and without any protest or objection. The planting will then proceed in a very auspicious way.

The work leader of each family is the first person to start the clearing of the field. The field must be cleared from the bottom, working up towards the top of the field. Because the field is sloped, the trees fall from a higher place to a lower place, so starting from the bottom of the field will cause the trees to fall neatly on top of one another, which will help the fire to burn well when the field is burnt. During the first day of clearing, only one strip (*t'plez*) is cleared before everyone goes home, but before going home everyone must eat together first. The Pgaz K'Nyau believe it is taboo to go and eat at home after this work. They believe that if they go home to eat, the rice will not grow well in the field. It is also believed that it is a good sign if they feel full before finishing all the rice they had wrapped up for the meal, and that it is not good if they eat all the rice. On the second day, two strips are cleared, and on the third day three strips are cleared.

During the third day of clearing, it is believed that if the knives are good, the axes are good, have not come out of the handles, and are not chipped or dented, and if no accident takes place in the field, if no one is cut in the hand by a knife or struck in the leg by an axe for the whole three days then this is a good field, and the rice and other grains and vegetables will grow well. However, if within the three days someone's knife is chipped, or an axe comes out of its handle, or someone's hand is injured by a knife, or if someone is struck in the leg by an axe, or if someone falls from a tree, or a tree falls on someone, then the clearing

work is stopped, the field abandoned and another plot must be searched for. Further, if someone has a bad dream at night, such as shooting a bear or a goat antelope (*Capricornis sumatraensis*), then the clearing work is stopped and the field abandoned. If the work is continued, then someone in the family may die, because the Pgaz K'Nyau believe that the bear and the goat antelope are the spirits of people, as in the following *hta*:

> Miz mauf pgaz hkav neij taz soo, taj si of htau le blauf pooz.
> (In the dream he shot a bear, whose real corpse is resting in
>   the village hall.)

Besides this, during the clearing of the field there are many taboos and practices, such as the following.

> If someone comes across a wasps' nest or a hornets' nest or some kind of bees' nest, they do not swat and eat the bees or wasps, but leave the area around the nest alone and do not cut the trees, simply leaving the nest to allow the bees or wasps to relocate on their own accord. They say that if they swat and eat the bees or wasps, the field will probably not burn well. Even if the trees and leaves are thick on the ground and the wind rushes strongly through the swidden, it will not burn well, and only some rows and sections will burn, and this will cause them a lot of hard labour when they come to "clean" the field later. Likewise, if someone comes across a tortoise, they should not catch and eat it.

The Pgaz K'Nyau do not cut down trees as thick as an arm or leg and which look as if they are suitably old for making a place to hang things, but keep them as places to hang tubers and beans to dry.

The ancestors taught that when cutting trees or bamboo, a tall stump should be left and the base of the tree or bamboo should not be cut at ground level. This is to allow the stump to sprout, or shoots to grow, so that new branches can grow again. If they do not do this, the tree or bamboo will die and leave us permanently.

Big trees with many branches and plentiful leaves are not cut down, but are pruned instead. When pruning, the branches

are not all cut off, three or four branches near the top of the tree are left remaining, and it is said that the branches are left as a place for the fire bird to perch (*bif bei av lauj cauj*). There is a *hta* which says:

> Seif klauz neif klauz lex t'geiz, pax neij bif bei moj cauj keiz.
> (Do not prune all the branches, leave some for the fire bird's perch.)

This practice is carried out for the sake of the fire bird, a small bird. If they fly into the field, they cannot perch on large branches, but can perch on the small branches that have been left for them. If all the branches were pruned, there would be nowhere for the bird to perch. This *hta* is also used by young men and women; if a young couple is intending to be married, but later the young man changes his mind and falls out of love with the young woman, he would not dare to say directly to the young woman, "I don't love you anymore" as that would be too direct and impolite. Instead, he would speak indirectly by saying this *hta*. When the young woman hears this *hta*, she will immediately understand that the young man no longer loves her. This shows the deep connection between people and nature.

Pruning instead of cutting trees down is very important for the protection and regeneration of natural resources, for if a big tree were to be cut down, it would die. If the branches were left as they are, they would deprive the crops of the sunlight needed for growth. So if the branches are just pruned, then after the field has been burnt, the tree will not die but will put out new branches again. One more important thing is that it also increases the nutrients in the soil. Branches are smaller than trees, so when they are cut and fall on the tree trunks of the smaller trees which have been cut down, they pile up more neatly on the ground. Thus, when the field is burnt, the fire burns well, and this makes the rice germinate and grow well too. From the experience of the villagers, the rice germinates and grows better under the trees that have been pruned than in other places. This is because the fire has burned well and so there is a lot of charcoal and ashes, nutrients for the plants, on the soil.

The Pgaz K'Nyau have many prohibitions and practices such as these when clearing a field because they wish to consider what consequences the things they do have on nature; trees, bamboo, insects, and the wild animals. They try to have as little impact on these things as possible, and to damage them as little as possible so as to prevent these things from going extinct, and so that they will return to life again and continue to return and take care of the people over and over again. The Pgaz K'Nyau believe that it is nature that takes care of people, and without it people would not be able to live. The Pgaz K'Nyau know that they cannot survive alone, but only as a group or a community. In the same way, people cannot survive separately from nature, and so have to use nature with respect and with an awareness of its value.

Burning the Field

When the field has been cleared, it is abandoned so that the felled trees, bamboo, branches, leaves, and grass can dry out. This period is called *lo kau hka* or "drying the field" and takes about one month, mostly in March. Following that the field is burnt, which is usually carried out at the beginning of April.

Before burning the field, the fire breaks around the field must be made so that the fire does not spread into the forest beyond the area of the field. Before making the fire breaks and burning the field, the Pgaz K'Nyau collect all the cotton seeds in the house, along with the knives, and axes that were used when clearing the field and also the clothes which were worn at that time, take them outside and place them in a sunny area. This is because the Pgaz K'Nyau believe that if the sunlight bakes the cotton seeds, the knives, the axes and the clothes till they are dry, then the field will also be nice and dry and the fire will burn well. Before beginning the work of burning the field, the ritual of *kauv k'liz* or "calling the wind" is carried out and a prayer recited.

"K'caj of the great mountain, k'caj of the great peak,
k'caj of the stream, k'caj of the brook, today I am going

to fire my field, I am going to fire my garden. Call the wind for me, call the fire for me, come eat the trace of the work of my knife, come eat the trace of the work of my axe, come eat the fragments of wood, come eat the fragments of bamboo, come consume the shrubs, come consume the heaps of bamboo, come eat the pieces of wood, come eat the pieces of bamboo, please call them for me!"

When the prayer is completed, the work of burning the field begins. The fire is first lit at the top of the field. When the fire has spread downwards a suitable distance from the fire break, the people waiting at the bottom of the field light the fire at their end. Doing it like this prevents the fire from spreading outside the fire break. When lighting the fire, the following prayer is recited.

"Blow hard wind!…Blow hard wind!…(koof lei-auh…koof lei-auh) female k'caj of fire, male k'caj of fire, wherever you are, come; no matter where you are, come; come and eat the pieces of wood, come and eat the pieces of bamboo, come and eat the trunks of trees, come and eat the stumps of bamboo. When it is time, I will repay you with one big red chicken…Blow hard wind!…Blow hard wind!"

We can say that the burning of the field is carried out extremely carefully with all the villagers helping out, and this is because the labor must be mobilised to watch over the fire and not allow it to spread beyond the field, something that is considered to be very important, because the Pgaz K'Nyau believe that if the fire should spread beyond the field to swidden fallows which have not yet reached their time for clearing again, or should spread to areas of conserved forest, then this would mean a destruction of the cycle of life of both the human and natural systems. This would be a big loss and it would take a very long time for the cycle to return to its original and usual form.

When the burning of the field is completed, a piece of wood is set up in the centre of the field. This is called *maz nauf quv* or "marking the field" and is a marker for the rice spirits to keep them in the field. Following this, a hole is dug under the chicken

bone tree and a *lav saf* (*Antidesma diandrum*) plant is planted[10], while reciting a prayer.

> "Hey, lav saf! I have just finished burning this field. I have not planted anything yet. I am planting you first. I am planting you while the fire has not yet gone out completely. I believe you are in charge, I believe you are the leader. Watch over the field for me, watch over the garden for me, drive away the beetle grubs* for me, drive away the insects for me, drive away the wild boars for me, drive away the wolves for me, drive away the monkeys for me, drive away the langurs (taz swauf) for me, drive them away for me!"

This planting of the *lav saf* just after burning the field is called *soof hswai meif hki* or "planting after burning." It is believed that the ritual of planting after burning will protect against plant pests so that they will not come and destroy the rice and other plants in the field, which will be planted a short time after this. On the following day, some other plants, which are planted separately from rice, e.g., maize, taro, potatoes, beans and so on, are planted, and these must be planted within three days after the burning of the field and the ritual of planting after burning, because it is believed that if these plants are planted within three days then the ritual of planting after burning can help to prevent pests from coming into the field to destroy the plants.

Mr. Priichaa Siri says:

> "After the field has been burned and we plant various kinds of food plants immediately, we say that the food plants will grow well, pests do not come and eat the plants, and it does not matter much whether rain falls or not, we go ahead and plant. In this age, people say that if you plant but it does not rain, the plants may not germinate, or the birds and mice will come and eat the plants, or the seeds will be damaged, but this is not true. When the

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*Beetle grubs: grub or larva of certain beetles or weevils, taj hpo qaf, a generic name for coleoptera, a large number of beetles, some of which may attack rice plants.

field has been burned, we must go and plant on the following day. If the seeds are planted, pests will not come to eat, the mice will not gnaw, the birds will not peck, the beetle grubs will not come to eat, and insects will not come to eat the plants. Why not? It is like a miracle. The knowledge and wisdom of our ancestors is certainly something to wonder at!"

At the same time, the time of burning the field is another occasion when the villagers must come together and help each other. The young men and women, the main labour force, have another opportunity to meet and flirt, and there are *hta* which tell of young men and women meeting and flirting during the period of the burning of the fields:

(Women)
> Hsoov htauf quv hki t'poj hpau, k'liz baf le laif t'hkau?
> (Light the fire to burn the bottom of my field in the forest,
> Hey, elder brother, which way does the wind blow?)

(Men)
> Hsoov htauf quv hki taj ef uv, k'liz hsauf soo nauj av quv.
> (Light the fire to burn the bottom of the field when the sky is overcast,
> The wind does indeed blow towards your field, young miss.)

Cleaning the field

Two or three days after burning the field, the men build a field hut (*dai*, often built with a raised floor and generally at the lower end of the field) and the women gather up the pieces of wood and bamboo to clear the field of debris. This is called "cleaning the field" (*goj quv*). Cleaning the field means that the tree and bamboo branches, logs, and thick bamboo stems which are scattered around here and there untidily are gathered up in order to clear the field area. As they are not completely burned they make it hard to sow rice, and it does not look neat. All of it is gathered up and piles are made here and there all over the field. If there is

any place where there are a lot of pieces of branch and bamboo remaining, they make a big pile, if there is only a little left, they make a small pile. These piles are then burned again. The piles of branches and bamboo that they have gathered up are called "piles of wood pieces" (*nyoov*) and the burning of them again is called "burning the piles of wood pieces" (*hsoov nyoov*). However, this does not mean that they gather up and burn all of it; those pieces that are judged to be about as thick as an arm or a leg and which are still quite long, are leaned up against tree trunks here and there around the field. These are left for the vines of beans and tubers, and after harvesting this wood will be used as firewood for cooking.

There are two important facets of the field cleaning: The first is that the field area is cleared. When it comes time to plant the field, if there are no pieces of tree or bamboo branches lying about all over the place getting in the way, planting can be done comfortably, weeds slashed easily, rice harvested easily, and work done more comfortably in the field in every way.

The second is that after the wood piles have been burned, there are a lot of salty, alkaline ashes around. The villagers say,

> "When the wood piles have been completely burned, we cast an eye at the burned out wood piles around the field, and if there is some place where there is not enough ash and charcoal, we shove some of the ash from one of the wood piles this way and that way until the ash is scattered around evenly. Especially the rice and other food plants will germinate and grow well when the ash and charcoal is thick, because the ash and charcoal act as fertilizers; they are plant nutrients. We do not put any chemical fertilizers whatsoever in our fields. For the various kinds of food plants that we grow, important among them rice, pumpkins, green wax gourd, beans, chillies, egg plants and tomatoes, and so on, when there is sufficient ash and charcoal there is no need to use any of the fertilizers that the Thai people or people in other countries produce. All of the kinds of plants will germinate and grow well just by having ash and charcoal alone."

The pieces of branches, bamboo, tree trunks and bamboo trunks which are near the edge of the swidden are not gathered into a pile for burning, but are piled up at the edge of the swidden and used for repairing the swidden fence. It is not necessary to cut down any more trees for this. If the swidden has a small stream passing through it, when cleaning the swidden some of the burned pieces of wood and bamboo are thrown into a pile in the stream channel as a place for pumpkins, which like a moist environment and are thus planted near the edge of streams. This throwing of burnt pieces of wood and bamboo into the stream has no adverse affect on the water quality, and on the contrary, the Pgaz K'Nyau observe that the water actually becomes clearer than before. Because of that the little streams that run through the swiddens are clear and clean throughout the period when the swidden is being cultivated, and the water can be used for drinking, preparing food, washing and so on.

This shows clearly that in the body of knowledge of the villagers, increasing the nutrients in the soil by the methods of burning the piles of wood remains, and throwing burnt pieces of wood into the channel of the stream, which makes the water clearer and cleaner, is knowledge concerning natural methods of management. These pieces of knowledge can be proven objectively and rationally by scientific means. It is also believed that soil which has burnt piles of pieces of wood like this are the only places where certain plants can grow, and that if there were no places like these the production of these plants would not be good, such as taro, dark opal basil (*hauf wau*), chillies and so on. Burning piles of wood pieces thus helps to enhance plant biodiversity and protect food security. Pieces of burnt wood piled up against the trunks of trees that have been pruned act as frames for certain kinds of plants to grow on, and putting these aside later for firewood for household energy uses (cooking and heating), indicates a use of natural resources which is frugal and wise in terms of understanding the value of materials.

Striking the field/sowing rice

When the cleaning of the field has been completed, the stage of "striking"[11] the field and sowing the rice has been reached. Before the "striking" of the field and sowing the rice is carried out, the ritual of *qaiz buhkli* or "lining up rice seeds" is performed. This ritual is a divination of an auspicious day for "striking" the field and sowing the rice carried out by grasping a small handful of rice seeds and reciting a prayer:

> "Hey, rice! You are the big one, you are the great one, you are the life that is given to us, you are the spirit that is given to us. I ask you truly and seriously, I will sow the rice tomorrow, will you be good and will you be beautiful and abundant? If you will be good, and if you will be beautiful, when I grasp you, please be even. But if you will not be good, if you will not be beautiful, when I grasp you, please be odd!"

When the prayer is finished, the rice seeds are placed on the palm of the hand, and counted out in pairs to the left and the right in turn until all the seeds have been counted. If two seeds are left over, it is called *baf kooj* or "even," which means that the following day is a good day for "striking" the swidden and sowing the rice. However, if there is only one seed remaining, this is called *lauz hplaij* or "odd," meaning that the next day would not be good for "striking" the swidden and sowing the rice. The divining process then has to be repeated on another day until a good day is divined.

When a good day is divined, on the day when the "striking" of the swidden and sowing of the rice is held, one young woman and one young man whose parents are all still alive are chosen to perform the ritual of *htof lauz quv* or "starting the striking of the swidden and sowing the rice." The young man "strikes" seven holes and the young woman follows him sowing rice seeds into the holes as she goes. They recite a prayer as they do this.

> "Hey, rice! I strike you down, I plant you in the place to sow the first rice, act in a supernatural way, act in a mi-

raculous way, call the rain down, call the dew to come, if there is a loud growling noise (thunder) cover your head completely, if there is a downpour send out green and tender shoots!"

Following this, all the other people who have come to the swidden to help begin to "strike" the swidden and sow the rice. Usually, the men are the "strikers" *(taj htof)* and the women are the "sowers" *(taj hpgaif).*

The "striking" of the swidden is carried out with a small iron spade of one or two inches in width, which is fixed to the end of a long bamboo pole. Only the surface of the soil is pierced to about the depth of a barking deer or a deer's footprint. The topsoil is not turned over because that would damage the soil, causing it to lose its structure and collapse, leading to erosion of the slopes and hills. The soil, sand, ashes and charcoal would be washed down into the streams and brooks, being deposited there in very large amounts, causing the holes of the frogs, fish, and crabs to be blocked, leaving them no place to live. In the end they would die and become extinct, and if this continued for many years the water quality would deteriorate and the streams and brooks would eventually dry up. This way of thinking and working is a way of preserving the topsoil, not allowing the structure of the soil to collapse, and a way to use and maintain nature in a sustainable state. It also considers the total impact on nature, both on the land and in the water.

Before eating lunch at midday, the ritual of *pax htauf meiz hkof* or "ritual of placing the first rice" is performed. This ritual expresses respect for the Supreme Being. A prayer is recited during this ritual.

"K'caj (owner-spirit) of the earth, k'caj of the water, today I pierced the earth and planted the rice…come and eat my meiz hkof, come and drink my pure water. When you are finished, please protect and take care of us!"

When the striking of the field and the sowing of the rice has been completed, the ritual of *cuf mga hkauf* (immersing the leg of the spade) is carried out before everyone goes home. The seed

rice which is remaining when everyone comes back to the field hut is returned to the owner of the swidden. The owner then puts a little seed rice in a bamboo container and takes that and one of the long poles used for striking the swidden to the "tree of the tuber which drives away by magic" (which was the chicken bone tree). There he digs a hole and places the bamboo cylinder in it such that the mouth of the container points towards the location of Orion (*hsaf k'hsau*) in the early night sky. He then puts the seed rice into the bamboo container and then inserts the end of the striking pole into the container as well. He then splits the other end of the pole and sandwiches the tree between the split ends of the pole. Then he pours water down the pole into the container while reciting a prayer.

> "Hey, rice! We have finished striking you and sowing you, from now on make yourself supernatural, make yourself magical, call the rain to come, call the dew to come, make the rain good and make the dew abundant. Evade well, hide yourself closely, bury yourself when the mouse comes to eat you, bury yourself when the bird comes to eat you, give me a full amount to eat, If there is thunder cover your head completely, if there is a downpour send out green and tender shoots!"

When the prayer is finished, the owner of the swidden throws the remaining water up towards the sky and shouts in a loud voice,

> "Kraj wiv,… call the rain to fall, call the dew to come down!"

He then turns around and splashes the neighbours who have come with him and are waiting behind him. The neighbours also splash the owner back. They continue to splash each other like this until they are all thoroughly soaked.

Carrying out this ritual has two important meanings. The first is that rain and dew are called down from the sky, because after the rice seed has been planted in the field the rain must fall to bring moisture to the rice. The second meaning is that the Pgaz K'Nyau ask for blessings from the sacred entities, ask them to watch over and take care of them, and protect the rice and the

other food plants from pest enemies who may come to destroy them all.

When the striking of the swidden and sowing of the rice are completed, if there is some seed rice left over, it is taken back to the house and used to brew rice wine. This pot of rice is called *bu hsaiv hkli* or "seed rice wine." When the wine has been brewed, the owner of the swidden invites his relatives and neighbours to come and drink at his house. Before they start drinking, they ask an elder member of the group to perform the ritual of pouring the wine, which is carried out while reciting a prayer.

> "K'caj (owner-spirit) of the water, k'caj of the earth, come and drink the first of the rice wine, come and eat the last of the rice, please look after me…Please call down the rain, please call down the dew, do not let us starve, do not let us lack anything, allow us to eat well, allow us to live comfortably, give me happiness, give me peace of mind, in my houses and buildings, with my children and my wife, with my brothers and sisters and with everyone."

When the prayer is finished, everyone drinks the wine together, reciting *hta* as they do so. These hta are called *hta bu hsaiv hkli*, and the following is a sample:

> Taj cooz qoj qei cooz qoj qei, taj yau qoj qei yau qoj qei,
> taj cooz qoj qei bu t'geiz, taj yau qoj qei bu t'geiz,
> mei tai taj cooz baf yau sei, auf baf meiz sauv baf de hsei.
> (If you say the rain will fall, it won't,
> if you say the rain will stop, no way,
> if the rain falls and stops, the rice wont bud,
> if the rain stops and falls the rice won't grow well,
> if the rain falls, it must fall in season,
> then we can eat rice and we can wear clothes.)

At this time, the whole swidden looks bare and the remaining stumps of the trees and bamboo that were cut down begin to put out new shoots and buds. Some of the trunks put out six or seven new shoots, which is more than they had before. When clearing the swidden and cutting down trees, the trunk is cut at

about 30 to 40 centimetres above the ground, leaving the stump in the ground. The trunk and the roots are not dug up. As we go into the rainy season, these trunks put out new buds and shoots as before and many kinds of these can be eaten, such as the bamboo shoots which are called *bauf nauf meif,* or "fire bamboo shoots," and so on.

Weeding and taking care of the swidden

The Pgaz K'Nyau use a special tool for weeding called a *klax.* This weeding tool has been specially designed with a curve in it so that it penetrates the soil only to a very shallow depth. This method helps maintain the topsoil and the structure of the soil so that it is not damaged during weeding. The fragments of weeds that are weeded out of the soil are put into little piles here and there under the rice plants, where they rot. A little soil is dropped on top of the piles. This method helps to increase nutrients in the soil through a natural process that does not involve the use of any chemicals. In this way, the weeds, which are of no use as food for people become fertilizer for the plants that people eat and help them to grow well. It is thought that this is a real kind of organic farming.

When the last day of weeding is over, a ritual called *cauv taix nauf kaux* or "cutting the throat of the weed" is carried out. The last handful of weeds is put down on a log and chopped up using the *klax* weeding tool. A prayer is recited at the same time:

> "Here, I have weeded the first flames, I have weeded the first fire, I have slashed the head of the weeds, slashed the base of the weed stems, I have finished...Hack the neck of the ant, hack the neck of the termite, hack the neck of the bird, hack the neck of the rat, hack the neck of the beetle grub, hack the neck of the maggot, hack the necks of the things I cannot eat, hack the necks of the things I cannot drink, flee far away, go away and leave me alone, do not come and take a liking for my vegetable garden, do not come and take an interest in my

field."

When this prayer is completed, the chopped up pieces of weed are thrown outside the swidden fence, while at the same time reciting a prayer:

> "Go away bad things, go away things that are not beautiful, go away ants, go away termites, go away everything and leave me alone, do not take a liking to my field, do not take an interest in my vegetable garden. Pru! Come back rice spirits! Pru! Come back rice spirits!"

During the weeding, if the rice looks stunted, withered, or yellowing in some areas, then this condition is called *"quv k'swi"* or "vaporous field." If this is the case then a ritual called *he keiz quv* or "steaming the field" is performed, during which a prayer is recited:

> "Hey, field! I am going to steam you. I am going to steam away the vapour, steam away the emission, steam away the evil, steam away the unpleasantness, steam away the mould, steam away the illness…Because you have smelled these things and they have made you weak and tired, your roots have died, your leaves have dried up, your stumps are covered with sores. Today I will steam you to revive your beauty, to revive your freshness, to make you send out shoots again, to make you sprout again, to regain your fresh green colour, to regain your verdant colour. I wish you to flourish, I wish you to grow, I wish you to increase, I wish you to multiply, to be beautiful from the top of the field to the bottom of the field."

As well as belief, the Pgaz K'Nyau also use natural methods, for example, when insects like grasshoppers, ants, beetle grubs, and maggots come to eat the seeds or plants, they cut off some of the bark of the s'lei dauv (pterocarpus) tree, pound it up into very small pieces, soak it in water, and after squeezing off the water, sprinkle it on the rice and other food plants in the area which are being affected by the insects. It does not kill the insects, but defends against them by driving them away. When the insects sense the smell of the liquid, they will not come near. If the rice leaves

turn yellow, the farmer will catch a hog-badger (hpli) and burn its skin in the field. This can cure the rice of the disease that turned the leaves yellow.

If rats run wild in the field and it becomes impossible to control them with just the traps, the farmers take some rice leaves and weave them into the shape of a rat (or a rat hole), and then dry it over a cooking stove as if they were killing the rats by dehydration. By doing this they can get rid of the rats that were running wild. This is something that is really astonishing.

If they see that there are traces of rats having eaten the rice, they say, "Oh, an owl has eaten our rice!" *(Eih! dok'o auf p'bu!)* When they say this they intentionally make the owl angry, because in nature the owl does not eat rice. However, when the owl is angry it cannot do anything to the human. What the owl can do instead is get angry at the rats, and hunt them down and devour them. When the owl hunts down and eats the rats, the rats will no longer dare to come and eat rice.

In doing things in this way, the Pgaz K'Nyau do things according to the wishes of their ancestors. Their ancestors had a good grasp of the principles of belief and natural methods. They believed that these methods were the best methods. Nature takes care of them so that they will never lack for anything if they live according to and with respect for the precepts of nature, as they see in the proverbs that say:

> Soov moj pauz t'saf wi si le seif laf, pgaz k'nyau t'saf wi si le meiz.
> (Just as the caterpillar never dies from lack of leaves, people will never die from lack of rice.)
> Taj tei pgaz sei, taj kwaj pgaz sei.
> (The Supreme Being was able to make us, the Supreme Being is surely able to look after us.)

Feeding the field

The ritual of feeding the field is performed at around the beginning of August and consists of four smaller rituals, the first of which is *taj t'maux*, the ritual for asking for blessings, at which a prayer is recited:

> "Hey, rice! I am performing the ritual of asking for blessings to make you good, to make you abundant, to make you lush, to make you fresh and green, to make you flower. I ask for blessings for you today, rice of the east, rice of the west, today I ask you to come and be ready, come back and drink the blood of bird, come back and eat the meat of chicken, come back and be fresh and green, come back and put out ears, come back and put out roots, to the very top of the field, to the very bottom of the field, fill the whole field, fill every bit of the field!"

The Pgaz K'Nyau perform the ritual of asking for blessings to ask for blessings from the spirit of rice *(hpi muf mai)*, the widowed grandmother, symbol of the angel or goddess of compassion, who helps the poor and the orphaned. They show their respect to the spirit, ask for blessings from the spirit, and ask the spirit to cause our rice to flourish, to sprout and grow beautifully and abundantly, to flower and put out ears in large numbers, and without interference from pests of any kind, ants, insects, beetle grubs, maggots, grasshoppers and so on. It is also an opportunity to thank and pay tribute to the spirit for its intentions of the highest nature in looking after and feeding people without discrimination, both the rich and poor, and both fortunate and unfortunate.

The second is *taj luj meif*, the ritual of feeding the fire, at which a prayer is recited:

> "Hey, female spirit of the fire, male spirit of the fire who come this way, I call you, wherever you are I will shout and call you, I threaten you, I compel you, make you come quickly, make you come in a hurry. I may give you physical suffering, I may give you spiritual hard-

ship. Today I come to feed you to make you cool, I come to feed you to dampen you, I come to feed you with a big, red male chicken that I promised you when I fired the field, come and drink the blood of bird, come and eat the meat of chicken. Don't make the field hot, don't make the vegetable garden hot, make yourself cool, make yourself damp, make yourself quiet, make yourself subdued, come back and be calm and joyful as you were before!"

The ritual of feeding the fire is performed to show respect for the sacred entities and to ask for forgiveness and punishment from the earth, the water and the forest that have been used for the benefit of the people, because when the field is burned all kinds of natural things in the field, the trees, the bamboo clumps, the grasses, the soil, and all kinds of living creatures are also burned.

The Pgaz K'Nyau ask the spirit of the fire to please forgive them for all the things they have had to do in order to carry on their lives. When the field is burned, some inappropriate heating is caused all around, but now they ask the spirit of the fire to please caused everything to cool down and to become calm, and to help the ecosystem recover its former rich profusion and abundance.

The third ritual is *taj saiv,* the ritual of exorcising evil spirits, at which a prayer is recited:

"Hey, rice…The time has come, it is now time for me to drive unwanted things (harmful influences) away from you by magic. Here, I come to make my livelihood for all the months of the year, for the whole year. I go in the morning and return home in the evening. I have received a great many greeting calls and warnings. I will completely drive away all of these things today. Drink the blood of my bird, eat the meat of my chicken, eat the heart of my bird, eat the heart of my chicken, when you have finished eating go away from here. Do not take a liking to my field, do not take an interest in my vegetable garden. I drive you away by magic with a big chicken,

when you have finished eating go right away!"

The Pgaz K'Nyau carry out the ritual of exorcising evil spirits in order to expel various unwanted things from the field, to drive away out of the field birds, rats, insects, beetle grubs, maggots, butterflies, which are plant pests, and which cause trouble for the rice and the other plants, so that the rice and other plants can flourish and grow to perfection.

The fourth ritual is *taj hkav kaiv*, the ritual of protecting the field, at which the following prayer is recited:

"Here, things that are not good, things that are not beautiful, spirit of the maggots, spirit of the beetle grubs, spirit of the ants, spirit of the termites, I send you off, I throw you away today…Do not take a liking to my field, do not take an interest in my vegetable garden, I will send you away, I drive you right away today! Hey, horse traps–elephant traps*! I ask you to watch over my field for me, watch over my vegetable garden for me, I order you, I ask you. Today I feed the field, tomorrow I cannot come to the field, it is a day of prohibition. You horse traps–elephant traps I ask you to watch over my field for me, watch over my vegetable garden for me, watch over things for me, watch over the work for me. If anyone with an honest intention comes into my field without knowing it and without intending to, tell that person so she or he knows, and tell me so I know how to deal with it. I will discuss it with the person directly. But if someone with a dishonest and jealous intention comes into my field on purpose and intentionally, in spite of knowing that I have fed the field, comes into the field to do some mischief to me personally, then please harm that person, please punish her or him, tie up her or his rice spirits, please make the person go yellow like turmeric, and also make his or her will soft and pliable as lead!"

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* Horse traps–elephant traps (*me k'seif me k'hsau*): One of the ritual objects used in this ritual. It is made from three lengths of bamboo about 50 cm in length and about the thickness of a thumb. These are set up in a star shape in front of the altar for this ritual.

The ritual of protecting the field is carried out to protect the field from things that are unwelcome, to protect from plant pests and so on that are outside the fence so they do not come in to feed on the plants and destroy the rice and other plants in the field.

Eating hswai

In the second half of October, the rice is now a ripe yellow (*bu hswai bu tau*) and nicely matured (but not quite ripe enough yet for final harvesting). The villagers go to the field to harvest one portion of glutinous rice for pounding, roast it till dry, pound it, winnow it and then enjoy eating it in a group with our family and relatives. They call this rice *hswai*. It is eaten to the accompaniment of tales told by the grandparents and parents to the children and grandchildren. When one tale is finished, another is begun, when one person has finished telling a tale, another person will begin to tell another tale. All the people take turns in telling their tales. It is because the ancestors said, "When eating *hswai*, we should tell tales and listen to tales together. If we do this well, we will make a better living and the food production will be good."

The parents and grandparents tell many different kinds of tales. Each tale contains some hidden meaning or morale or lesson for the children and grandchildren to learn and use to help them get by in their lives. This also includes an important sense of transfer of various kinds of knowledge inherent in the folktales to the children and grandchildren.

Eating the first rice

About three or four days before harvesting, the ritual of *auf buhkof*, or eating the first rice is performed. A handful of rice is harvested from the swidden and cooked and eaten with a curry that contains many different kinds of things, such as taro, pota-

toes, beans, cabbage, tomatoes, coriander, dark opal basil (*hauf wau*), lemon grass, pumpkin, cucumber, fish, frogs, crabs and so on. The following prayer is recited during the ritual:

"Hey, rice! Today I chew you with all good things and all bad things mixed into you. From now on if someone eats you with all kinds of things, please do not let anything untoward happen, do not be abnormal, do not be strange, do not be harmful, do not be poisonous...I can eat everything with you, drink every kind of thing with you, chew you with any kind of thing mixed in, everything on the land, everything that lives in the water, chew with crab, with shrimp, with frog, with fish, with green vegetables, with fresh vegetables, with rat, with barking deer. Please make them all equal today, make them all the same today!"

When the prayer is finished, the family all run around the house tying a certain kind of vine, *kiv koj dauv,* around all the utensils that are connected with rice, for example the stones for placing pots on in the hearth, baskets, the pedal mortar for milling rice, the mortar and pestle, pots, dishes, plates, the big serving dish, the baskets for keeping the dishes, plates and spoons in, the winnowing baskets and so on. A prayer is recited as this is done:

"Here, all the things that we use as utensils! I use you, I employ you, you look after me, you take care of me, I depend on you every evening and morning. Today I eat the first rice, I eat the top of the rice, I tie to you vine of kiv koj dauv and hauf htof. I bind you, I tie you, I bind your hand for you, I tie your hand for you, let you always be full of paddy and milled rice, let the work be finished quickly, let the rice last for a long time when eating, let me work just for a moment but get much work done, let me eat for a long time, but let the rice go down only a little bit."

This ritual expresses the lifestyle of the Pgaz K'Nyau, in which it is believed that rice is of the utmost importance. The

ancestors said that, "If we have enough rice to eat, then every-thing else will follow on of its own accord." *(Bu mei koov auf, taj le av gaz qu keiz le hki sei.)* The Pgaz K'Nyau believe that rice is the object-person that gives us real life, and also believe that having enough to live on and sufficient to eat is the mainstay of their lives. They cultivate the fields, planting rice and other food crops, and know that they are not rich in property and money, and know that they will not be rich and wealthy, that they just have enough rice and other food crops to eat through the year, but they choose to carry on their lives in this way. This is the ideal of the ancestors, who passed on their wisdom to their chil-dren and grandchildren over many generations, as in their teach-ings, which say:

> Maz auz hpai krev, auf auz hpai baf.
> Auf hpai av blaiv huv, luv hpai av lez loz.
> Naj gaj t'geiz nez tez t'geiz.
> (Work the right amount, eat the right amount of food.
> Eat till your stomach is full, wear clothes so that your body is
>   warm
> Don't be greedy, don't be avaricious.)

The Pgaz K'Nyau people perform the ritual of "eating the first rice" and the many other rituals at the different stages of production of rice in the field for this reason. They carry out these rituals in order to give honour, respect, praise, and glorifi-cation to rice as something important, something to be exalted, as a person who has a compassionate and sympathetic heart, who has a broad, accepting soul, that looks after the lives of every person in the world. Besides this, the Pgaz K'Nyau attach importance to and respect in the same way all the various kinds of tools and utensils which are related to rice. Eating the first rice with every kind of thing naturally means accepting the won-drous magic of rice as real, because in their experience, they think that all the kinds of food in the world are harmful in some way, if not for this person then for that, and if not for this group of people then for that one, if not for this race then for that one, except for rice only, which is not harmful to anyone. Newborn babies can eat it without harm, the aged who are about to pass

away can eat it without harm, people with any kind of disease can eat it without harm, people with chronic illnesses can eat it without harm, ordinary people, no matter what their state of health can eat it without harm, women who have just given birth can eat it without harm, the Thai, the Shan, the Khamu, the Khmer, the Mon, the Yuan, the Chinese, the Japanese, white people, black people, and red people can all eat rice without harm, and the Pgaz K'Nyau think this is a truly wondrous thing.

The rice harvest

At the time of the harvest, the Pgaz K'Nyau blow the *kwaiz*, a horn. When the sound of the horn is heard early on the morning of the harvest, the young people, especially those who have a special romantic relationship, immediately rush out of the house. If a young woman knows that her fiancé has already set off, she will get extremely upset. Sometimes she hardly has time to wrap her lunch, and when she has wrapped it, can't find the bamboo strips to tie it with, so she wraps it into her clothes and rushes off immediately to walk along with her fiancé. Once she has caught up with her fiancé and friends, she looks for a piece of vine to tie up her wrapped lunch with and then puts it in her shoulder bag. Then, with a sense of relief and contentment, she walks along together with her friends, as this chant says:

> Cau oo-htauf kwaiz seif hsif dei, nauj hpehtauf meiz le av hsei.
> (Brother lifts his *kwaiz* to blow, sister wraps her rice in clothes.)

The playing of the *kwaiz* has a great deal of meaning for the Pgaz K'Nyau. First of all, they play the *kwaiz* because it is fun and because the sound of the music of the *kwaiz* is at once melodious, very impressive, and captivating during the rice harvest season. The *kwaiz* music is really only music for the harvesting season, and if they play it at any other time it is not nearly as impressive. Another meaning that is much more profound and important than this is that the sound of the *kwaiz* is a signal call to

mobilize the resolve to engage in labour sharing and to help and assist one another. Especially, the mobilization of the willpower of the young men and women is crucial to ensuring that the rice harvest is completed quickly, as they are the main source of strength in the harvesting season. If not for them, it would not be easy to complete the rice harvest.

The occasion of the rice harvest is a time for all the young people to share their learning about all kinds of knowledge included in *hta*, sayings, folktales and also about the methods of work in the swiddens. When they have harvested for quite a while, it's time for a rest. They say to each other, "Let's take a rest! Have a piece of melon, smoke a cigarette or a pipe." They sit down on a log, slice up a cucumber or a melon and all have a piece each. While they are sitting on the log, they chant couplets (*hta*) back and forth with each other, each person trying hard to modulate their voice to make the *hta* sound as sweet and profound as they can. This person sings in a sweet, melodious tone, that one sings even sweeter, the person over there sings even sweeter still. Some people keep singing the *hta* without knowing when to stop, because the *hta* are so deeply impressive and heart-catching to the person himself or herself. On the way home again they are still singing, and they are still singing when they reach their house because they miss the atmosphere of harvesting the rice together during the day. Some people go too far and are still singing when they sit down to eat, so their mother and father, brothers and sisters have to say to them, "You said you wanted to eat, but are you still singing hta?" to make them snap out of it. They will then become aware of what they are doing and exclaim, "Oh! That's right!"

Apart from this, there is also the sharing of knowledge about the foods that are very plentiful and are ripening in this season. Everyone is feeling very generous in helping each other out. While they are harvesting, they usually wear some kind of container; some people carry a shoulder bag, some people carry a (small) basket over their shoulder. If they come across a Chinese cabbage they throw it in the bag or basket, or if they come across some coriander they throw it in, or some dark opal basil, or a

loofah, or a bitter gourd, or some winged beans (*bauv baf p'wix*), or a cucumber, it all goes into the bag or basket. The owner of the field will not complain about this at all. On the contrary, whoever the owner is will probably have a large number of cucumbers and will pick them up during the day and put them away in the field hut, but as soon as the work is over in the evening will repeatedly say to the neighbours that they should each take two of them home with them, because when he or she goes to harvest the rice in their fields, s/he will be able to pick up and keep some of the vegetables and fruit in their fields too. They do things in this way, giving and receiving food items from one another, without having to trade, without having to buy or sell, because their communities are founded upon compassion and consideration for others, on generosity and magnanimity, helping and assisting one another and depending on one another.

The ritual of calling the rice spirit bird back to heaven

After the harvest, *kauv htauf keiz htof biqaf*, the ritual of calling the rice spirit bird back to heaven is carried out in the filed hut, because it is believed that the angel in the body of the rice spirit bird and the widowed grandmother (from the folktale of the orphan and the king) bring about the fertility of the swidden. At this time, when the work in the swidden is completed, it is necessary to invite the rice spirit bird to go back to heaven to rest. A prayer is recited during this ritual.

> "Bird of the rice spirit, widowed grandmother! While I cultivated my field and vegetable garden, planted paddy and sowed milled rice, planted plants and planted vegetables, you came and poured down flowers and fruit on me, since the field had blackened tree trunks all over it, you have come to help me. You had compassion on me, you sustained me, you propped me up, you had sympathy for me, you helped me build the barn, you helped me build the granary. This day I have completely finished cultivating the field and the vegetable garden. Your bur-

den in coming to the field to help me was no trivial thing. So it was with me too. I have finished cultivating the field and the vegetable garden, and all the work and everything we have to do in the field is over. I hope you will return up to the sky to be with your children and grandchildren in happiness and contentment. I myself will now also go and return to my home, return to my house, return to be with my children and grandchildren in peace and happiness.

At this time I hope you will come and drink wine with me, come and eat with me (at this point in the prayer we lift up a glass with rice wine in it, incline it a little and flick a little bit at a time of the wine onto the mat). Come and eat bird meat, come and eat chicken meat, come and eat the head of the taro, come and eat the head of the potato, come and eat ripe bananas, come and eat sweet sugar cane, and when you have eaten I hope you will return up into the sky, for you have helped me for the whole year and for all the months of the year. You must be very weary, it is now time for you to take a rest, to rest your weariness now. I hope you will be in peace and be happy, and that you will sleep and have good dreams!

Go back and rest, go back and relax, go back and shelter from the hot sun, go back and shelter from the cool rain, and next year, when the time arrives for the trunks of the trees all over the field to be black, I beg you to come down and help me as you have done before!"

Seed-saving

When the rice has all been transported back to the village, all the housewives and the children, especially the girls, go again to the swiddens. They go there to gather taro, yam, beans, pumpkins, to cut sugar cane, to shake out sesame seeds, to harvest seeds of Job's tears (used for decorations in embroidery), because at this time, when these field plants are ready to be har-

vested, it is also the time for gathering the seeds. When they cut open a pumpkin in order to cook soup, they ask each other, "Is it tasty? Does it have a fine texture? Is it crispy? If it's tasty and crispy, then keep the seeds." Here are some other examples of harvesting and seed collection:

Green gourd	Put the seeds aside when eating.
Beans	Put the seeds aside when ripe and dry.
Dark opal basil	When the plant and the flowers have withered, wrap it up and keep it on the shelf over the hearth.
Coriander	When the seeds are mature, wrap them up and keep them.
Chinese cabbage	When the head has withered, wrap it up and keep it.
Black, white sesame	When dry, shake out the seeds by holding a basket by the plant and shaking the plant so the seeds fall into the basket; the plant is not cut. Take the seeds home and store them.
Cucumber	When eating one, if you want to keep the seeds, dry them in the sun, then wrap them in a piece of cloth and store them.
Tobacco	When the leaves are a nice, ripe yellow, cut them into strips and sun-dry them. and so on ...

The Pgaz K'Nyau gather, pluck, dig, shake, cut, and chop down all kinds of plants and seeds in this season and then store them carefully. Some are wrapped in cloth, some are wrapped in "star of the orient" leaves *(laf hkluf)*, or banana leaves or leaves of the dipterocarpus tree *(laf hte)*, some are put in earthenware pots, some are put in bamboo cylinders, some are tied in strings (like beads) and then put up on the shelf over the hearth to dry, and kept aside for the seeds that they will plant out the following year.

They keep the seeds on the shelf over the hearth to protect them from insects that might eat them. The soot envelops the seeds in a jet-black film and they observe that this helps to protect the seeds from insects very well. Whatever they keep on the shelf above the hearth, seeds, mats, linen rope, large and small baskets, dip-nets, bamboo cylinders, and so on is kept free of insects that would otherwise eat these things.

One other thing that they gather is food that they put aside for the duration of the dry season. The plants that they harvest last of all are the taros, yams and potatoes. Some people take the rhizome (underground stem) and use it as a cutting to grow out again. They do not take it home to stack up there, they just dig up the young tuber to eat and cover up the rhizome with soil again in the same place. When it is time to plant it in the new field, they take it out again and stretch it out for planting.

They also go to the swiddens to collect firewood. They say to each other, "It's the end of the field season, we have finished transporting the paddy, let's go to the field to gather the firewood." Anyone who did not know might think that after the agricultural season in the field was over there was no further use for the logs from which they previously harvested birds, rats, and beetle larvae, and used as a pathway when checking the field, but for the Pgaz K'Nyau they still have a use; they need them for firewood. They gather the bark, and when the bark is all gone then they split out the wood, and when that is finished there is just the core, the heartwood left. They cut that into pieces and carry it back home for use as fence posts, which shows that they make full use of each part of each of the logs. They use it as if it were something of value, and it is of use to them during every period of the work in the field; they do not simply waste it or throw it away as if it were useless.

As well as that, the fence surrounding the field, the "railings" for drying beans or drying sesame, the pieces of wood or bamboo which were thrown into piles along the stream channels, or stacked into piles against tree stumps when the field was cleaned, are also cut up and taken away as firewood.

This firewood that they gather is arranged in piles in the space under the house. It is firewood for cooking food for the whole year. Thus, the Pgaz K'Nyau does not have to go and "poach" wood from other parts of the forest. Suppose they could not clear a field, or the village and district officials would not permit them to clear fields, they would have to go and cut wood from the conservation forest (the part of the forest not normally used for cultivation). In that case, the condition of the forest would be much worse than it is now. Further, a tree that they cut for firewood in this way is useful to them only as firewood, and they do not have any opportunity to put it to use in the many ways that they do with a tree that they take after cultivating the field.

Communicating with State and the Larger Society for the Recognition and Rights to Control and Manage the Local Resources

Communicating information and data about oneself to the larger community outside the village in order to represent oneself in different ways can be thought of as the seizing or reclaiming of definitions of meanings from others in order to challenge the discourse of the dominant mainstream. The mainstream discourse has been constructed by the side which has power to rule and to determine the ways of thinking of society. It often conceals that it is making a scapegoat of something or someone by distorting the truth or constructing a falsehood and calling it true with the intention of deceiving the larger society, thus creating prejudices against groups of people or communities. This has had impacts on the way of life of the villagers, and this is thought to be one of the important problems which Hin Laad Nai Village has become aware of. The village has, therefore, come to build up a new discourse concerning lifestyles of ethnic groups in the highlands through a process of communication, building a new self-image and a new identity through self-representation with which to enhance their rights, values and honor as self-reliant

humans. This has been carried out through the actual practice of their livelihood, and no longer requires that other people make proposals on their behalf.

Claiming Rights in the Case of a Forest Concession to Outside Business People

The first case of the forest policy of the government having impacts on Hin Laad Nai Village was in 1986. The Royal Forest Department (RFD) awarded a forest concession in the village to a businessman for the commercial growing of roses, because the climate in the area of the village is cool and suited to the cultivation of this kind of flower. The villagers rose in opposition, because some of the land they needed for subsistence would be seized, and the system of management of the land that the villagers had practiced up to that point would be changed. However, the claims were carried out without acting as a concerted group, and this resulted in the opposition movement not having sufficient power to elicit a favourable response from the government. When a few of the village leaders went to the District Office to make an appeal, they were dismissed out of hand by the district governor. Because of this, the villagers began to see the necessity of acting together as a group, both at the level of the village and at the level of the local village network. This was the beginning of local organization and campaigning for the claims against the problems on their own behalf. In the end, the villagers were able to achieve cancellation of the businessman's forest concession.

This experience was the first step for Hin Laad Nai Village in opening themselves up to outside society for the purpose of protecting themselves from the consequences of government policy, which was having impacts on their livelihoods. They had had to rise up and appeal for the rights to the lands upon which they depended, because they felt that they should not be dealt with in an unfair manner. Chaiprasert Hpohka has spoken of his experi-

ences in the claiming of rights against the forest concession as follows.

"The first thing that the villagers were upset about was that the forest concession scheme of 1986 involved a businessman who wanted to come and grow flowers (roses). The villagers rose up to fight for their spirits, because the land in question was the navel forest, an area used for the custom of tying newborn children's umbilical cords to the trees. The villagers believed that if that forest were destroyed, their spirits would flee away and the people in the village would fall ill, and possibly even die.

At that time, there was no organization at all. They asked the village chief to go and appeal at the District Office, but the village chief and his small group were snubbed by the governor, who said that we were bad people to refuse the progress that the government had offered. Because of this, we realized that if we were not organized into a group, we would not be able to negotiate at all. The villagers in this area then came together to form a network of seven or eight clusters of villages in Wiangpapao District in order to fight our problems as a group. We did not let anyone become the overall leader, because we thought that to do things that way would be dangerous for the people who became the leaders. We needed a tactic for our struggle, and as they say in the language of *muai Thai* boxing, 'kick and also push away with the (sole of the) foot,' we decided that we would fight at a distance from our opponents, preferring to use a conciliatory stance rather than a confrontational one, which would probably have resulted in the authorities coming into the village looking for problems. For example the RFD officials might become more serious about coming to the village to interfere with the work of swidden cultivation, especially the clearing and burning of the swiddens, As far as the villagers were concerned about the forest concession problem, they felt that they

looked after the forest in such a way that even if they were about to die they would not use it for profit. Those who wanted to use the forest were the RFD who came to do business in the form of planting flowers for sale by using the land that we had looked after, and was thus extremely fertile. They wanted to open the forest for concessions and allow businessmen to make a profit from our forests. We therefore came together to consider our position and look for ways out, and one way was to negotiate as a group in order to build up the power for negotiations to reclaim our rights."

We can see here that the first strategy that was chosen was to act as a group to build power and to express their feelings of dissatisfaction with the violation of rights of the community to look after and manage the forest and soil. When managed by the community with tender care, the community should have the right to protect and use the land according to the customary methods, which have been practiced down through the ages. When the villagers came together, they began to have the real power to negotiate with outside authorities.

Seeking a collective path by becoming a member of the Northern Farmers Network (NFN)

In 1996, the direction of government policy turned towards removing people from the forests by use of the strategy of proclaiming increased areas of protected forest, especially in the form of forest parks and wildlife sanctuaries. Once again this tended to have impacts on the villagers. If the area of Hin Laad Nai Village were to be proclaimed a national park, customary use of the land for dwellings for the community and rotational farming lands for subsistence would be forbidden. This was generally called by the people, "a policy for removing people from the forest." When proclaiming a forest park area, the land would become a permanently protected area, and the villagers would no longer be able to live there or make a living from agri-

culture. That being so, from the experience of the granting of the forest concession to the businessman, the villagers endeavoured to find collective ways out of the problem, but were not able to achieve a complete solution.

During the period in question, the policy of declaring forest park areas had an impact on forest communities all over the country, not only at Hin Laad Nai Village. The overall situation in northern Thailand was that the villagers' organizations came together under the name of the Northern Farmers Network (NFN), which staged protest marches to claim rights from the government. Information was broadcast on the Pgaz K'Nyau programme of the Chiang Mai Province radio station. The people at Hin Laad Nai Village heard the broadcast and sent representatives to the demonstration at Chiang Mai City Hall, and also decided to become members of the NFN from that time. This made the villagers more aware of the details of government policy and made it possible for them to respond to the various problems of being viewed by the government and outside society in a discriminatory way, as well as giving them the power and flexibility to struggle for their rights, which were being unfairly eroded by government policy. The most important result that was concretely relevant to the villagers' needs was that they received the approval of the RFD officials concerning the management of the rotational farming lands. The villagers were allowed to continue rotational farming and were still allowed to hold to the rotational period that they needed, and which is suited to the state of the climate and ecosystem of Hin Laad Nai Village. The RFD officials no longer came to suppress in any way the villagers' activities during the period of clearing and burning the swiddens.

Chaiprasert Hpohka has spoken as follows about the history of Hin Laad Nai Village participation in the NFN during the process of the struggle for rights over subsistence land and the right to live in the forest.

"At that time, we just happened to hear Cau Nif (Joni Odochao, a well-known Pgaz K'Nyau leader in the

struggle for rights of the people who live in the forest) announcing over the Pgaz K'Nyau language broadcast of Radio Thailand Chiang Mai that people who have a problem about living within a protected forest area (conservation forest, wildlife sanctuaries, parks, forest parks, and watershed areas classified as 1A or 1B) should come to Chiang Mai City Hall to claim their rights for subsistence land and to live in the forest. The leaders of the village asked me to go and listen and I had some advice from Mr. Toj Wa, a villager from Huai Rai Village, who knew the place in Chiang Mai well. I went with two other friends from Hin Laad Nai Village. When we went to listen to the speeches and so on at the demonstration, we felt that the problem directly involved us and our needs, and because of that Hin Laad Nai Village decided to participate as a member of the NFN from that time. We also went down to Bangkok to appeal for our rights in the 99-day demonstration (1996) at the time of the General Chaowalit government."

Having opened up a space of struggle with villagers who had met with problems of the same kind, regardless of physical boundaries such as the village or the province, and without ethnic boundaries, anyone with the same kind of problem could participate in order to create power for negotiations. Thus began the movement of the villagers at the level of the northern area of Thailand, the NFN. The villagers of Hin Laad Nai were one part of that struggle, and this was also a strategy to seek a collective way forward, and expand the scope of responses to ruling elite policies, which were having impacts on people all over the country. For this, it was necessary to be involved with many villages in many places in order to negotiate for themselves and their rights.

Opening a space in the village for alternative education

Since Hin Laad Nai Village had been steadfast in its way of life by managing its natural resources in a balanced way in terms of use and protection, and based on the knowledge of management embodied in the culture of the community, the result was that the natural resources of soil, water, forest and wild animals are all in an extremely good and stable condition. The village leaders are also exceptionally able and have the ability to communicate well with outside society and lead the community together as a member of the NFN to struggle for the claiming of rights for subsistence land and the right to live in the forest. This has made Hin Laad Nai Village a model village, which has become very well known among the member villages and among other individuals and organizations working on the problem of alternative methods of natural resource management. For this reason, Hin Laad Nai Village has developed the potential to be a space of education and observation for those interested in learning, and has introduced many different forms of education for the people who come from the member villages and non-members, such as official and unofficial organizations at the local, regional, national and international levels. Each year, large numbers of individuals, communities and organizations come to the village to learn from and observe the way of life.

An indigenous peoples' development worker who took a group of indigenous peoples to learn and observe the village reported that Hin Laad Nai Village is a model village in the management of natural resources, which is based on the culture and carried out through the organization of the villagers.

"Having worked with the NFN in the highlands, I thought that Hin Laad Nai Village was a model space for expanding the ideas and practices for all the communities, both in the highlands and in the lowlands, to come to learn and observe the villagers' organization in the management of the soil, water and forest. The villagers have a great deal of knowledge. For example, I have heard that some people are collecting bamboo shoots to supple-

ment their income. What kind of methods and practices do the villagers have to ensure sustainability? There are many things we want to exchange ideas about concerning forest management. This will help to expand this way of thinking to other communities, and it should be expanded as far as possible.

There are efforts to begin watershed management like at Hin Laad Nai Village in many communities now. Some are increasing the area of forest, working on planting tea, and so on, and I think that there have been many good results since Hin Laad Nai became a model village. In this way, people can come and learn and observe, and then go back to their villages and really use the knowledge in the management of natural resources, which is a kind of community-organized agroforestry, especially the agroforestry of rotational farming, which Hin Laad Nai Village still has. Many of the villagers who come to learn and observe, report that they want to revive the things they see at Hin Laad Nai in their own villages once again, but it is very difficult to revive them again because they are already completely limited and managed by the new kind of 'modern' forest management of the RFD."

This kind of report should be publicized far and wide, because reports of this kind of education have a strong effect on the feelings of the people in the communities which wish to have the power to manage their ecosystem according to their customs, and who can do so very skilfully, as they did actually manage the forest and ecology for a long time before the new modern system of management of the government was introduced. In the past, many other villages generally practiced a similar method of management to that of Hin Laad Nai Village, which is very good for the ecology. Because of that, the loss of power by the local community to manage their own natural resources has become the reason why the villagers from different villages have come to observe what is happening at Hin Laad Nai Village; they recall the power to manage natural resources that they had

in the past, and this has begun to challenge them to think how they can take back and rebuild the power of their communities.

Because it is an issue which challenges the understanding deeply, the way of thinking and management practices of rotational farming in Hin Laad Nai village can be considered to be an issue on which those groups who come to learn and observe must always question themselves about, especially the middle-class groups who live in the cities, for example, The Committee for Awarding the Green World Prize, and so on. This issue can be explained in detail, both at the material level and the spiritual level, and this can bring good comprehension and deep clarity to the people who come to learn and observe.

On this issue, Mr. Chaiprasert Hpohka has talked about explaining the rotational farming way of life to people who visit the village.

> "If we were to carry out rotational farming in the way that the RFD wishes, reducing the rotational period, or not rotating at all, farming on fixed fields, not clearing and not burning, or not allowing us to do anything at all, we could not live here. We compare carrying out rotational farming with maize fields. Rotational farming is production for subsistence, and there are always many plants that we can eat in the swiddens. Maize fields are production for sale, and only maize is grown. When we do rotational farming, we harvest many other kinds of food besides rice, the main crop, so we have enough to eat for the whole year. But if we were to produce maize, we would produce only one useful crop, maize. However, we have to eat three meals a day.

> The swiddens help us to do this in every season; it is not that we can eat for two or three months and then stop for three or four months and then come back and eat again. If we carry out rotational farming, we can get food to eat right from the time of clearing the swidden. At the time of clearing the swidden, we can collect rattan shoots, and when the burning of the field is complete we can eat

bauf nauf meif, fire bamboo shoots (bamboo shoots that come up from the burnt trunks of bamboo one or two weeks after burning), 'charcoal mushrooms,' and then after a while we can eat 'rat-ear mushrooms.' As we go into the rainy season in May, different kinds of plants that we can collect come up, some of which we plant and some of which come up naturally. We eat all of these until they are gone from the whole swidden. We also trap and eat bamboo rats. Even after two or three years, there is still food that we can collect from the swiddens, such as bananas, papaya, and so on.

However, if we were to grow maize on our fields, right from the start we would not have any food to eat ourselves. When we cleared the field, there would be nothing to eat as there would only be grass there, and when we finished burning, we would have to put down chemicals to control or kill the grass. No kinds of vegetable plant would be able to germinate and grow, and even if they did, we would not dare to eat them because of the poisons from the chemicals. We would have to buy cash inputs such as seed and fertilizer, and at harvest time we would have to pay for the rent of machine to shuck and shell the maize until we went down to sell the bagged maize at the market. We would not be able to set our own price in the market; it would be set by the merchants. After selling the maize, we would generally end up in the red. For the three to four months while we were growing the maize, we would not be able to eat anything from the maize fields, adding to the losses of our forests and our soil as well.

It would be like the learning in school that our children do these days; while they are learning, they cannot eat anything from their study and only spend money (for school fees) and use their strength and their brains to study. Even when they finish school, they cannot eat because no one comes to employ them and they do not get a salary. They have to come back to eat the food their

parents plant in the swiddens. That is certainly some-
thing to think about. Until they graduate, and until they
become teachers and so on, they still cannot eat from
their salary. We have to invest a lot of money, and some
people have a debt of 100,000 Baht or more by the time
they graduate college or university. However, the learn-
ing we do in our rotational farming, in our University of
Nature, we have a salary (in terms of the produce re-
ceived from the swidden) as we learn, and so we can eat.
We don't have to wait until we graduate, and we don't
have to worry about being unemployed after we gradu-
ate. We just have to do a lot of work; there is enough to
eat and more and we can eat sustainably.

With this University of Nature of ours, we can study and
at the same time receive a salary, work in the fields, eat,
and protect the forests at the same time, too. We can go
and collect things to eat or make use of materials from
the forest on any day. The forests and the swiddens be-
long to all of us. If we look after the forest, it will look
after us. If we look after the trees, the trees will look after
us. If we protect the wildlife, the wildlife will protect us.
We do not hunt animals within an area of one kilometre
from our village. When RFD officers came into our vil-
lage one day, they saw a large flock of pheasants on the
way. They were very pleased with us and allowed us to
stay together in our forest. Not long after they had gone
home, they sent us 50,000 Baht for the village, which had
been collected as donations for the forest, as funds for
activities to protect natural resources. This is the result of
protecting wildlife around the village, who then look af-
ter us."

The things that leaders like Chaiprasert have reported as an
explanation of his thinking and practices inform us that rota-
tional farming can provide people with food for the whole year,
both as plants that are planted in the swidden and those which
grow there naturally as part of the system. We can see that the

system of rotational farming builds a source of food, which passes through a mechanism of management of the forest which is suited to the natural ecology, and which enhances the construction of a further level of diversity. This further level of diversity is built up by allowing the fallows to regenerate naturally, so that there are many various kinds of animals and plants in the swiddens and fallows. Thus, we can say that rotational farming builds diversity within a complex ecosystem.

One more thing that the leaders have said concerns learning about nature in the sense of nature as a practice in daily life. This is like a "University of Life" that has no borders and no rules except those of life, the natural forest, and the way of life. It is a process of learning which has value and which builds life without money investments, and does not involve making oneself subservient to the system in having to search for work. It builds work and gives rise to work for the person learning for all her or his life. We can consider this to be a way of thinking which counters the contradictions in the principles of thinking of mainstream society, which now dominates the people of this age and incites fear in those who do not go along with the system.

Competing as a community in natural resource management

One more method of communicating to outside society which Hin Laad Nai Village has carried out is competing as a community in natural resource management competitions. In 1999, the village competed for the Green World Prize, supported with a budget from the Thai Petroleum Company, Ltd. and received the top community prize. In 2005, they competed in the youth section of the Green World Prize and received the top prize again. This can be considered to be another method of disseminating information and data out over a wide area of society, at the level of the village, the region, and the country. The village has become well known to large numbers of people through the mass media, especially television and newspapers.

Film crews and journalists come to the village to make television programs, which are broadcast many times to all parts of the country, as well as to write numerous newspaper articles.

The objective in participating in the competitions was for the village to present itself as a community practice that would be acknowledged by society at large. It can be seen as a struggle to seize definitions and meanings of the forest and local management of the forest, as well as to appeal for the acceptance of local rights of the community in managing their resources.

Being a speaker and sharing experiences

Hin Laad Nai village has community leaders with abilities to communicate, who have a great deal of knowledge about their culture, and know both the indigenous language and Thai, and so can communicate with the outside society. These community leaders receive contacts very often from individuals, organizations and work units, both government and private, to come as a lecturer to share their experiences on natural resource management in Hin Laad Nai Village. The result of this has been to make Hin Laad Nai Village much better known and increase the acceptance of the way of life of the community by society as a whole.

Giving presentations on and spreading the way of thinking and practice in the village is an important step, for as cooperation in practice has increased and come to cover a wider area, so the power of the community to respond to outside power has also naturally increased. Because every step in the seizing of the definition of meanings or the seizing of resources concerns power relationships, when you have a lot of friends, you naturally also have increased power to respond and resist.

Communicating through the mass media

Intensive communicative efforts of various kinds have been carried out for the dissemination of information in the form of documents, pamphlets, messages, and video CDs about natural resource management in Hin Laad Nai Village with the support of intermediaries from many sectors, including official and unofficial organizations, and educational and research institutions. Examples are an article in the journal of the Regional Community Forestry Training Center for Asia and the Pacific (RECOFTC), many articles in many different newspapers, and programmes on radio and television, as follows:

- A broadcast on Channel 11 on the program *Reung lao jark lao phrai* (Stories from the forest) by Pithigorn Arisaraa Jaroenkamthorn;
- A broadcast by the Army Channel 5 on the program *Thi ni Prathet Thai* (Here is Thailand);
- A broadcast on the TiTV program called *Khit dai ngai* (What do you think?);
- A broadcast on Mass Communications Organization of Thailand Public Company Ltd. (MCOT) Channel 9 on the program *Praat dern din* (The wise man walks the earth) on prime-time TV from 20.30 to 21.00;
- A broadcast on Channel 7 on the program *Khon Thai wan ni* (Thai people today), and so on.

These activities can be seen as creating the image of oneself from within through the discourse of the people that the people of Hin Laad Nai villagers have created for seizing a social space in the redefinition of themselves as people who protect the forest and can live together with the forest in an intimate and sustainable way. This has created a new definition and a new image in society, and it is also a response to the image of the villagers as forest destroyers, which was created by the mainstream in the past and which has been turned around into "the people who preserve the forest." The mass media can be a very good intermediary for communication—the villagers of Hin Laad Nai have

been able to access these means of communication very well and over a long period of time. This has made it possible to have more suitable images of their lifestyle presented to society and has had a good effect in building understanding in the larger society.

Communication with individuals, organizations and institutions

There have been communications through individuals, organizations and institutions which have come to study and learn and support the village, such as Mr. Prasert Trakansuphakorn, a member of the National Economic and Social Advisory Council (Thailand), who gave a presentation on Hin Laad Nai Village at a meeting of the Council. The Community of the People who Preserve the Forest brought children and youth from the village to take part in the television program *Tung seng dawan* (Fields of sunshine). The Foundation for the Development of the North helped and supported the making of presentation panels of the basic data of the village, RECOFTC researched about the management of bamboo shoots, the Institute of Social Research at University of Chiang Mai conducted research on rotational farming, and the students of Ratjabhat Chiang Rai University conducted research on the making of fire breaks, and then went back to make a program to disseminate the data. Thammasart University came to help develop the road into the village by pouring concrete, and gathered data on the village's natural resource management. Chulalongkorn University, Phra Nakhorn Neua University, and Ramkhamhaeng University brought groups of students, numbering not less that 30 students each, to study the community and natural resource management, and these all helped to get information out to the public. There were also visits from many other researchers, including Dr. Somsak Sukhawong, Dr. Jamnien Worapannya, and Dr. Phondet Pinprathiip (MD).

Expanding ideas and practices and building a network of community organizations

Besides their own community, Hin Laad Nai Village has also joined with other villages in the same cluster to carry out expansion of their ideas and practices more widely, and to build collective understanding for the necessity of natural resource management. These activities also enhance learning about various problems which have arisen, and which have an impact on the communities. From having carried out their activities for more than ten years, the various villages have banded together into one community forest network, which has made cooperative regulations for a wide area, and which has continuous activities such as making fire breaks in the areas of each of the villages. Besides this, there is a plenary meeting of all the village committees each year.

In carrying out the expansion of the ideas and practices to the surrounding villages, Chaiprasert Hpohka has spoken of the history and the current situation as follows.

"Hin Laad Nai Village was established about 100 years ago. There are 14 deserted villages (*dailau*) in the area (*K'liz haihki, Seiwahtaf, Seiwahki, Dailauhtaf, Htilauz siv hki, Taj blav dei, K'bau eif htaf, Leihkauf, Nyax pez muj, Hposwidauv k'taz, Hpoov hsif muj, Htimoz bo htaf, Hsgosooklo,* and *Lej soo paz*), showing that the area has been inhabited for a long time. In the first period of carrying out natural resource management and protecting the environment, we began with just our own village. We later gradually gained the understanding of other villages in our river basin, because we feel that when a problem arises the impacts often affect everyone. An example of this is forest fires; we look after the forest well, but other villages may burn the forest or, when a forest fire starts, may simply leave the forest to burn so that it moves towards our village, and so on. We therefore cannot solve the problems alone, and so we gradually expanded our way of thinking and doing things to

other villages, and they have gradually come to cooperate with us.

In the end, we have become a network of forest communities, numbering eight villages, Hin Laad Nork, Hin Laad Nai, Phaayeuung, Huairai, Huainguu, Maechaangkhao, Maephluunoi, and Huai Madeuui. The total population is 1,531 people in 310 households. The area of community forest is 60,000 rai (9,600 ha) and this has 114 km of fire breaks. The main streams in the river basin are the Mae Buun and the Mae Chaangkhao, and these are tributaries of the Laao River. The area of Hin Laad Nai Village has a stream called Huai Hin Laad and the village is on the right bank of the Mae Chaangkhao. Hin Laad Nai alone has an area of about 10,000 rai (1600 ha) which has been classified as mostly 2A and a small area of 1A watershed forest. For just Hin Laad Nai, the network is called the Hin Laad Nai River Basin Network, but for the whole eight villages, it is called the Luuk Dort River Basin Network."

Creating the power to negotiate through strengthening community practices, such as at Hin Laad Nai Village, and expanding the network at many levels, is thought to be one of the duties of models such as Hin Laad Nai Village. When many people understand what the village people stand for, then they make many more friends, and this gives rise to greater community practice. The community then has power in negotiations and is steadfast in its local community practices and local community rights, and this in turn gives rise to increasing acceptance.

Conclusion

We can draw, perhaps, three conclusions from the above. Firstly, within the community, we can see that the ability to manage rotational farming, and natural resources, and the ability to pass on the knowledge to the new generation—including encouragement to take pride and confidence in the way of life of their community—is the proof of sustainable management by the community through actual practice. Secondly, Hin Laad Nai Village has had an impact on external society, namely, being acknowledged and in some parts being increasingly accepted by society for their natural resource management in the form of rotational farming, and further becoming a model for increasing the diversity of alternative lifestyles for external society. Thirdly, it is not certain whether in accepting the management of the local community in policy the state has opened its heart wide enough in acceptance of forest dwelling peoples' lifestyles or not. It seems that the local community certainly has to continue in its work to persuade society of the sustainability of their lifestyle in the future. The situation is that the state still refuses to accept the proof, especially on the issue of accepting rotational farming officially to a wide extent, covering all the communities that carry out rotational farming in the highlands.

The ability to pass on the body of knowledge to the next generation

The results of the efforts of the leaders of the community to pass on their knowledge to their descendants can be appraised from many angles. For example, the ability to carry out rotational farming, which is still rotating stably in a traditional way, the ability to maintain the culture, customs, beliefs and rituals, even if they change somewhat as they are adjusted to suit the current situation. This includes the ability to maintain both the spoken and written (*lix wa*) language.

Besides this, we could appraise the interest, attention and care given to the role and duties of the youth. We can see that the youth of Hin Laad Nai Village are a youth group who are somewhat different from the general youth of today. They do not have a strong attachment to the current values of external society, which enter the village through various kinds of media, but cooperate with the community in carrying out activities to protect natural resources, study their own history, culture, customs, rituals, beliefs and language, enjoy discussing and consulting with the elders to uncover various pieces of knowledge from them, and obey their mothers and fathers. Even if they leave the village to study or work, they have good self-awareness and have a consciousness of the values of their culture and customs. When they have time, they return to the village to carry out the various activities that the village continues to carry out, and they feel satisfied to support the transfer of the body of knowledge and way of life of their ancestors from previous generations.

Nauj Tov, one of the youth leaders who plays an important role in the village, has shared her opinions and experiences as a learner and receiver of the transfer of knowledge from her mother and father:

"When we go to work in the swiddens, there are various parts of the knowledge that we learn from our mothers and fathers. We go to the swiddens with our mother and father and we try to do various things with them that they are doing, and this is our upbringing from the time when we were very small. Most of my friends of my generation still do things in the same way. When we go to work in the swiddens, we usually go with our friends and learn together from the adults. The things which the adults teach us and tell us and forbid us to do, we generally obey, but sometimes we ask the adults to understand us a bit. For example, the adults sometimes say many *hta* to us at one time, but for us people of the younger generation, it is very difficult to remember *hta*, so we ask the adults to tell us just a few at a time, and to say them often and many times over, and not to tell us many at one time,

because we cannot remember them. In our opinion, there is nothing in the things our mothers and fathers wish to pass on to us that cannot be used today. Everything can be used and is not backward or out of date. The youth go out of the village to study or to work, but they do not forget our culture, customs and beliefs. We take our values with us to use and practice in our daily lives. When we have free time from studying or working we come back to everyone in the village and carry out activities together."

The basis of thought of the system of transfer of knowledge to the people of the next generation in Hin Laad Nai Village is from the culture. This is the set of practices that have been handed down, and which are adjusted to suit the conditions and context of today's society, which has schools as centers for transfer of knowledge instead of the *blauf*[12] as in the past. The young people, who are used to the modern form of education, which all the youth both internally and externally learn from today, are like people with two cultures, or in another way people with "a well in front and a well behind" as Cau Nif has put it.[13] This includes the way of thinking that the adults teach their children and grand-children, and the young teach their younger brothers and sisters.

Hta and the body of knowledge have always been reinter-preted to explain the life and events of the present. The body of knowledge is dynamic and always has a life of its own. In other words, the body of knowledge is always a reflection of the age and is thus being recreated all the time. This made it possible for Hin Laad Nai to spring up at this time as if it had both base roots in the local wisdom *and* knowledge of the inner workings of current events, and so could adjust with confidence, stability and sustainability to changes in the external society.

Ability, pride, and firm belief in the transfer of the body of knowledge to the young

Hin Laad Nai village has changed more slowly than other villages in the same area for the reason that they have held firm to their traditional culture and customs, very much including the traditional rotational farming method of production. This has become an important advantage for the community in that the young can learn, see and practice continuously down to the present day the culture, customs, beliefs and rituals, which have the body of knowledge concealed within them. Combined with the fact that the village has leaders who have good foresight, a wide vision, and knowledge of the workings of the external society, which is changing and which intrudes with its impacts on the community, has made it possible to adjust and develop methods to transfer the knowledge in a way that is completely suited to the modern age. This makes the children of the current age able to accept the transfer of the various types of knowledge without any loss, and coming thus far, all the leaders of the community have confidence that their descendants will definitely be able to receive the knowledge and carry on the way of life of the Pgaz K'Nyau, both confidently and sustainably in the future.

Mr. Priichaa Siri, has reported on his feelings of hope and confidence.

> "As far as today is concerned, we have pride and satisfaction in the things that we have endeavoured to do. We observe that the process of transfer that we think suitably resilient is that we teach the older children (*av dof*), who teach the 'middle' children (*av hsiv*), who teach the small children (*av pri*) who then teach the infants (*av praij*) and we think this process will certainly carry on into the future.
>
> One more thing, when we think back on the past, our ancestors lived without any regulations recorded in writing. They only had prohibitions, which they had to help each other remember in their brains, but they were able

to pass on their knowledge to us right down to this day. Today, we have rules, regulations, and laws at each level and they are all recorded in writing. There are both methods for putting these into practice in reality and theory for the classroom. Today, the school has a great influence on children concerning knowledge, and I think these things we do will be carried out side by side with the schools. If the schools grow, then our University of Nature must grow too. We have endeavoured to put pressure on the school and the official policy of education to promote learning and transfer of knowledge in the style of the University of Nature. When combined with the fact that today the current is tending to flow back towards the search for a lifestyle that is in harmony with nature, a lifestyle of sufficiency, self-reliance, simplicity, a dampening of desire, and isolation rather than living in large cities, which is quite the opposite of the lifestyle we now lead, I anticipate that these things will be the factors which help our descendants learn and transfer knowledge in the future better than we have done, and also to carry on this lifestyle sustainably for a very long time."

The leaders and the knowledgeable people are "cultural producers" in that they take the traditional body of knowledge and explain it in a new way to create new knowledge which can blend Pgaz K'Nyau knowledge and external knowledge quite intimately. Besides this, there is also a process of transfer that is a continuous process, and is the learning system of Hin Laad Nai Village, which mixes traditional and modern styles very appropriately and seamlessly.

Does this procedure of transfer have validity in the eyes of the adults with regard to the transfer of the way of life of the Pgaz K'Nyau to their descendants? To answer this question one would have to go to see the results that have been achieved with the youth. However, in agreeing how these methods of transfer should work, and how the responsibility of transferring the knowledge to the younger generation should be taken, the state-

ments we have heard from the knowledgeable people, the adults of Hin Laad Nai Village, and the answers to the questions we posed to the youth in interviews seem to point towards a feeling of confidence, stability, and sustainability.

Ability to Manage Rotational Farming and Natural Resources

When compared with other villages in the same area and which in general have a rotational farming production lifestyle, we can consider that Hin Laad Nai Village is the most capable of carrying out that lifestyle. The village can manage the rotational farming system according to the customs and beliefs which have been practiced traditionally, have maintained the rotational period which was practiced since the time of the ancestors, and have been acknowledged by the officials of the RFD with regard to the clearing of swiddens. All of this has been under pressure from the policy of forest management of the Thai state more than in other places, because Hin Laad Nai Village is believed to be a village well within the area of the state's forest land management capability. The village is only 20 km from the District Office and only 80 km from the central Provincial Office. The roads give access to the village by the RFD officers in all seasons, and the fact the village has not been forced to change despite being close to the district office is the result of the village people's ability to manage rotational farming in a sustainable way.

This has made the rotational farming land area into a very fertile forest area with a well-balanced ecosystem. The village also has rich forest diversity, which arises from the regeneration of the fallows, which are different from each other because of the differing lengths of fallow period. The village has held fast to the system of production of rotational farming and has refused the methods of production of cash crops which the state has come in to propose or offer, and which would involve using the land as fixed fields and using chemicals. The Royal Project has

proposed to come in and establish itself in the village to promote the planting of Oolong tea, but the villagers decided to refuse this proposal. This has helped Hin Laad Nai Village avoid the clearing of forest land that has occurred in many villages which have accepted the methods of cash crop production.

At the same time, Hin Laad Nai Village is still able to manage its natural resources of soil, water, forest, and wildlife very well, which can be seen from the fact that the village is surrounded by very fertile forest, has ample and beautifully clear streams and brooks flowing through it, the water from which can be used and consumed by the village people. Birds chirp cheerfully everywhere in the village, and it is very hard these days to find a village in as good a condition as Hin Laad Nai Village.

The ability to manage rotational farming and natural resources, as mentioned, arose from the management of the village, which has come from the inner spirit of the community itself. It is not an external thing which other people have brought to them. This means that it arises from the root base of the culture, customs, beliefs, and rituals themselves. This root base of the culture helps the community to know what is good or not good, or appropriate or not appropriate, what should or should not be done, determines how well the people can live and eat together, and in what way to make use of things from the natural resources that will give rise to sustainability.

The proof is that by allowing people from the inside or the outside, at anytime and during any season, to come to look, to observe, and to touch, even the mainstream conservationists such as the RFD officials do no fail to give their acceptance. This is the proof of the sustainable management of the forest and rotational farming of Hin Laad Nai Village. There has now started to be more acceptance of rotational farming, and fewer questions about the management of rotational farming are being asked. However, that does not mean that it is accepted in all places, and it may be that it is just accepted in Hin Laad Nai Village. The same practices are continuing to be questioned in other places. The leaders and the villagers in these places, however, are not dis-

heartened and feel that they will be able to prove themselves in the future.

Acknowledgement and acceptance by outside society

In the transfer of the body of knowledge of rotational farming and natural resource management, one aspect is to affirm the concepts and practices whereby humans and the resources of soil, water, forest, and wildlife can exist together in a balanced and sustainable way. One further aspect is to prove this sustainability to external society, which still does not understand rotational farming sufficiently and does not have direct access to the way of life of the villages. In this regard, when we investigate and compare the past with the present, it can be considered that the endeavour mentioned here has experienced some success, and the image of the village and of the Pgaz K'Nyau community has been adjusted favourably in external society. Acceptance of this way of life by outside society has increased both between ethnic groups, lowland peoples, and city people, and this can be seen in the increase year by year in the interest in coming to study and observe the village for both theoretical and practical reasons. A great number of individuals, organizations and official and private work units, come to visit the village each year, to the extent that the village has had to set up an official schedule to accommodate everyone, a phenomenon that never occurred in the past.

Chaiprasert Hpohka has said that:

"I have a Lahu (an ethnic group) friend, who said to me, 'I want all the Lahu to die and just the Pgaz K'Nyau to be left.' I told him that if that were so then he would have to die too. Aren't you afraid of that? He said to me, 'So can you please let me and a few others become Pgaz K'Nyau? I'm sure you agree.' Of course, he was joking, but it shows that the problem of the ethnic groups concerning the management of the forest and natural resources is extremely serious. As he could see that we

managed the forest well, he wanted to be like us. He accepted us.

When the smoke problem[14] arose last year (Feb-March 2006), the northern Thais (*khon meaung*) and the lowland people in Wiangpapao District, came up to see us and confessed that 'you make swiddens, burn the swiddens, and make fire breaks well. We are awful. We don't do anything, we just burn the forest and it is all gone in forest fires.' Another thing was that, after we announced ourselves through our public relations efforts and publicized the things that we do and our way of life, we were searching for different ways of getting the information out, and for close friends of the same sentiment, and supporters who understand us. This generated a great deal of interest in our village and resulted in learning and exchanges of experience. Year by year many groups of friends and friendly communities, both inside and outside the country came to visit us and study our way of life. We were happy to welcome them all, even though we sometimes felt tired. It was something that we felt proud of. We had never experienced anything like this in the past. It became one of the jobs that we had to do together in an organized way."

In the end, the practices of conscientious care and management of the forest and the rotational farming production system, which is suited to the forest, have begun to expand out to other ethnic groups, both inside the country and abroad. The reflection of the leaders and the villagers of Hin Laad Nai Village tells us that even though they are tired, they take pride in the things that have happened to them and also the changes that have been achieved in the outside world. They also say that, nevertheless, these things are their way of life and that even if no one says anything or challenges them, they will carry on as usual, and will continue to do so in the future whatever may occur. These things reflect the robust, enduring, and deeply rooted way of life of the villagers of Hin Laad Nai Village.

Endnotes

[1] This paper is a part of the IKAP Network in MMSEA resource book. The study was done on the Pgaz K' Nyau people in Hin Laad Nai Village, Chiang Rai Province,Thailand. This study was supported by the Interchurch Organization for development Co-operation (ICCO).

[2] The RFD became the Forestry Department under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment when it was formed in 2002.

[3] Ganjanapan, Anan, Pinkaew Laungaramsri, et al., Research Report on The Rai Mun Wian (Rotational Farming) Agricultural System (Volume 1), The Situation and Changes: Main Report and Policy Recommendations, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University, June 2004.

[4] 1 thang is 20 litres.

[5] See note 2.

[6] Prasert Trakarnsuphakorn et al., 2006. Rotation Farming System: Indigenous Knowledge and Practices of a Paka-kayaw Hill tribe group in Northern Thailand. Indigenous Knowledge and Peoples (IKAP) Network, Chiang Mai. (in Thai).

[7] From Crisis to Opportunity: How Sustainable Agriculture Provide the Solutions to Low Carbon and Low Risk Society, Northern Development Foundation 2010,19-20.

[8] The detailed content of customs and the prayers are described in full in Buhpau, Raimunwian, An English version is in preparation.

[9] In general, simply "hta." The usual form of hta, as here, is two lines of seven syllables each.

[10] After this the chicken bone tree is known as the tree of the tuber which drives away by magic.

[11] When sowing rice in a swidden field, small holes are made in the ground with long bamboo poles to which a small metal spade is attached at one end. The action is carried out by hitting or striking the ground sharply with the spade end of the pole. Several rice seeds are then dropped into the hole.

[12] A traditional meeting house in a village, which also served as a school.

[13] A useful store of something in the past and in the future.

[14] A blanket of smoke haze that hung over several provinces of northern Thailand.

8

Pastoral Accumulation: Arrested Self-Determined Development in Ethiopia

by Melakou Tegegn

Pastoralism is one of the major traditional ways of life and a sustainable livelihood system in Africa. Millions of people in Sub-Sahara Africa live a pastoral way of life, from the Tuaregs and Fulanis of West Africa, the Afars and Somalis in the Horn of Africa and the entire Sudan, to the Massai and smaller pastoral communities throughout the Horn and East Africa. For centuries these communities practiced pastoralism but colonization disrupted it in the name of "modernity," negating it as backward and subjecting it to extinction.

British colonialists pursued a policy of wiping out pastoralism, confiscating pastoral land and natural resources in the guise of treaties or outright eviction. In Kenya, lands of the Massai and other pastoral communities as well as forest lands of hunters and gatherers were all taken over in such a way. A similar pattern followed in Uganda where British colonial authorities adopted a policy of confiscation of the ancestral land of the Karamojong. In Ethiopia, anti-pastoralism has its own historical roots. The Muslim sultanate that arose in the 15th century and went to war with the Christian kingdom for almost a century basically emanated from the pastoral area of Eastern Ethiopia. In all these countries, appropriated lands were converted to game reserves, national parks or private holdings for white farmers, and thus began the construct and institutionalization of pastoralism as an inferior and backward economic system and way of life.

In the postcolonial period, the African "state" literally stepped into the shoes of the colonial state as far as pastoralism, freedom and development were concerned. In Kenya, the "state" replaced the colonial powers in taking possession of parks and wildlife reserves as well as in grabbing ancestral lands of pastoralists and hunters and gatherers. It also left huge tracts of land confiscated by colonialists in the hands of white farmers. Continuing land confiscation, the new political elite in the Kenyan state used political power as a major vehicle of wealth accumulation and ethnicization of power. A similar pattern unfolded in Uganda where the government carried on the anti-pastoral policies introduced by the British. In Ethiopia too the imperial government of Haile Selassie maintained the age-old anti-pastoral construct but gave it a new tone: "pastoralism is not conducive to development and growth that it needs to be transformed into a farming community."

Throughout these countries, such prejudices were and still are passed down through the mainstream education system, mass media and other forms of communication. That explains why mainstream African elite and intellectuals continue to be shaped by this same colonial construct on pastoralism. The following instance shows how pervasive the colonial construct still is. In 2008, two major newspapers in Uganda, *The Monitor* and *Vision*, widely covered the crisis that erupted when a pastoral community in Western Uganda refused to abandon an area they had just moved into because of drought. Not a single article took the viewpoint of the pastoralists.

The three postwar governments in Ethiopia are no exceptions either. The imperial government of Haile Selassie systematically marginalized pastoral communities particularly the Afars and Somalis for political reasons. Detached from the central government, the Afars have always been considered rebels because they refuse to abandon their way of life including their traditional system of governance. The case of the Ethiopian Somalis is different. The Somali nationalist movement that formed the Somali republic in Mogadishu in 1960 had earlier broader aspirations to unite the five major Somali communities: in "British"

Somaliland, "Italian" Somaliland, Djibouti, Ogaden (Ethiopia) and in what was called by the British as the Northern Frontier District (Kenya). Consequently, two major wars erupted in the 60s between the Ethiopian government and the Somali republic, the latter undoubtedly supported by the Somali community in Ethiopia. For this reason, the Somalis in Ogaden came under suspicion and were subjected to brutal repression. While not involved in a secessionist activity, one of the biggest pastoral communities in Ethiopia, the Borana Oromos, were nevertheless similarly suspected because they were supportive of the Italians when Mussolini's Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935.

The pastoral communities in the Southern region of Omo, bordering Kenya and Southern Sudan, were completely forgotten. When images of South Omotic people started to be portrayed for the purpose of tourist attraction, in much the same way that Kenya does to the Massai and Samburu, people in the mainland were surprised that such people had lived in Ethiopia and are indeed Ethiopians. The Omotic people were also subjected to the most degrading form of repression as some of them were forcibly taken by the nobility under the imperial regime, and made slaves.

When the military regime came to power in the wake of the overthrow of the imperial regime, the conditions of the pastoral communities did not change. They remained excluded and marginalized, and the hostile relations with the Afar and Somalis continued. This led to a number of political movements, such as the Afar Liberation Front and the Western Somalia Liberation Front. The military government did not have the slightest idea about pastoralism, let alone develop a policy on it. The current regime of the EPRDF, basically highlander and chauvinistic towards lowlanders including pastoralists, is no different from its predecessors when it comes to pastoralism. Its primary agenda is that pastoral communities have to change their livelihood system and become farmers.

However, due to the enormous policy advocacy done by pastoral NGOs and donor pressure to a lesser extent, the regime

pretends to have "accepted" pastoralism. It formed a department within the ministry of federal affairs called Pastoral Development Department. It also appropriated Pastoralist Day, started by the national NGO network, Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, when the prime minister addresses pastoral elders, using the occasion for grand propaganda. But the basic policy of settling pastoralists and converting them to farmers remains the same.

Yet despite this negative government policy, the pastoral livelihood system has great potential both for capital accumulation and economic growth that can contribute to social development. In this respect, it holds much greater economic promise than the farming community, but the regime's infamous strategy for rural development does not count this reality and instead relies on the economic surplus supposedly "generated" by the small peasant landholding system.

Self-determined Development under Pastoralism

African pastoralism is a particular way of life whose livelihood system is mainly livestock production. Other pastoral systems exist such as among the Saami of Northern Europe (Norway, Sweden and Finland) who live traditionally on reindeer herding, the Mongolians on cattle breeding, and some communities in the Philippines on mobile fishing.

The pastoral community in Africa is huge and encompasses a wide territory. A livelihood system based on livestock breeding has to practice transhumance or seasonal change for grazing lands, as people have to move from place to place in search of water and pasture for their animals. When the rainy season ends in one area, they seek another place where water and pasture still abound. Sometimes in periods of drought, the movement brings them to areas inhabited by farming communities. Pastoral communities resorted to such a livelihood system, given the harsh environment they inhabit and its unsuitability to traditional farming.

Pastoralism is not just livestock production but a way of life with forms of social organization including traditional institutions of governance. The rules governing these traditional structures are all defined to protect the pastoral livelihood system and make it sustainable. Different pastoral communities have different social organizations and structures, but the fundamentals are similar. Somalis and Afars have very similar ways of social organization, while Boranas and Omotic have their own distinct systems that differ from those of other pastoral communities.

What is unique about pastoralism is, unlike the small peasant landholding system, it generates a sustainable way of life nurtured by a rich indigenous knowledge system. Since the environment and water in particular are vital in sustaining life in traditional formations such as the peasant production system and pastoralism, protecting the environment should constitute a key component of their knowledge systems. In Ethiopia, environmental preservation does not exist in the peasant's knowledge system but is crucial among pastoralists. Among the Afar, for instance, cutting down a tree is punishable by a fine of one cow. The Boranas also have a wealth of indigenous knowledge on preserving river water and water sanitation.

It is with such knowledge systems that pastoralists have managed to maintain their way of life for centuries. It is only recently that recurring droughts due to climate change and shrinking natural resources have restricted their movement, resulting in up to 90 percent of livestock loss in the severest droughts. We can see that it is external factors, such as climate change and declining resources, that are causing pastoralists to lose livestock in times of drought; otherwise their coping mechanism is well known.

The biggest challenge facing pastoralism in Africa is the phenomenon of modernization. As we have seen above, the colonial construct on pastoralism, inherited by the post-independence state and internalized by the political and intellectual elite, persists to this day in the name of modernity and development. According to this construct, the pastoral way of life is primitive,

barbaric and must be put to an end. But then, what should re-place it? Governments merely say pastoralists should be settled and become farmers, an idea the EPRDF regime in Ethiopia pur-sues religiously among the country's some 10 million pastoralists. But is there any concrete study to show how these millions should transform into a totally different livelihood sys-tem that requires its own institutions completely alien to them? There is none.

Even if we agree that pastoralists have to settle for the sake of development, there are crucial questions that need to be ad-dressed. First, a clear development strategy has to be mapped out as to how this transformation from a pastoral to a peasant system should take place and how it benefits the pastoral com-munity. Secondly, if pastoralists have to farm like peasants, how should land distribution be worked out since they own land com-munally? Thirdly, pastoral land has to be examined in relation to whether or not it is suitable to traditional/peasant farming. Fourthly, because of the sudden nature of transformation, is there any contingency plan to insure it takes place smoothly? The EPRDF government appears not to have made any such prepa-ration or considered any of these crucial issues. It simply wants pastoralists to become peasants out of the blue.

But why is there an insistence for pastoralists to become farm-ers when Ethiopian peasants are extremely vulnerable, particu-larly in times of drought, which is becoming more frequent with climate change and increasingly followed by famine? Under the current land tenure system, peasants feel little responsibility to take care of the land as required because the government has ownership of rural land. Today, in addition, they till tiny plots of an average 0.6 acre whose yield is so low that they are unable to exchange goods beyond what they need to survive for the rest of the year. It is on such conditions of farm production that the much publicized government strategy of rural "development" hinges. And it is this same vulnerable system of production that the regime wants pastoralists to convert to.

From the point of view of self-determined development, the

pastoral livestock production system and way of life is much more sustainable than that of the peasantry in present conditions in Ethiopia. For such a poor country whose government cannot provide the entire infrastructure required for the transformation of pastoralists to peasants, the best alternative is to support pastoralism and assist its communities to hurdle the challenges induced by external factors. Pastoral self-determined development can be a source of capital/wealth accumulation that can boost rural development and industrialization. The first step forward is livelihood diversification through livestock trade. What pastoralists need is the setting up of market mechanisms, which can be provided by local authorities or NGOs.

Pastoral livestock production is essential for sustaining the livelihood of pastoral communities, and in fighting poverty and destitution. In a country with the highest level of food insecurity such as Ethiopia, livestock production can contribute greatly to economic growth and social development, and if it spreads in the region, to regional development as well. But to achieve this, pastoralism as a viable way of life should be recognized officially. African governments seem to have problems with pastoral mobility, but this is essential for pastoral livestock production. In addition, "it is a pre-requisite for promoting trade both within and between countries and to access international markets. It is essential for the maintenance of high livestock productivity and for coping with climate change. It needs to be secured both locally and cross-border, and between pastoral and non-pastoral areas. Failure to do so is a major contributor of insecurity and conflict, particularly in East Africa and the Horn" (Pastoralism Fact Sheet 1, CELEP-Cordaid, 2009).

Mobility has another exceptional contribution. It has been scientifically proven that mobile livestock is much healthier than ranch cattle, producing better quality meat and milk. As the same Pastoralism Fact Sheet notes, pastoral "…livestock are able to feed on a diet that is substantially richer than the average nutritional value of the range they live on. They can thus attain a much better level of nutrition than livestock feeding off natural pastures that remain in one place. And this means their livestock

are more productive—producing more milk and meat than sedentary animals reared in the same environmental conditions."

Inspite of these advantages of pastoral livestock production, the Ethiopian government appears bent on wiping out pastoralism. It has adopted a rural development strategy called Agricultural Development-led Industrialization (ADLI). Under this strategy, agriculture refers solely to peasant agriculture, and the small landholding peasant is expected to produce surplus, accumulate wealth and diversify livelihood, thereby generating industrialization. The problem with this strategy, however, is that it banks on the peasant whose life has become more precarious by the season due to less and less yield because of the constricting area for cultivation and recurrent drought. It depends solely on something that the country obviously does not have: surplus grain. Yet Ethiopia has until recently been the top cattle producer in Africa, and comes second to Sudan today. Ethiopia is known to have livestock but not grain, but why the government ignores this and relies instead on a product it does not have remains a riddle.

Pastoral Accumulation

What makes a discussion of pastoralism, pastoral development and strategies difficult is that it constitutes a "new" terrain in development discourse, and more so for pastoral accumulation as it is unheard of. That by itself generates resistance as mainstream development discourse has always been disinformed by the dominant discourse on development. Further, pastoral development is not in the books or part of classical economic theories. Neither Adam Smith nor contemporary champions of neoliberal economics have written about it with the exception of Marx who wrote on the Asiatic mode of production with reference to Mongolian pastoralism. The dominant discourse or theories simply do not recognize it or see it as something worthy of consideration. Pastoralism appears condemned to extinc-

tion. Who would care whether it survived or how viable it could become? Who would then consider the notion of accumulation out of pastoralism or that a doomed system could ever be a basis for capital accumulation? It is such notions that challenge any discussion on pastoralism and pastoral accumulation.

It is the contention of this paper that pastoral accumulation is possible and likely to be more feasible and contributory to the national economy than other traditional economies if equal attention is paid to its development and rendered the necessary assistance. Needless to say pastoralism, threatened more than ever, requires government support especially in terms of policy development and implementation of concrete measures that encourage pastoral accumulation.

Livelihood Diversification

The process of accumulation in traditional formations such as pastoralism and peasant system begins with livelihood diversification. A catchword these days, livelihood diversification cannot be attained without a comprehensive approach and necessary support mechanisms put in place. The most crucial element in enabling it is assuring ownership of the most important component in the means of production; i.e., livestock in the case of pastoralists, and land in the case of peasants. Ethiopian pastoralists are placed in a much better position than their peasant counterparts as livestock is still in their hands (not nationalized) and the land is not privatized although traditional communal ownership has not yet been restored.

Secondly, after more than a century of systematic marginalization by central governments that was actively supported by modernization projects of the World Bank and African Development Bank, pastoral life has been severely threatened without an alternative being provided. Pastoralists were pressured to change their way of life, but so-called modern political governance and social institutions and enterprises, such as commercial farms and wildlife parks, were all alien to

pastoralists. Neither did they benefit from these institutions in terms of employment and social services. This alienation has created a situation where pastoralism, though threatened by modernity, was maintained.

It is important to stress that pastoralists are not resisting change, only that which is imposed on them. Like all societies, pastoral society is dynamic and passes through change. The challenge is to recognize the tempo of organic change and adopt a policy acceptable to the community on one hand and realistic enough to generate economic surplus on the other. What is crucial in generating livelihood diversification is precisely the recognition of this fact: a policy that is accepted by the community.

In the process of livelihood diversification, individual members of a given pastoral community will only resort to move towards another form of life and/or production system when they have some form of confidence and trust—much like in a social contract—in the existing macro-economic policy. In other words, the individual pastoralist who has a large herd of cattle must say to himself: "Yes, now I can move to a different trade." This trust is absolutely essential to the process of livelihood diversification.

It is indeed clear that the process of pastoral accumulation that starts from diversifying livelihoods first of all requires a conducive policy environment. Good governance is at the core of the process, and as one of Ethiopia's chief maladies is the disparity between policy rhetoric and implementation, this requires putting appropriate institutions in place. Good governance cannot be achieved merely with pious wish on the part of policy makers. Undoubtedly a fundamental weakness of the government, good governance is a huge undertaking that calls for rapprochement and mutual recognition and dependence between the government and pastoralists. Such an arrangement is the key to solving other chronic problems, such as conflict, that impact on the process of accumulation and social development.

Institutions of good governance are important in livelihood diversification, which generates economic and social develop-

ment to end poverty and prevent famine. Under the current federal form of state and given the low level of human capacity in pastoral regions, it is essential to have professionals from other regions run such institutions, or to change ethnic criteria to fill up required positions. In fact, as pastoral regions have been forgotten for decades, they are the most marginalized, and therefore impoverished and prone to natural disasters. It is precisely for this reason that these regions must be staffed with the best professionals the country has, as there is much to be done.

Putting Market Mechanisms in Place

Developing scope of market

The market plays a pivotal role in the process of diversifying livelihood systems. Without mechanisms in place to develop the market, individuals with the potential to become entrepreneurs cannot move onward to realize it. This requires a number of undertakings on the part of the government, which is assumed to have good governance and appropriate institutions. Good governance can dispel the potential for conflict which could affect the flow of primary goods and commodities. Allowing the market to flourish is important, and thus the need to create the proper environment to support it. This should be supplemented by human capital or trained people to manage small scale businesses. The South Korean experience can be instructive; through cash incentives enterprising individuals were encouraged to start a business and show by way of example that one could succeed in this economic endeavor. The creation of such a mechanism coupled with a favorable market climate can attract pastoralists to move on to entrepreneurship.

Livestock market mechanism

The fundamental demand of pastoralists has always been a market for their animals. Unheeded, they have been compelled to sell their livestock in faraway markets, even resorting to cross-border trade with neighboring countries such as Kenya and Sudan. As this way of livestock trade has never been beneficial to them, they have persisted in their demand for a better market. The lack of markets and related trade mechanisms, such as facilities for dry meat processing (for local market) and modern meat processing (for export), have debilitating effects when calamities strike like long droughts that wipe out cattle, sometimes up to more than 90 percent. This constitutes a huge loss in cash and assets.

That an effective livestock marketing mechanism is crucial to pastoral communities is indisputable, for three main reasons: (1) for pastoral food security in normal times, (2) as leeway in times of drought, and (3) for pastoral accumulation.

1. Pastoralists enter trade with other communities by exchanging their animals for grain and other necessities. In view of the dynamic nature of pastoral life, they feel secure if they acquire cash that enables them to cope with the fast changing environment. Sending their children to school and having access to modern medical facilities are among the requirements to cope with changes, even if such education entails changes in the way of life of their children.
    Pastoralists have equal rights with farmers, who are accorded all the support the government can muster, to be assisted in gaining access to the market. To lead a normal life, they need a market mechanism like all others who are disposed to sell their surplus.
2. In periods of long droughts, pastoral cattle are at risk of being decimated. In the 1997 drought, the Borana pastoralist community lost close to 97 percent of its livestock. At that time their worry was not to save the animals, which by then was too late to do, but to save even a few for future breeding purposes. The big problem pastoralists face is how to dis-

pense with their cattle in the face of such disasters. To address this, several NGOs have initiated a project in which pastoralists process dry meat in exchange for cash. Setting up a market mechanism for pastoral livestock would also be helpful in times of calamities, as it would reduce the urge on the part of pastoralists to overstock and encourage them to try another trade.

3. Most importantly, an effective mechanism is needed for the process of livelihood diversification that leads towards wealth accumulation. A number of conditions may drive pastoralists towards diversification, namely, the threat to pastoral life resulting from external dynamics and the dynamics of change itself. If good governance is institutionalized and imbued with a pedagogic mission that we are going to describe later, pastoral confidence and trust will grow, which facilitates the move towards a different trade. The mentality of traditional communities is not easy to change or to do it from a distance. Pastoralists want to see that institutions of governance are there to help them, their children and the community. Where past governance has been unpopular and aloof, much is expected from the government in terms of policy and concrete practice to prove that it stands with and for the community.

Effective and efficient livestock marketing mechanisms play a crucial role in the pastoral accumulation process. Their establishment will encourage pastoralists to start diversifying their livelihood and through time start accumulating in a different trade. This paper contends that pastoral accumulation has a better chance of success than other subsistence economies due to some leverage that pastoralism has. These advantages are:

- As cited earlier, until very recently Ethiopia had the largest cattle per head in Africa. Cattle are the country's wealth and what it is known for. And it is a huge wealth that has to be appreciated and tapped. As an Amharic saying goes: "A bronze at hand is equivalent to gold." Livestock is Ethiopia's gold, and developing a strategy

of accumulation on the basis of availability of wealth is a natural course.

- Compared to the process of accumulation based on crop cultivation, pastoral accumulation requires less capital investment. All that pastoralists have to do is to bring their cattle to the market, and all the government has to do is set up a market mechanism.
- Compared to the peasant sector and given required assistance by the government in water harvesting, pastoral livestock production presents less risks.
- If properly strategized, there exists a vast natural resource to support pastoral accumulation. Many of the country's great rivers pass through pastoral land, and natural resources abound to complement and support livestock trade.
- Given the high demand for organic meat in industrial countries, Ethiopia can generate high foreign exchange earnings if it develops the cattle export trade.
- If the government encourages private business or itself invests in meat processing plants and other accessories, such as leather, this can accelerate the marketing and trade of pastoral cattle. This will in turn boost the financial capacity of the community and enable it to diversify their livelihood, provide education to their children and have access to modern medication.
- Having witnessed the precarious nature of peasant agriculture, there is an increasing interest by donors in pastoral development. This can enable the government, with a proper pastoral development strategy, to have access to funds.

Tasks of Government

Indeed, what we described above cannot be realized without the active and conscious role of the government. There are crucial areas where government can make interventions to as-

sure the success of pastoral efforts towards livelihood diversification and accumulation. Let us broadly enumerate these tasks which are strategic and historical:

Policy consultation. It is absolutely imperative for the government to set up policy forums where pastoral development strategies and policies can be discussed at the federal and regional levels. At the federal level, a national pastoral development policy forum can bring in all stakeholders of pastoral development including academics. At the regional level, the forums can look closely at the development process in the respective regions.

Conducive environment. As described above, an enabling policy environment is a crucial component for the pastoral accumulation process.

Livestock Trade Promotion. The government needs to conduct intensive, effective and professional trade promotions of livestock, leather and associated commodities, particularly in Western Europe and the Arab World. It has to target specific countries where it can have market access. Needless to say, this task could pose challenges as European Countries follow a policy of protecting their agricultural sector, thus lobbying through civic organizations in Europe is important.

In the Arab World and in the Gulf countries in particular, a livestock trade boycott was called against Ethiopia for fear of Rift Valley fever that beset neighboring Kenya. Under such circumstances it is crucial to launch trade promotion campaigns to assure that such cattle diseases do not exist in Ethiopia.

Livestock health. In the face of the existence of various forms of cattle diseases that can also affect humans, it is vital to have a large-scale and permanent campaign to assure livestock health. The government has to invest in training programmes to produce veterinarians and community animal health workers, liberalize its rules and allow veterinary privatization through a credit system, institutionalize a system of surveillance of diseases, and other similar measures.

Supporting programmes. Like it does to peasant communities through its agricultural extension programmes, the government also needs to support the pastoral livestock production system. It has to promote human health services, education system and mobile schools in particular, water development and similar activities.

Cooperation with NGOs. Nongovernment organizations have an immense role to play in pastoral development. The government has to recognize this and undertake active cooperation with them. NGOs have the expertise and experience in pastoral development that the government can tap and cooperate with.

Macro interventions. Ethiopia's pastoral regions constitute the most marginalized in every sense: education, health care, public administration, access to justice, and the like. This is where tremendous development work should be done particularly in view of the pastoral potential for accumulation. The government needs to place qualified personnel in its administrative and project structures: technocrats who understand pastoralism and have a positive attitude towards it and who appreciate its untapped potential. Education curricula need to be reviewed and adjusted to the pastoral indigenous knowledge system and in line with their way of life. Apart from putting market mechanisms in place, the government also needs to focus on other investment sectors that can galvanize the accumulation process and facilitate the condition for livelihood diversification. Such is the strategic approach that the government should adopt if it is serious in beating poverty in Ethiopia.

Conclusion

We have seen the huge potential that pastoral accumulation has if the proper focus and attention is given to its growth. We have also seen how precarious the peasant sector is and that banking on this sector for wealth accumulation or generating industrialization is sheer fantasy. At the center of this entire problem are the nature of governance and the dictatorial policies of the regime. The space for participation for the nascent civic sector has shrunk after the aborted 2005 elections in which the ruling party stole election results and claimed victory. That was followed by a massive clampdown against the opposition and all those who criticized the regime, notably the private press and advocacy NGOs. The regime came out with new laws to close these down, virtually quashing any critic.

The onslaught against the nascent civic sector includes the closure of and/or restriction on pastoral NGOs. The government focused specially on the national pastoral network, Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, and is increasingly making it defunct. It compelled the network to change its vision and objectives and pushes it more and more towards becoming an appendage. It hijacked the Pastoralist Day started and organized by PFE and turned it to an annual government circus. In short, the government appears to be stifling other views than its own, let alone permit any criticism or policy advocacy work. That has hampered the effort in pastoral development in Ethiopia and deprived the country of one huge potential for development.

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9

Poverty, Pastoralism and Policy in Ngorongoro*

by Naomi Kipuri
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Although Tanzania relies on pastoralists and agro-pastoralists for most of its meat and milk, recent years have seen pastoralist production systems operating under growing pressure and pastoralist communities becoming increasingly impoverished. A Participatory Poverty Assessment commissioned by Ereto in 2003 identified four key factors that reduce pastoralists' livelihood opportunities and make them vulnerable to poverty:

1. Livestock diseases
2. Drought
3. Fluctuating market prices
4. Unfavorable policies that further marginalize pastoralists by reducing their capacity to cope with stress and increasing their loss of land.

This paper is intended to provide pointers that will help address the fourth constraint to pastoralist production noted above.

Ereto-Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project (Ereto I) is a bilateral project initiated in 1998 by the governments of Tanzania and Denmark, in response to growing concern about the unprec-

edented and rising levels of poverty among pastoralists in Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA). The second phase of the project, Ereto II NPP, began in 2003 and will continue until July 2008. Ereto II expanded operations to cover the whole of Ngorongoro District and added a policy dialogue component.

The positive results achieved by Ereto I show that it is possible to promote sustainable livelihoods and help tackle poverty among pastoralists, by using participatory approaches to work with them on their own development issues and providing appropriate support for their livelihood strategies. This key lesson has far-reaching implications for policy dialogue in the present context of pastoralism and policy formulation in Tanzania.

Current policies are largely unfavourable to pastoralist livelihoods. They are frequently informed by myths and preconceptions reflecting colonial ideas about rangeland management and outmoded development models based on flawed modernization theories. Over the past decade new understanding of the dynamics of tropical rangeland management has shown that contrary to popular belief, indigenous pastoralist livestock systems are more productive on rangelands than the exotic ranching systems so often promoted by development agencies and governments. Ereto I was inspired by the models generated by this understanding, and can provide important lessons on how to support pastoralist livelihoods and reduce pastoralist poverty.

The aim of this publication is to present the key lessons learned from Ereto I so that they can be disseminated and fed into policy dialogue on sustainable pastoralist livelihoods. This is a condensed and edited version of the report "Best Practices and Lessons Learned from Phase I of Ereto" (2005) by Dr. Naomi Kipuri and Carol Sørensen, which drew on comprehensive fieldwork throughout Ngorongoro District involving consultations with local stakeholders, verification of the achievements and impacts of Ereto I and stakeholder consultation at regional and national levels. A recurrent theme throughout these consultations was the need to promote a supportive policy framework for sustainable pastoralist livelihoods, and to reduce pastoralist

poverty.

This paper begins with a brief overview of pastoralism in Tanzania, the policy environment in which pastoralist production systems operate, and approaches to improving pastoralist livelihoods. Sections two to six look at pastoralist livelihoods and production in Ngorongoro Conservation Area; provide a thumbnail sketch of the Ereto I project; review the impacts of the project; present the lessons learned from Ereto I and consider how these lessons can be linked to policy dialogue on support for sustainable pastoralist livelihoods. The paper closes with some thoughts on the broader implications of taking this process forward.

Overview of Pastoralism in Tanzania

A few facts and figures

- Sixty-one million hectares (610,000 km²) of Tanzania's land mass is classified as rangeland, meaning that it is managed according to some kind of pastoralist or agro-pastoralist regime.[1]
- There are approximately 17 million cattle in Tanzania (the third highest population in Africa south of the Sahara), 12.5 million goats and 3.6 million sheep.[2]
- Ninety-eight percent of the national herd, or approximately 16.7 million cattle, are in the hands of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists.[3]
- There are 1.5 million cattle, 2.5 million goats and 555,000 sheep slaughtered in Tanzania each year, producing an estimated 335,000 tons of meat for the domestic market.[4] Exports of live animals to neighbouring countries are largely unaccounted for.
- Three percent of the 3.7 million households in Tanzania

are pastoralist, and seven percent are agro-pastoralist.[5] This amounts to approximately **370,000** households, or **2.2** million people in total. It is not known what the consequences in human, economic or environmental terms would be if these people are forced to drop out of pastoralist production.

Policy Context

Pastoralism and agro-pastoralism are vital to the Tanzanian economy. In fact, the country relies on pastoralists and agro-pastoralists for most of its meat and milk. Extensive research conducted over several decades in arid and semi-arid rangelands has demonstrated that in terms of both protein production per hectare and environmental benefits, pastoral systems are more productive and viable than the ranching and group ranching or sedentary livestock production systems currently promoted by government and other development agents.[6] Therefore, providing appropriate support for pastoralist livelihoods and economies could generate considerable economic benefits at both the local and the national level.

Box 1. Pastoralist contributions to GDP

- The traditional sector contributed 70% of the milk produced in 2004;*
- Agriculture contributes 43.2% of national GDP;**
- On average, the livestock subsector accounts for 30% af agricultural GDP: 40% of this contribution comes from beef, 30% from milk, and the remaining 30% from small stock and poultry.***

* Draft National Livestock Policy, 2005.
** World Fact book, 2005.
*** Draft National Livestock Policy, 2005.

The principal development policy in Tanzania, the National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction **2005-2010** (NSGPR), recognizes pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood and states that one of its goals is "promoting efficient utilization of rangeland,

empowering pastoralists to improve livestock production through improved access to veterinary services, reliable water supply as well as recognizing pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood."[7]

Although other policies are supposed to harmonise with the NSGPR, a study commissioned in 2005 by Ereto II to identify and analyze the impacts of existing and emerging policies and laws with a bearing on pastoralism in Tanzania found that this was not the case.[8] Some do provide opportunities for pastoralists, but most show little understanding of pastoral production systems or recognition of pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood. This is probably due to two main factors: 1) lack of knowledge about pastoralism among policymakers, and 2) pastoralists lacking a clearly articulated voice and influence in the policy debate.

Even the proposed new Livestock Policy[9] fails to acknowledge the genetic potential of indigenous livestock breeds and landraces, or the wisdom of extensive grazing regimes in dryland areas. Furthermore, a practice left over from colonial times means that pastoralists are the only Tanzanians who are taxed on their capital, through the livestock head tax. The National Land Policy of 1994 and the Village Land Act of 1999 make legal provisions for securing land rights for extensive grazing systems. However, these are not widely known or exploited, and certain aspects of the Land Act have been described as "the last nail in the coffin of pastoralism" (see Box 2). Efforts to secure land and resource tenure for pastoralists are generally very limited, and crop growers and private investors continue to appropriate large swathes of pastoralist land, often with direct or indirect support from government and development agents.

Generally, there is considerable interference in pastoralism by policy-makers, development planners and governments "in their common anxiety to modernize livestock production and the pastoralists."[10] With their lands being encroached upon by both the State and private sector, pastoralists urgently need to make their voices heard and influence the policy process.

Thus, in addition to being vulnerable to drought and disease,

pastoralist livelihoods and production are increasingly marginalised by present policies and interventions. The following quotation from the third draft of the Strategic Plan for the Implementation of the Land Laws (SPILL 2005) shows how negative perceptions of pastoralists are enshrined in national policies:

> "The sector has been called upon to NOTE with great concern that:
>
> • Pastoral production has very low productivity levels (meaning it does not address poverty reduction policy);
> • Pastoralism degrades large masses of land (meaning it is not environmentally friendly);
> • Pastoralism invades established farms and ranches, forests and wildlife conservation areas, agricultural farms (meaning it violates security of tenure);
> • At the moment it is impossible to control livestock diseases, thus making it difficult to export meat, milk and livestock due to international demands on livestock health and products free of infectious agents (meaning has marginal support only to economic development). Pastoralists have to be given land and told to settle (meaning that nomadic tradition must stop)."[11]

The SPILL (2005) is not alone in endorsing misconceptions and presenting confusing messages. With many policies reflecting myths about pastoralists and pastoralist production, there is little meaningful support to reduce pastoralist poverty or provide a framework for pastoralist production. This creates a situation where the victims of failed policy (pastoralists) are blamed for its failure.

Box 2. Alienation of pastoral lands by state and private interests

- 2.5 million hectares (25,000km²) of village and public lands is currently being expropriated for allocation to investors through the Land Bank,*under the Tanzania Investment Act of 1999. Land for "investment" has already been identified in all pastoralist districts.**
- Under the Wildlife Conservation Act of 1974, 3.5m hectares (34,605 km²) of the land managed by pastoralists is gazetted as Game Controlled Areas, where the Minister for Natural Resources and Tourism may make decisions on land use without recourse to the village, district or Parliament.
- Establishing national parks or game reserves on traditional pastoral lands excludes pastoralists from grazing lands, while expanding cultivation and wildlife reserves or parks reduces rangeland resources and increases pressure on the remaining rangelands.
- Increased incidence of livestock diseases, especially in villages bordering national parks, has led to cattle losses, destitution among pastoralists and long-distance migration to other parts of the country.
- Cultivation of wetlands (on a small scale by local farmers, and by large-scale irrigation projects) leads to a loss of dry season grazing.
- Preventing trans-boundary migrations disrupts seasonal grazing patterns.
- Mining may deprive pastoralists of access to pastures.
- In some cases, public ownership can undermine sustainable natural resource management: for example, when public wells replace privately owned wells, which are sometimes the only instrument for controlling access to pastures and preventing overgrazing.
- Market distortions caused by expansion of the crop sector and large investments in crop production (e.g., donor-driven projects) are fuelling encroachments into "marginal" drylands (i.e., rangelands).
- Decentralization does not address the needs of mobile populations.

* Mattee, A.Z. and Shem, M. (2005).
** Source: interview with senior land surveyor in the Ministry of Lands.

Based on Mattee, A.Z. and Shem, M. (2005).

The poor policies and practices that adversely affect pastoralist livelihoods will also have a negative impact on the growth of the livestock sector and efforts to reduce poverty in Tanzania. At present there is no real knowledge base for developing sound policies, due to the lack of recent documented information about pastoralist livelihoods and appropriate basic data. There is little research in Tanzania measuring the productivity of pastoralist and agropastoralist production systems, and the role and details of present pastoralist production are not well documented in the literature or in national production assessments. The Participatory Poverty Assessment undertaken in 2002 as part of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Process (PRSP) is an exception to this, although its findings have not been made available.[12] The Participatory Poverty Assessment commissioned by Ereto in 2003 shows that pastoralists are finding it increasingly difficult to respond to stresses such as drought and disease in the present policy context, and clearly signals the need for policies that provide an appropriate framework for pastoralist livelihoods along the lines set out in the NSGPR.[13] This is why it is important to look closely at the experience of Ereto I when formulating policies or interventions to reduce pastoralist poverty and improve pastoralist livelihoods.

New Approaches to Improving Pastoralist Livelihoods

Approaches to development aid changed greatly in the 1990s, when the benefits of involving communities in their own development were promoted,[14] often through participatory methodologies.[15] As early as 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) recommended that in order to achieve sustainable development, especially in complex ecosystems, the customary institutions that regulate land use should be recognised and measures taken to protect them.[16]

Following on from these changes, the past decade saw a

major shift in thinking about range ecology and management, particularly in areas dominated by episodic droughts.[17] A new paradigm of pastoralist production systems developed out of this, based on better understanding of the often complex ecosystems in which pastoralists live and from which they derive their livelihoods.[18] The table below compares old and new attitudes to pastoralist development.

This shift in approach means that past failures in pastoralist development projects can be explained in a way that does not lay the blame on project beneficiaries, and opens the way for new approaches that can produce more positive outcomes.[19]

Ereto I is one of the few programmes to put these concepts into practice, and is an instructive example of an intervention designed according to these new paradigms. The lessons learned from project interventions that are based on local knowledge and practices, take a highly participatory approach and allow interventions to be managed flexibly should be taken forward in project design and policy development.

Table 1. Comparison between old and new thinking about pastoralist development

Area	"Old" thinking	"New" thinking
Objectives	Focus on commodity production: livestock development, introduction of exotic species	Focus on livelihoods: support for pastoral development and self-management or empowerment
Range management	Range modification (legumes, hay, rotation). Restricted livestock movement (fencing, paddocks, legislation)	Focus on improving and rehabilitating key resources Focus on herd mobility and flexibility
Planning	Blueprint development planning	Flexible adaptive planning with local involvement and recognition of uncertainty

Area	"Old" thinking	"New" thinking
Water Develop-ment	Technical feasibility planning Tenure, water management and conflict ignored	Local involvement in planning Focus on links to pastures and mobility, and on securing tenure, including management
Tenure	Fixed tenure regimes promoted: privatization, communal regimes Conflict issues ignored	Flexible tenure: complex mix of overlapping and integrated regimes Focus on negotiation, mediation and arbitration to resolve conflicts
Institu-tions and adminis-tration (projects, veterinary services, etc.)	Service delivery package through centralized extension services Extension workers for technical delivery	Pastoral organization for local management issues Extension workers as institutional organizers

Adapted from Scoones, 1994, page 34.

Pastoralist Livelihoods and Production in NCA

This section briefly describes the historical context of Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) and pastoralist livelihoods and production in NCA, to present the project context and background to the lessons it provides with implications for policy dialogue.

Ngorongoro Conservation Area

Historical Context

Ngorongoro Conservation Area is located in Ngorongoro District, an area some 14,000km². It has a population of approximately 120,000 people, whose main livelihood activity is pastoralist livestock production. The district is dominated by tourism and conservation interests, containing Loliondo and Sale Game Controlled Areas (GCAs), NCA and the Lake Natron Ramsar site, and bordered by Serengeti National Park to the northeast, Maswa GCA to the southeast and Monduli GCA to the west.

NCA covers 8,300 km² of Ngorongoro District, and is currently home to approximately 50,000 people, 97 percent of whom are pastoralists. There are six wards and 14 villages in NCA, which are represented on Ngorongoro District Council. NCA was envisaged as a multiple land use area where different land use interests were to be integrated, and was classified as a World Cultural and Natural Heritage site by the UNESCO in 1979 in recognition of this. Today it is a prime destination for tourists in Tanzania, earning an estimated US$11M on gate entry fees alone in 2005.

NCA was created by the Ngorongoro Conservation Ordinance of 1959, when Maasai pastoralists were persuaded to leave the Serengeti and permanent springs of Moru and Sironet by the promise of rights to land in Ngorongoro and new water supplies to compensate for what they had left behind. Between 1959 and

1965 three boreholes were constructed as part of the Serengeti Compensation Scheme. These became defunct in the early 1960s, and by 1994 the three dams constructed under the scheme had collapsed, become unusable or silted up. Over time access to the Ngorongoro, Olmoti and Empaki craters, Olduvai Gorge and the Highland Forest was restricted and managed burning of pastures and cultivation banned, increasing the constraints to pastoralist production. Provision of services such as education, health and veterinary care was also very poor (See Box 3).[20]

Administration

There are currently four main institutions of authority in NCA:

i.   The District Administration, with a local government structure of villages and wards operating from the District capital Loliondo;

Box 3. Summary of the key provisions of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area ordinance, Cap. 413 (revised)

NCAA

The Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority is a body corporate with a Board of directors composed of a Chairman appointed by the President; the Conservator as the Secretary; and 6-11 members appointed by the Minister. The law does not provide for any representation of the local community on the Board, or for prior consultation with the local authority.

A Conservator, appointed by the President, is the principal executive officer, responsible to the Board.

Control of entry, residence and settlement

The Authority may, with the consent of the Minister, make rules prohibiting, restricting and controlling entry into and residence within the Conservation Area. The Minister can specify who is exempt from these rules, thus replacing the previous formula limiting Maasai people's right of entry and residence.

The Conservator is empowered to issue permits allowing people to enter and/or reside within the Area, subject to whatever terms he sees fit, and can require anyone in the Area subject to these rules to produce their permits.

> With the Minister's consent, the NCAA can make rules requiring resident pastoralists and others to apply for a certificate of residence.
>
> **Control of cultivation and grazing, protection of natural resources**
> In the interests of soil conservation, the NCAA can prohibit, restrict, limit or control the use of land for any purpose whatsoever: grazing, watering and moving stock; firing, clearing or destroying vegetation; using wells, boreholes, waterholes; gathering honey or forefarming st products; and cultivating land.

ii.   The Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA), which is an autonomous parastatal organization;

iii. The Pastoralist Council (PC), which advises the NCAA on funding for community developments;

iv.   Informal Maasai customary structures with age-set and clan leaders.

The overlap of authority and interests between these institutions creates a complex situation and can lead to conflict between the different bodies.

NCA was initially managed by the colonial District Officer, assisted by an advisory board established in 1961. Following the independence of Tanzania, the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA) was established in 1975 as an autonomous parastatal organisation, with its own Board of Directors appointed by the Minister for Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) and a chairman appointed by the President.

Day-to-day management of NCA is in the hands of the Conservator, who wields immense powers as chief executive of the NCAA.[21] The NCAA has been financially self-supporting since 1989, through income from tourism.Some of this (5%) is paid in taxes to the central government and the District, and the remainder is administered by the NCAA, which is monitored by the MNRT through the Wildlife Department.

As a governmental authority, the NCAA has legislative powers enabling it to issue general and special rules and orders regarding the management and affairs of NCA and the conduct of its residents. This has implications for any interventions and projects in NCA.

Although the NCAA has succeeded in promoting tourism, the dwindling rhino population, illegal exploitation of the northern highland forest, increase in invasive unpalatable plant species in the area and spiralling poverty among local people have raised questions about its capacity to conserve wildlife and its ability to fulfil its obligations to residents under the terms of the Ordinance. An Ad Hoc Ministerial Commission on Ngorongoro appointed in 1998 recommended that the NCAA establish a community development department to improve the status of resident Maasai in NCA, along with a community council modelled on the existing workers council. Furthermore, the Commission noted that poverty in NCA has increased due to the lack of community representation in NCA management.[22]

A Pastoralist Council (PC) was established in 1994 as a forum for discussion between the NCAA and residents, and as an advisory body to the NCAA and Board of Directors. Since then it has gone through various changes, including incorporation into the NCAA Ordinance in 2000. During Ereto I, the PC was composed of village chairmen, ward councillors, ward youth chairmen and ward women's representatives, as well as the Conservator and six selected customary leaders. Its work mainly focused on education and training, providing scholarships for secondary and tertiary education for young students from NCA.

Pastoralist Livestock Production Systems in NCA

The 2002 national census recorded a total of 56,856 people in NCA, mostly pastoralists keeping East African Zebu cattle, different kinds of goats, sheep (including Maasai red sheep) and donkeys, which are used to transport goods and belongings. Livestock are crucial to the pastoralist livelihood economy, which also includes homestead farming, remittances from waged labor and trade in livestock and commodities.

Rainfall in NCA is highly erratic within and between seasons, with occasional severe localized droughts lasting between one and three years. Vegetation production is determined by

altitude and rainfall. Pastoralists and certain wildlife species seek out areas where resources are plentiful and avoid those affected by disease or drought.

There are two main interlinked systems of herding practiced in NCA: homebased grazing and extensive grazing (see Tables 2 and 3):

1. Home-based grazing is practiced throughout the year. It may involve the whole herd or just a few milking animals kept close to home to cover certain household needs.

2. Extensive grazing takes place in both the dry and rainy seasons, and may involve large numbers of livestock belonging to many owners travelling long distances in search of resources.

Management considerations in both systems centre around available pastures, reliable water sources, disease avoidance and herd composition.

Table 2. Summary of home-based grazing regimes

Home-based grazing	Management considerations
Families in NCA generally stay at home throughout the year, keeping milk cows and some small stock near a water source. These animals are reared for food, for sale or to cover contingencies on the homestead. The rest of the livestock are herded in extensive grazing systems that respond to a complex variety of conditions. *Livestock return home every night, herded by boys or young warriors.*	**Dry and wet season grazing reserves:** Grazing reserves are set aside for use in the wet and dry seasons. The community decides when they can be used, according to prevailing conditions. Disease avoidance: Herders avoid areas infested with liver fluke, ticks or tsetse fly, and areas grazed by wildebeest, which spread Malignant Catarrhal Fever (MCF).

Home-based grazing	Management considerations
Home-based regimes are determined by residents in pastoralist areas. *Rules are established at specified intervals, depending on the purpose of the grazing. Non-compliance is sanctioned through fines.*	**Calf grazing reserves:** Areas with suitable grazing close to the homestead are set aside for calves. **Milk cow grazing reserves:** Areas with suitable grazing and water sources are set aside for milk cows. **Movement:** Routes are agreed to enable livestock to access water sources and pasture. **Controlled access to grazing:** rules are established to control grazing by the main herd, which may only move to fresh pastures when new boundaries to the grazing area have been agreed upon.

Source: Interviews with pastoralists throughout NCA.

Transhumance in NCA varies from quite localised but still extensive livestock grazing regimes to far-ranging grazing patterns. This may involve whole families, apart from school children, who are lodged with relatives.

Production management strategies implemented in conjunction with these grazing strategies include:

- Seasonal burning of pasture to control ticks and weeds and restore soil fertility;
- Immunising livestock and using veterinary drugs to control disease;
- Controlled breeding to optimise desired characteristics and synchronise births.

The overriding production management objective is to increase off-take from cattle, sheep and goats, producing more milk and butter for consumption and sale, and meat, skins and livestock for sale. Herds are taken to be sold in Kenya or Arusha, where they are bought by traders and sold on again—often ending up in the Middle East. Trecking routes through NCA are fiercely protected to prevent other livestock from accessing these lucrative markets, and are one of the main causes of strife with neighboring agro-pastoral groups. Taking other people's livestock to market is a good way for young men to earn money, as it is better paid than manual labor in NCA, and herders get a percentage of the selling price, which can be used to buy goods such as drugs to sell on the return journey. Income from selling stock is used to pay school fees, hospital bills, marriage costs, improve breeding stock and housing, buy veterinary drugs or backpack sprayers, purchase food, pay wages or start some other form of business.

There is some up-to-date data on the total number of cattle and small livestock in NCA, but little or no recent data on the dynamics of the pastoralist livestock economy or the internal dynamics of pastoralist herds in NCA (or elsewhere in Tanzania). This makes it hard to asses the impact of management strategies and interventions, as total numbers reveal less about management than an analysis of herd dynamics.[23]

Social capital is another important factor in successful pastoralist production. This is built on strategic alliances, marriages and other ceremonies cementing friendships; or by giving and loaning cattle and other livestock. These alliances provide a form of insurance against the risk of losing livestock, help secure rights to grazing and water resources, and facilitate access to specialized labor.

Pastoralist Land Tenure and Management

Settlement and land management in NCA is shaped by livelihood enterprises involving whole families. Each age group and gender has well-defined roles in managing livestock and raising social capital, and if one family lacks the labor required to manage their livestock, they team up with other families to run a joint enterprise.

An essential characteristic of pastoral land tenure in Africa is that land belongs to a group or "family" that is linked by descent or cultural affiliation. It is not "owned" in the sense that users enjoy unlimited rights to exploit or dispose of it at will, but held in trust by the living for future generations. To ensure that they inherit the land currently enjoyed by the living, levels of use are limited by the right of usufruct—the right to enjoy the products of the land only insofar as it does not cause damage or reduce its future productive capacity. Thus, "pastoralists are custodians of the land."[25]

Customary rights to grazing in NCA lie with households within clans. Customary leaders are in charge of regulating access to a given resource, enforcing arrangements through a system of fines and other social sanctions. In times of stress, as water and pasture resources become increasingly scarce, access becomes more restricted and herds are eventually moved elsewhere as a temporary measure to avoid damaging resources.

Table 3. Summary of extensive grazing regimes

Extensive grazing regimes	Management considerations
Livestock are guarded by warriors. They track water and pasture resources, usually far from the home base, in well-known seasonal grazing regimes commonly used by pastoralists from the area. *Extensive seasonal grazing regimes in NCA are complex, responding to a range of factors: rainfall, pasture conditions, reliable water supplies, security, use rights and disease avoidance strategies.*	**Rainfall and pastures:** pasture quality and quantity in NCA is determined by rainfall. Records show that rainfall there is unpredictable and extremely localized, both within and between years. Mobility to track pasture and water is an essential feature of extensive grazing strategies. **Reliable and abundant water sources:** This is a pre-requisite for livestock keeping everywhere. In NCA, cattle can only graze the nutritious short grass plains in the dry season, once wildebeest are three months old and have left the area. The only naturally occurring dry season water sources in the short grass plains are springs. The mountains and forests of the Northern highlands have abundant water sources, but less nutritious grazing and more ticks. Pastoralists use rotational grazing patterns to capitalize on plentiful resources and reduce risk. **Established use rights to water and pasture resources:** There are well-established customary rights to grazing and water resources in NCA, which are accessed via family and other relationships with rights holders. Granting access builds social capital, which is an integral part of the pastoralist economy.

Extensive grazing regimes	Management considerations
	Disease and tick avoidance strategies: There are various strategies for avoiding flukes, worms, ticks, etc., but the need to avoid MCF (a deadly disease cattle pick up from wildebeest) has the most significant bearing on extensive grazing patterns in NCA. Wildebeest go to the short grass plains to calve at the beginning of the rainy season, and because cattle have to avoid these areas for three months after the wildebeest have calved, they cannot access these pastures when they are most productive.
	Herd composition: Deciding where and how the herd will be handled depends on the management objective. Grazing strategies vary, depending on whether steers are to be fattened, heifers and small stock to be matured or mated, or calves to be grown. To make the best use of resources, herds are often split and tended with other livestock with the same management needs.

Source: Interviews with pastoralists trhoughout NCA.

Contributions from Pastoralist Livestock Production

Studies in NCA estimate that on average 10 to 15 percent of cattle from any herd are sold per year, depending on herd size. These figures do not take account of the contributions to livelihoods and the economy from milk, butter, blood, meat, fat, manure, skins and other livestock products, or transport and environmental benefits. Off-take figures for sheep and goats are more difficult to estimate, but herd composition shows that these herds are also commercial. Livestock are taken to markets outside NCA, usually in Arusha or Kenya, where they are sold and traded on to various meat markets in the region or in the Middle East.

In addition to the commercial aspects of livestock production, pastoralist livestock management strategies help maintain the landscape, wildlife and biodiversity of NCA, which was made a designated UNESCO Cultural Heritage Site in recognition of pastoralist management of the area. There is a strong argument for acknowledging the significant contribution that pastoralism makes to the lucrative tourist industry in NCA, which in gate fees alone generated around US$11M in 2005 (see Box 4).

Box 4. Complementarity of pastoralism and wildlife-based tourism

Tourism contributes 12% of GDP.* Pastoralist land management is considered to be compatible with tourism and wildlife conservation goals,** and pastoralist land management encourages tourism.*** Income from tourism in pastoralist areas is thus largely dependent on pastoralist land management.

* NSGPR 2005
** General Management Plan 1998
*** Source: NCA brochures

Constraints to Pastoralist Production

Under the NCA Ordinance, the NCAA is mandated to control all land use, commercial activity, entry and residence within NCA. Despite recognising pastoralism as a sustainable land use system,[25] the NCAA has restricted pastoralist grazing and land management practices with the stated intention of preserving tourism and conservation interests in NCA. Thus, pastoralists are excluded from prime grazing sites in various parts of NCA, and must get permits to take livestock to the Ngorongoro crater to access mineral salts. They are not allowed to burn pastures and, under an amendment to the Ordinance made in 1974, may not cultivate land in NCA (although the President has given temporary dispensation for each family to cultivate a one-acre home garden). It is debatable whether village by-laws or other village-based regulations on pasture and water use are binding within

the legal set-up of NCA, and whether customary arrangements are recognized.

The NCAA also controls the movement of people and livestock into and within NCA, thereby restricting or controlling trade, the provision of veterinary drugs and services, and transhumant grazing patterns.

Livestock diseases are a significant constraint to livestock production, and treating or avoiding these diseases is a recurring cost for livestock keepers. East Coast Fever (ECF) has the biggest economic impact, killing an estimated 70 to 90 percent of non-immunized calves in NCA each year, depending on the level of tick infestation. This makes it hard to maintain a milking herd, let alone a commercial herd, and selective breeding is difficult with such high rates of calf mortality.

Other constraints to sustainable livestock production are poverty, lack of adequate water to support grazing, loss of livestock and access to grazing land due to cattle raids, lack of sustainable water for domestic use and the influence of MCF on grazing patterns.

Ereto I Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project

Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project (Phase I) is a bilateral project initiated by the governments of Tanzania and Denmark on 1st July 1998 to reduce poverty among pastoralists in Ngorongoro Conservation Area.

Its aim was to address the acute poverty in NCA identified by an Ad Hoc Ministerial Commission in 1990,[26] and by further studies in 1994 and 1998, which showed that 35 percent of adults and 55 percent of children in NCA were undernourished or malnourished.[27] This project combined efforts by the Government of Tanzania, pastoralist communities and Danida to tackle the dreadful situation caused by poverty in NCA. It was launched in

a context of unfulfilled promises, mistrust among local communities and an apparent lack of understanding and commitment to the principle of multiple land use on the part of the NCAA. At a meeting of Maasai leaders (*Ilaigwanak*) on 10th August 1998, the project was given the name "Ereto," which means mutual assistance in the local language, (Ki)Maa.

Community participation was an integral part of the project methodology, with local involvement formalized through quarterly information sharing workshops (ISWs) to plan and monitor project activities. These centered around the four components of the project:

1. Restocking destitute families
2. Water and pasture development
3. Support for private veterinary services
4. Empowering local institutions and communities.

The aim of the project approach was to empower local institutions and communities by involving them in decision making and the implementation and monitoring of activities such as restocking, water development and veterinary services.

Baseline Information

Baseline information gathered in preparation for the first phase of Ereto I included a water and socio-economic study on Ngorongoro Conservation Area, geographic information systems (GIS) coverage, and feasibility studies and research on grazing regimes and livestock diseases. The project also commissioned further studies on the feasibility of water developments, private veterinary services, gender, HIV/AIDS in Maasai communities and the institutional situation in NCA.

Poverty

Ereto I was designed and developed on the basis of data generated by the 1994 census of livestock and human popula-

tions in NCA, summarized in Table 4. The census records a human population of 42,508 people (4,842 families in 9,195 households averaging 4.6 persons per household), and a livestock population of 115,468 cattle and 193,294 sheep and goats.

Table 4. Wealth Classification in NCA, 1994

% of households in NCA	Classification	LU per household*
21.00%	Destitute	Fewer than 2.1
16.00%	Very Poor	2 – 5
21.00%	Poor	5 – 10
20.00%	Middling	10 – 20
22.00%	Wealthy	Over 20

Source: Ereto I project document
* Potkanski (1997) defined one Livestock Unit in Ngorongoro as equivalent to one head of cattle or seven small stock.

Livestock Production

The water and socio-economic study on Ngorongoro Conservation Area showed that the NCAA has forbidden grazing and settlement on several prime grazing grounds: the Ngorongoro, Empakai and Olmoti craters, the Northern Highland Forest Reserve, the Lemakorot and Orsirwa mountain slopes and the Laitoli and Olduvai archaeological sites. Several other key grazing areas are inaccessible due to lack of reliable water supplies in the dry season or the presence of wildebeest (which are carriers of MCF when calving) in the wet season.

After 36 years of conservation management, a four- to five-fold increase in wildlife biomass and 23 percent decrease in livestock biomass[28] has compressed herds into smaller grazing areas and compromised customary rotational grazing patterns (which in combination with a ban on burning may account for the increase in unpalatable species in the highlands and the rise in livestock disease throughout the area). All these factors combine to reduce livestock production and increase poverty.

Livestock Disease

Studies on livestock disease undertaken prior to Ereto I showed that NCA is affected by most of the livestock diseases prevalent in East Africa.[29] Distribution varies according to habitat preference and the significant variations in altitude and climate within NCA. Pastoralists have well known disease avoidance strategies in their grazing regimes, but find it difficult to put them into practice because of NCAA restrictions on pasture management and reduced access to grazing areas. In the past, they used extensive grazing regimes and minimized the risk from ticks by moving their livestock to the short grass plains in the rainy season while highland pastures were burned. Nowadays, prolonged grazing in the highlands (due to the increased wildebeest population on the short grass plains) and the restrictions on burning pastures have created serious problems with disease in the area, increasing the need to employ new or additional strategies to control disease.

The most economically significant disease is East Coast Fever (ECF). Depending on the level of tick infestation, this kills off 70 to 90 percent of annual calf production, making pastoralist livelihoods precarious and vulnerable to even small shocks. Ormilo (Bovine Cerebral Theileriosis) may account for up to 30 percent of adult cattle mortalities.

Veterinary services used to be provided exclusively by the NCAA through the community development department. In addition to being expensive, service was generally very poor: in 1997, only four of the 23 veterinary staff employed by the NCAA were trained, dips were not operational and spray acaricides were unavailable. The NCAA-run veterinary stores had few drugs, and livestock keepers complained about the lack of available, effective and affordable drugs. In order to bring veterinary services closer to communities, NORAD (Norwegian Development Assistance) provided funding for the NCAA to build four livestock development centres (LDCs), which were later handed over to Ereto I for private veterinary services. Ereto commissioned the Veterinary Investigation Centre (VIC) in Arusha to conduct continuous surveillance and mapping of livestock diseases in NCA.

Project logic and activities

The 1998 NCA General Management Plan (GMP) states that pastoralism should be promoted as a sustainable land-use activity. In aiming to reduce pastoralist poverty and improve livelihoods by addressing the constraints to pastoralist production and participation in local development, Ereto I supported this policy and the principles of multiple land use set out in the NCA Ordinance.

Project activities also tied in with the Government's policy of a) involving the private sector in the provision of services such as veterinary care and water development, and b) strengthening the capacity of NGOs to increase community participation in initiatives affecting local livelihoods.

Over the years practitioners working with participatory methodologies have developed a range of Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) tools, many of which were employed during Ereto I. These included mapping, network mapping, well-being ranking, pair-wise ranking, pie charts, historical pies, calendars, time use, problem and solution trees, stepping stones and Venn diagrams. These tools were specifically selected and modified in order to learn about and describe the dynamics of pastoralist land, water and livestock management, and to enable local people to describe their situation—a novel experience for pastoralists, as most have no formal schooling and few speak Kiswahili, the national language of Tanzania.

Key activities under the four components of the project are briefly described below.

Component 1: Restocking destitute families
This aspect of the social programme was one of the most important components of Ereto I. It was designed in direct response to the poverty in NCA, with the immediate objective of:

Poverty reduction and improved living conditions for the Maasai in NCA through strengthened pastoralist organizations and traditional clan-based mutual support systems.

> **Box 5.** Ewoloto
>
> In this traditional form of mutual assistance, clans give poor members up to 9 young female animals (heifers and sheep or goats) to allow them to build up a herd that can sustain the household. In Ereto I, the community had to donate livestock in order to initiate project assistance. The project then matched the number of livestock given by the community and provided additional support in the form of maize for human consumption (45 kg per month for 3 years) and veterinary services for the donated livestock.

The strategy for achieving this was to build on an indigenous mutual assistance mechanism known as *ewoloto*, in which young female livestock are transferred to poorer households in the family to help alleviate poverty. *Ewoloto* is an important clan-based social institution that provides a safety net to prevent clan members from falling below the poverty line. Ereto I helped revive this practice, which had been waning in the project area due to the high levels of poverty.

By the end of the project cycle in July 2003, some 3,400 poor and destitute pastoralist households (37% of households in NCA) had been restocked with a total of around 30,600 livestock units through *ewoloto*, in order to reintegrate them into society and provide them with seed stock for a viable livelihood. The communities donated half of the animals required for restocking and managed the exercise, while the project supplied the remaining livestock and further support in the form of food and veterinary services for the 3,400 restocked households. Over half of these households were headed by women. Table 5 shows the distribution and gender of the 3,400 re-stocked destitute families in the NCA.

Table 5. Distribution and gender of the 3,4000 re-stocked destitute families in the NCA

Ward Sex	Naino- kanoka Ward	Nai- yobi Ward	Olbal- bal Ward	Endu- len Ward	Kake- sio Ward	Oloi- robi Ward	Total
Men	386 (39%)	267 (57%)	221 (42%)	334 (55%)	128 (47%)	205 (39%)	1,541 (45%)
Wo- men	614 (61%)	203 (43%)	304 (58%)	276 (45%)	142 (53%)	320 (61%)	1,859 (55%)
Total	1, 000	470	525	610	270	525	3, 400

Component 2: Water and range management

This was the second most expensive undertaking by Ereto I, accounting for 30 per cent of the total budget. The immediate objective of the water supply and range management component was:

Pastoral water supply for humans and livestock rehabilitated and construction of new water points initiated; improved range management and controlled burning introduced.

When the project started in July 1998, a private water-engineering firm was commissioned to identify options for key water development works, on the basis of the findings of the Water Resource and Socio-economic Study commissioned by Danida in 1996.

Potential sites for immediate water works were identified in collaboration with the NCAA, the PC and communities, and the findings presented for discussion at a three-day workshop in August 1998. This was a historic moment for the project, as it initiated the practice of including customary leaders, the PC and the NCAA in project activities. The follow-up Information Sharing Workshops (ISWs) became the main vehicle for participatory project planning during the first phase of the project shown in Table 6.

The private water-engineering firm continued to provide professional input during Phase I: conducting feasibility assessments, designing construction works and helping prepare tenders for construction works. The NCAA conducted Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) on the identified sites prior to final approval by the project steering committee. Phase I also saw the rehabilitation of the defunct Serengeti Compensation Schemes from the 1950s.[30] The rehabilitation and construction works were intended to make valuable pasture available for grazing and thus improve livestock production. Interventions to develop reliable and strategic water sources had to fit into the local framework, which called for a thorough understanding of existing grazing regimes and grazing potential in NCA. Therefore, the project developed PLA methodologies to capture and describe the extensive grazing patterns of pastoralist land use and enable communities to plan for development interventions.

Table 6. Technical and community aspects of developing water and pasture resources

TECHNICAL ASPECTS	COMMUNITY ASPECTS
Stage 1: Inception Information Sharing Workshop (ISW) to prioritize areas for water and pasture development	**Stage 1: Inception** Ereto works with communities to record existing water and pasture use and extensive grazing regimes
Stage 2: Preparation Feasibility studies based on ISW priorities conducted by in-house consultant engineers ⬇ Designs drawn up by in-house consultant engineers ⬇ Agreed designs approved by district and regional water engineers and the NCAA ⬇ Project SC approves allocation of funds ⬇ Environmental Impact Assessment conducted by NCAA and suitable contractor found to undertake works	**Stage 2: Preparation** Ereto works with communities to identify water use committees according to each user group's priorities, taking account of extensive grazing systems Committees often established through village assembly (e.g., *Meshili)* or other meetings ⬇ Water user committee registered with village government ⬇ Ereto and water user committee work with communities to establish rules and regulations for managing water and surrounding pasture resources

TECHNICAL ASPECTS	COMMUNITY ASPECTS
Stage 3: Construction Works commissioned and commenced ⬇ • Timely reporting to stakeholders • Contractors train identified people • Ereto trains identified people In-house consultant engineers oversee contractors' work to ensure quality control	**Stage 3: Construction** Water user committees liaise with contractors/engineers, Ereto and communities ⬇ Water user committees identify community members for relevant training (on laying pipes, digging trenches and wells, constructing pressure tanks, etc.) ⬇ Water user committees oversee works and contributions from local communities, including planting, protection, etc.
Stage 4: Community management Completed works handed to Ereto by in-house consultant engineers and contractors When necessary, Ereto provides management support through consultations When necessary, Ereto provides training on maintenance	**Stage 4: Community management** Ereto hands completed water works to established water user committee ⬇ Water user committee registers rules and regulations for managing the water source with the village government ⬇ Village government incorporates these rules into by-laws ⬇ Water user committee manages water source and surroundings in accordance with by-laws

Project staff were trained in PLA methodologies to strengthen their capacity to facilitate community participation in project activities. Selected members of the NCAA, the PC and community were also trained in PLA methods. Communities worked with project field officers (PFOs) to identify needs, prioritize project interventions and organize themselves to manage development interventions; and technical and community aspects of the project were often combined so that communities could interact with the contractors or consulting engineers.

By the end of Ereto I defunct water resources had been rehabilitated and new ones developed, thereby increasing available grazing land in NCA, improving herd mobility and production and reducing conflict. Table 7 shows the water projects completed during Ereto I.

Component 3: Support for veterinary services

Livestock disease is one of the major causes of livestock deaths and pastoralist poverty. Therefore, establishing and supporting private veterinary services in order to reduce subsidies and increasingly deliver services through private veterinary practitioners (PVPs) was an important element of the project. The aim of this support was to achieve sufficient control over livestock diseases to enable pastoralists to continue to select and improve breeds, and thus help improve living standards in their communities. The immediate objective of the component providing sustainable support for pastoralist production was:

Private veterinary service established.

Ereto I helped establish two private veterinary practices in NCA. This is in line with Government of Tanzania (GoT) policies banning the provision of clinical veterinary services and sale of drugs by the government or its agents.

Table 7. Summary of water projects completed by Ereto I

Location	Water Project
Kakesio Ward	- Rehabilitation of silted Olotanaudo dam (November 1999 – January 2000) – Rehabilitation of Kakesio borehole, installation of wind pump and delivery system for humans and livestock (November 2000 – April 2001) – Four hand-dug wells constructed and fitted with hand pumps (November 1999 – July 2001)
Endulen Ward	- Replacement of the silted Bit in dam with Ngarusi dam (NCAA and in-house engineers agreed Bit in was wrongly sited in black cotton soil, causing massive environmental impact. (August 2000 – November 2000) – Construction of Esere water system for humans and livestock (October 2000 – April 2001)
Ol balbal Ward	– Construction of rock-catchment dam in Gol Mountains (October 2001 – December 2001) – Rehabilitation of Njureta windmill in Gol mountains area (August 2000 – November 2000) – Rehabilitation of Endodol pipeline water delivery system (human and livestock) in Ngoile village (September 2000 – April 2001) – Construction of Ilangaar' tutukie pipeline water delivery system (human and livestock) in Meshili village (July 2000 – April 2001)
Oloiribi Ward	– Reconstruction of Irmisigiyo earth dam (November 1999 – February 2000) – Construction of earth dam on the natural pans of Ndepes (October 2001 – December 2001)
Nainokanoka Ward	– Reconstruction and extension of Mungi River pipeline water delivery system for humans and livestock (April 2003 – November 2003)

Location	Water Project
Naiyobi Ward	– No water project started. Research showed that there is an existing and under-utilised water pipeline to the village, as well as good water access in all areas, including undeveloped water supplies (e.g., Kapinjiro)
NCA (general)	– Water Inventory and Feasibility Study conducted by in-house consultants in collaboration with communities and NCAA/PC. Available in all villages in NCA (2001)

During the first phase of the project, the two private veterinary practices treated 27,200 cattle and 34,000 goats provided through *ewoloto*. The idea was to promote the delivery of professional veterinary services and get herders used to using private veterinary teams to deal with the most common diseases and problems affecting their livestock. There was a net gain of 34 percent for cattle and 46 percent for small stock. The shortterm aim was for the PVPs to build up practices during the project period; the longterm aim was to support the privatization of veterinary practices in NCA in order to provide resident pastoralists with a reliable and sustainable veterinary service.

During the project, six Livestock Development Centres (LDCs) were equipped and operated as sales centres for private vets; vets were trained in ECF immunization; 31 Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs) were trained to improve service delivery in remote areas; community leaders, vets and community development professionals were trained on Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia (CBPP); and the Veterinary Investigation Centre (VIC) in Arusha was commissioned to monitor diseases in NCA.

By the end of Ereto I, private veterinary services had been established, giving pastoralists modern and accessible options for treating livestock diseases. Private vets were contracted to service restocked households and set up practices serving other livestock keepers in NCA. The project paid for treatment given

to *ewoloto* livestock, while other livestock keepers were charged for veterinary services.

Component 4: Empowering local institutions and communities

In 1990 the Ad Hoc Ministerial Commission noted that poverty in NCA had increased due to lack of community representation in the management of NCA. Efforts to strengthen pastoralist communities and civil society organizations need to take account of the overlap and imbalance of power between the four main authorities in the area: the local district authorities, the NCAA, the PC, customary leaders and other institutions (non-governmental and community-based organizations, etc.). The immediate objective of the component to empower pastoralist communities was:

> The pastoralist community to become increasingly independent and self-managing within the overall framework of the principles of land use and conservation laid down in the Conservation Ordinance of 1959.

The NCAA played an important role in water resource development during Ereto I, conducting Environmental Impact Assessments on proposed water projects prior to its implementation, sitting on the tendering committee and helping consultants and communities identify suitable sites for water developments. It also provided staff housing, Livestock Development Centres and some office space; and through PC funding provided restocked families with free maize, as well as contributing to the cost of the water and range management component and setting up offices. It was interested in joint efforts to restructure the PC, and was part of the project steering committee, with a Liaison Officer who acts as the main interface between the project and the NCAA.

The Pastoralist Council (PC) is formally part of the NCAA structure. Its 40 or so members include village chairmen, ward councillors, youth and women's leaders and traditional leaders,

plus the NCA Conservator. However, many local people and other stakeholders question the PC's legitimacy as a representative of NCA communities, as apart from the *Ilaigwanak*, its members are drawn from local government structures, and it is seen as an executive arm of the NCAA. This compromises its ability to function effectively, since its main task is to attend to the development needs of NCA residents in accordance with the NCA Ordinance—presenting their concerns to the NCAA; maintaining communication between pastoralists, the NCAA and Ngorongoro District Council; and resolving conflicts between these institutions and pastoralists in NCA. The PC advises the NCAA on the administration of funds allocated for community development initiatives, and PC members sat on the Ereto I steering committee to approve plans, budgets and reports.

The 36 or so customary age-set and clan spokesmen (*Ilaigwanak*) in NCA, who ultimately represent their whole community (including women), have seen their role overshadowed by the NCAA and PC. Nevertheless, they are more respected by the Maasai than members of Parliament, councillors and other aspiring leaders—who may to some extent be recognized, but are not necessarily admired. Ereto I earned a good deal of respect and acceptance from the community by working with the *Ilaigwanak*.

There are a number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs) in the district. NGOs concerned with pastoralist development include advocacy umbrella organizations such as the forum for Pastoralist Indigenous NGOs (PINGO) and Tanzania Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherer Organisation (TAPHGO), which are based in Arusha. They occasionally work on advocacy issues in NCA, but have much more influence outside the area due to the political issues in NCA and the rather unclear status of the PC. Apart from the Ngorongoro Pastoralist Association (NPA), a kind of "shadow" PC, and NGOPADEO, a small localized NGO, neither of which seem to function, there are no operational NGOs in NCA at present. This lack of effective or credible NGOs and CBOs in the area is unusual in Tanzania today.

The collapse of the NPA meant that Ereto I had no equal or credible "partner" to work with on the poverty reduction objective. The mid-term review recommended that the project should assist the PC and communities in carrying out development interventions themselves. Unfortunately this was not possible because neither are legal bodies that can be held accountable for funds and project interventions, so project support had to be restricted to training and information sharing, and planning, implementing and monitoring project activities. Nevertheless, some progress was made in enabling local people to take control of their own development.

In addition to reducing poverty and hunger in the short term, one of the aims of the restocking component was to strengthen communities and enable their leaders to manage their own development agendas. To achieve this, procedures for restocking were first identified and agreed with local leaders. These procedures focus on community control throughout the process of identifying suitable *ewoloto* recipients, purchasing and distributing livestock and monitoring the impact of restocking. *Ewoloto* committees were responsible for ensuring that monitoring was conducted and reported back to Information Sharing Workshops on a quarterly basis. These community-based exercises in monitoring impact and helping restocked families deal with contingencies not only had an impact on the success of the restocking programme, but also strengthened local leadership capacities. Participatory procedures for assessing and understanding the dynamics of poverty in pastoralist areas were developed through Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) methods, which allowed project staff and local people to better understand, assess and monitor poverty within communities.

The water development component also helped strengthen local people's ability to undertake and manage their own development initiatives, by combining the technical and community aspects of water development works, as shown in Table 6.

Thus, working with local institutions such as the PC, communities (including women) and customary leaders to imple-

ment the project (especially the restocking component) increased the capacity of pastoralists in NCA to become more independent and manage their own affairs. The PC and selected community and committee members attended training to enable them to better manage and maintain initiatives, and communities were closely involved in project interventions through information sharing and planning and monitoring activities. In order to increase women's role in the development process, efforts were made to ensure that women were included on the various committees.

However, the communities' inability to establish a credible NGO to continue activities at the end of the project cycle (as envisaged in the 1997 Project Document) will make it difficult to sustain this momentum. The failure of grassroots organizations such as the NPA and the Ilaigwanak Trust highlights the difficulties local people face in establishing their own organisations in the context of the NCAA Ordinance and the PC's perceived lack of independence and legitimacy. When asked, members of the PC said that they did not want to be independent of the NCAA.[31] The challenge for the PC is to decide whether to remain under the wing of the NCAA or to reach out to communities and make their voices heard, particularly by the NCAA.

Impact of Ereto I on Pastoralist Production and Livelihoods

The main impacts of Ereto I were identified through fieldwork and at a workshop held in Endulen, Ngorongoro on 30th March 2005, when critical questions were asked about the project's effects on the livelihoods of communities in NCA. This section summarizes the findings regarding its impact on poverty, livelihoods and production, veterinary services and the capacity of communities in NCA to manage their own development initiatives. These findings contribute to a knowledge base that can be used to:

a) link the experiences of Ereto I to the policy dialogue component of Ereto II; and

b) utilise the experience of Ereto I to develop and replicate programmes to tackle pastoralist poverty and/or support pastoralist livelihoods.

During the project review mission in October 2005, Ereto was referred to as a *lifeline for pastoralist communities*. The project made a substantial input into pastoralist production in NCA by increasing the amount of available water and pasture, supporting the provision of reliable veterinary services and drugs, and strengthening social capital by supporting customary poverty reduction strategies. Its impact on production systems was recognised by several reviews and assessments.[32]

The study team also reported that the people interviewed repeatedly stated that the project has helped build up hope and new vigour in pastoralist communities of NCA. This is a significant development, as past experience has made people mistrustful of the promises and motives of most of the authorities in the area.

Impact of Component 1: Restocking destitute families

Overall it was reported that communities in NCA were economically empowered and strengthened through *ewoloto*—see Table 8. Beneficiaries of the restocking component could engage in other community activities that had previously been difficult or impossible for them to undertake, and their reintegration into the community as pastoralists helped reinstate the occupation as a sustainable livelihood. Pastoralists without livestock suffer from low self-esteem, calling themselves "People with nothing;" owning livestock raises their status in both their own eyes and those of other community members. Interviews in the area indicate that *ewoloto* is a practice that rekindles hope and love within communities.

Those interviewed during fieldwork for the Lessons Learned study all agreed that the restocking programme has reduced the incidence of starvation, begging and scavenging for food. Before *ewoloto*, few livestock products were available for food and people had been reduced to a diet of porridge or gruel made of maize meal. The health and nutrition of the whole community improved as milk became available and protein was added to their diet. This was said to be particularly noticeable among children.

Project assistance with customary restocking has revitalized this traditional form of support. There have been reports that several beneficiaries of project-funded *ewoloto* are now restocking other poor households as their livestock reproduce, and that more people plan to do this for others. This, together with the massive project input into restocking, will allow the intervention to be sustained. The restocking exercise also revived other customary poverty reduction mechanisms, such as lending goats and cows for milk. New forms of mutual assistance are also emerging, such as fund-raising efforts by elders in Olbalbal to restock destitute households, assisting poor people with ECF immunization, and better-off relatives paying school fees and hospital bills so that vulnerable families do not have to sell their

livestock to do so.

This type of mutual assistance, and the fact that poor people are now able to sell their own livestock products to pay for contingencies, lessens the burden on many pastoralist households as it enables poor relatives to manage their herds independently and contribute to livelihoods.

Table 8. The impact of restocking, as reported by beneficiaries

Issue	Before the project	After the project
Status of Destitution	Begging food	Self-reliant and proud
Food security	Food insecure	Food security improved
Relationships	Tense, frequent quarrels and marriages breaking up	Relaxed, harmony and marriage relationships cemented
Nutritional levels	Low	Enhanced
Welfare	Dependency on relatives	Self-sustaining and self-supporting
Participation in community activities	Low, aloof	Active participation in community activities
Inclusion in development processes	Excluded	Inclusion; active in development
Marriage difficult to achieve	Some could not get married due to lack of dowry and subsistence herds for starting family	Now could get married as they could now afford dowry and allocate to wife for subsistence
Self-confidence	Low self-esteem	Enhanced self-esteem
Engagement in pastoral economy and production	Disengaged	Re-engaged

Impact of Component 2: Water and range management

Fieldwork conducted in NCA in March/April 2005 identified three fundamental features of the pastoralist production system:

- Mobility as a strategy for tracking abundant resources and limiting risk;
- Social solidarity and networking as insurance against hard times;
- Pastoralist production as part of a wider livelihood strategy.

The findings of this fieldwork and the study team workshop confirmed that Ereto I had a positive bearing on production and livelihoods throughout NCA.

For example, improving the dam at Irmisigiyo and water supplies at Meshili and Ngoile allows families to keep some home-based milk cows in the area throughout the year, meaning that they no longer have to move with these livestock to access water, milk and other livestock products in the dry season. Reliable water supplies help schools and clinics function better, reduce water-borne diseases and improve human hygiene. Human nutrition has also improved as milk production increases with access to water, and women's workloads are lessened by livestock coming home earlier for milking.

Constructing a dam from the natural pans at Ndepes has extended the period when there is water in the area, so that livestock do not have to compete with wildlife at the springs on the edge of the crater (putting herders' lives at risk). Grazing in the Gol mountains is severely constrained by the influx of wildebeest at the beginning of the rainy season and lack of water in the dry season. The rock-catchment dam in the area has extended grazing there further into the dry season.

With access to water near good grazing and more pastures for dry-season grazing, livestock suffer less stress, stay in better condition and grow faster. Increased rotational grazing allows

pastures to be used more sustainably, as they can be rested and the impact of grazing reduced.

The level to which these impacts can be sustained and the water development infrastructure maintained will depend on how useful communities find the water developments, whether they are able to avoid political interference and retain control of the water works, and whether the Government and NCAA support the idea of increasing accessible grazing for pastoralist production.

Impact of Component 3: Support for veterinary services

Providing private veterinary services for pastoralists in areas like NCA has proved to be fairly effective and generally viable. If private veterinary practitioners (PVPs) and Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs) can ensure that good, reliable drugs are available where and when they are needed, diseases can be treated and livestock production increased.

Ereto trained PVPs and introduced the ECF immunisation package in 1999. This has had an immense impact on livestock production in NCA, as before it was introduced ECF accounted for the loss of an astonishing 70-90 percent of each year's calves, depending on the tick population. Since the package was introduced over 80 percent of immunized calves survive each year, and livestock health, growth and maturity rates have improved. Higher calf survival rates allow herders to implement livestock production strategies, practice selective breeding and sell more stock.

At the end of Ereto I an audit was commissioned to look into the status of the veterinary service. This found that it was economically viable, but that there was no real commitment on the part of either the PVPs or the project to ensure the transparency needed for it to be sustainable in the long term.

The PVPs did not follow the checks and balances designed to track the handling, distribution and administration of drugs to

ewoloto families, and project management was ill equipped to monitor these arrangements.[33]

The challenge in developing veterinary services (and for Ereto II) is to provide support in a way that helps private vets build up sustainable practices, employ reliable assistants and build consumer confidence in the quality of service. This support may require a long time frame, and will need commitment from the NCAA and Ngorongoro District council to limit the monopolies presently in place.

Impact of Component 4: Empowering local institutions and communities

While empowering local institutions and communities was the specific focus of this component, it was also one of the outcomes of the restocking and water and pasture development components. The restocking process strengthened community leadership (both customary and formal) as trust was established between the project and community members at every level. By mobilizing people to contribute livestock and facilitate the social programme, the restocking exercise strengthened traditional leadership roles and made local people active participants in the process rather than passive beneficiaries of it. Reviving social institutions, encouraging communities to participate in their own development and thus increasing their capacity to take charge of it, are all forms of social empowerment that have positive emotional and psychological effects on individuals and the community as a whole. This was reinforced through training on human and land rights, which increased people's ability to understand and operate in the political sphere.

The distribution of *ewoloto* livestock to destitute households headed by women was particularly helpful in empowering women. There were women on every *ewoloto*, water user and grain distribution committee, and this helped promote recognition of their potential to contribute to development activities, but

it is also clear that it is crucial to maintain the focus on gender issues and reintegrate women's demands into the development process. By listening to and including women, the project was able to redirect water development interventions to include delivery of water for domestic use, so that the home-based grazing systems could be sustained and families less exposed to the stress of moving to access food.

Involving pastoralist communities in the identification of strategic development and priority needs has improved water and grazing resources for livestock production and helped reduce conflict between pastoralists. Participation in the development process increases their technical skills, enabling them to access information and knowledge and acquire skills in animal health, water management and information sharing. It also made the outcome of this process more sustainable, because communities: a) contributed to the development of the water delivery infrastructure, b) own the water infrastructure, c) can manage and repair the delivery system, and d) because water and pasture resources are protected by village by laws. Some communities are now independently managing the construction of new, self-funded water development schemes.

However, although the project has enabled communities to participate in decisions regarding their own self-improvement, they have often been frustrated by what they understand as a lack of goodwill and cooperation from the NCAA, its far-reaching powers over access to natural resources and its resistance to other actors operating in the area (such as NGOs or researchers).[34] So, while communities may know more about their rights, there is still a feeling that they are not permitted to enjoy them.[35]

The Lessons Learned from Ereto I

Twelve lessons with policy implications were learned from the fieldwork, interviews and workshops held during the consultancy.[36] These are key pointers for future implementation,

research and analysis, are critical for focusing attention on pastoralist livelihoods and production, and have significant implications for developing informed messages that can improve policy dialogue on pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood.

Lesson 1: Building on customary mechanisms to alleviate poverty is effective, and supporting customary poverty alleviation mechanisms has positive, far-reaching impacts on communities

The project built on a customary poverty alleviation system (*ewoloto*) and provided additional support to tackle the prevailing poverty among pastoralists in NCA: first, by contributing half of the animals required for the restocking; second, by supplying restocked households with maize for three years; and third, by providing veterinary services for *ewoloto* livestock for two years.

The key to poverty alleviation in this context lies in ensuring that target communities are in charge of the design, implementation and monitoring of all activities. This helps minimize mistakes, improve design, build genuine partnerships and trust, and increase the ownership and sustainability of the intervention. Building on locally accepted mechanisms is of crucial importance.

Lesson 2: Reducing poverty through restocking limits pastoralists' vulnerability to shocks and confirms pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood

One of the indicators of success for restocking is that families manage livestock independently and are able to pay for essential services such as schooling and healthcare. Ereto records[37] indicate that restocked families experienced a net gain of 34 percent for cattle and 46 percent for their goats over a period of three years, proving that they were able to manage a productive herd successfully.

The revitalisation of customary restocking interventions throughout NCA has lowered the number of unproductive people that livelihood and production systems have to support, and re-

duced the burden of poverty on individual herd owners. This means that in general, households are now less vulnerable to poverty-related contingencies, and that people can better invest time in production and livelihood strategies and afford to assist poor relatives.

Lesson 3: Developing water points to ensure mobility within pastoralist grazing systems is vital for sustainable pastoralist production

Mobility is crucial in dryland regions because the primary production of pastures is determined by the huge variations in altitude, soils and rainfall (which varies between and within seasons). Pastoralists use seasonal grazing strategies to track these resources and avoid the impacts of drought and disease.

Over time, their access to grazing and water resources has been limited by NCAA regulations, deteriorating water supplies, wildlife and cattle raids. As pastures become limited, livestock and communities are increasingly vulnerable to shocks caused by drought, hunger, poverty and disease. And when drought forces them to break the rules, herders invariably come into conflict with the NCAA. In order to improve the situation, Ereto I rehabilitated several defunct water supplies and developed new water resources to increase the amount of land available for grazing.

Providing strategic and reliable water supplies that are designed to enhance herd mobility and allow pastoralists to track available grazing resources has had a positive impact on production. It is reported that livestock and pastures are more productive, livestock are healthier and that there are fewer conflicts. Investigations by the study team suggest that longstanding rotational grazing regimes can be re-established and that the allegedly negative impact of grazing on the environment and wildlife habitats can be limited through collaborative efforts to establish and maintain strategic water supplies.

Lesson 4: Improving domestic water supplies for households and livestock is essential in order to enhance livelihood and food security

PLA work with communities showed that the first priority for both men and women in pastoralist communities is a reliable, year-round domestic water supply to cover household needs and service a small household herd.

The impact of improving domestic water supplies so that families can remain in their homes is considerable: there is less stress on the household, children can attend school throughout the year, young livestock are properly sheltered, old people and small children do not have to leave home, property is not lost or stolen, and so on. Importantly, water near the home also increases food security, as the necessary livestock can be kept near the home and continue to produce milk.

Lesson 5: Community involvement in developing water supplies increases social responsibility and improves livelihoods

When Ereto I agreed to construct a pipeline from the Ilangaar'tutukie spring to Meshili village, local people constructed a seven-kilometer road by hand so that the cement, pipes and other equipment could be carried up to the spring. They did this on their own accord, with no advice or training from the project. Similarly, when the project agreed to rehabilitate the Endoldol pipeline to supply Ngoile village, local people dug trenches and raised money to change the direction of the pipeline so that it better served their needs. Both villages elected water committees to agree on the design of the pipeline, oversee community contributions and labor and manage the pipeline infrastructure.

The shift from functional participation to self-mobilization in building the pipeline has had a positive effect on the villages' capacity to mobilise for other things; and levels of trust, responsibility and organizational skills were enhanced through project efforts and the experience of working with water and *ewoloto* committees.

Lesson 6: Water supplies for extensive pastoralist grazing regimes must be reliable

Livestock are usually only watered every second day during the dry season, when they are taken to graze one day and watered the next. In some areas with no standing water, such as the Gol Mountains and Kakesio, water sources are scarce and livestock have little or no opportunity to graze while tracking water points because of the distances involved. They become vulnerable to disease and shocks under these conditions, so it is essential that the source they are tracking will deliver water.

The case study on the Kakesio windmill clearly shows that pastoralist communities are not prepared to invest in unreliable water delivery systems. Although community leaders were ready to collect money to pay for the regular maintenance and minor repairs required by wind-powered pumps (and had done so), they were not willing to repair the wind pump when it became clear that there is not always sufficient wind in Kakesio to power it. Instead, they planned to use the money collected to build a small dam.

Case Study 1

Impact of water development on services in Meshili and Ngoile villages

- In April 2001, Ereto finished constructing the Ilangaar'tutukie pipeline to Meshili village and rehabilitating the Endoldol spring pipeline to Ngoile village.
- Prior to this there was no water available in Meshili and little available in Ngoile. Without water being available, it was difficult to get teachers to live in the villages. The few teachers required that each child brought a container of water each day for the teachers, in addition to their own drinking water needs. This meant that children often came late.
- Before the water was provided by Ereto, the clinic demanded that patients supplied their own water needs,

and even simple treatments were constrained by lack of water.

- Now teachers are willing to work in the villages and children have their water needs satisfied. And now clinic staff can perform their duties and patients have better access to treatment.
- The community at Ngoile, having finished the pipeline, decided that they would build their own school. The children had to walk eight kilometres from Ngoile to Meshili and some of the children came from beyond Ngoile. With experience of organizing, laboring and raising money for the pipeline, and with water available for building, the village set about building their own school. The school now functions and school teachers are prepared to live there, even though it is remote. The village is proud of its school.
- Both Meshili and Ngoile have a strong representation of women on the water committees, some of whom are *ewoloto* recipients.
- Both Meshili and Ngoile have several Ilaigwanak (customary Maasai age set leaders) on the committees, representing all age sets.

Case Study 2

Kakesio windmills

In 2001 Ereto I rehabilitated a deep borehole in Kakesio, originally established in the 1950s as part of the Serengeti compensation scheme. Ereto installed a wind driven pump, cattle troughs and domestic points. Prior to installation, it was agreed between communities, Ereto and the water engineers that the wind pump be installed as an experiment as wind supplies in the area were not recorded or well known. A water user committee was elected by the user community and registered with the village council. The pump was installed by technicians from the neighbouring ward in Miatu District, so spare parts and technical expertise was available close by. Community members were trained in windmill and pipe maintenance. The tank and troughs were installed

in collaboration with the water user committee. On completion in April 2001, the windmill and infrastructure was handed over to the water user committee.

In April 2005, interviews showed that communities in Kakesio knew that the windmill was their property and their responsibility, and that there was a committee responsible for maintenance. The windmill had broken down and the committee had collected three million shillings (UDS3,000) to repair the windmill. However, at a village meeting, it was decided that the windmill might not be the most appropriate means of solving water shortage problems of the area because:

1) the rods broke down regularly
2) the windmill needed a lot of maintenance
3) there was not always enough wind to drive the pump making water delivery unreliable

As the communities pointed out, "especially in the dry season, water supply for livestock has to be reliable because they are only watered every other day & already stressed: if there is no water for them when they have trekked many kilometers to drink, they may die."

It was therefore decided that the money collected to repair the windmill should be used for other water development projects: community members want to use the collected money to experiment with the small rock catchment water harvesting arrangements for domestic water proposed in the water inventory and feasibility study commissioned by Ereto 1.

Lesson 7: The key to developing sustainable water supplies in pastoralist areas is to engage with customary land and water tenure arrangements

Fieldwork in NCA suggests that customary arrangements for managing water and land use are still respected in parts of the Gol Mountains, Meshili, Kakesio Ward and most of Nainokanoka Ward, and that livestock keeping has little or no negative impact on the environment. Customary leaders control access to water and pasture resources across NCA, and these controls are quite effective if they are recognised by outsiders.

However, there has been a significant increase in cultivation in areas where these rights and regulations have been eroded and challenged through outside influence, and invasive unpalatable species now dominate pastures where rotational grazing is no longer practiced. Therefore, it was important for the project to identify customary arrangements for managing land and water, to ensure that interventions fit within the local framework and are consistent with existing values.

During the information sharing workshops the project was advised to use a broader approach that incorporates customary systems into interventions, so participatory methodologies were developed to enable all sections of society to take part in the design and monitoring of project activities. Customary leaders are active in water user committees in most areas where Ereto I completed water development interventions. This helps ensure that interventions are consistent with local values and arrangements, although more research is needed to understand the committees' roles and mandate and identify the many challenges they face.

Community leaders were trained in PLA and reportedly some are still using the exercises in planning work with the communities within their own wards (e.g., Olbalbal).

Figure 2. A map drawn by elders in Mokilal, showing natural resources, human settlement and water development
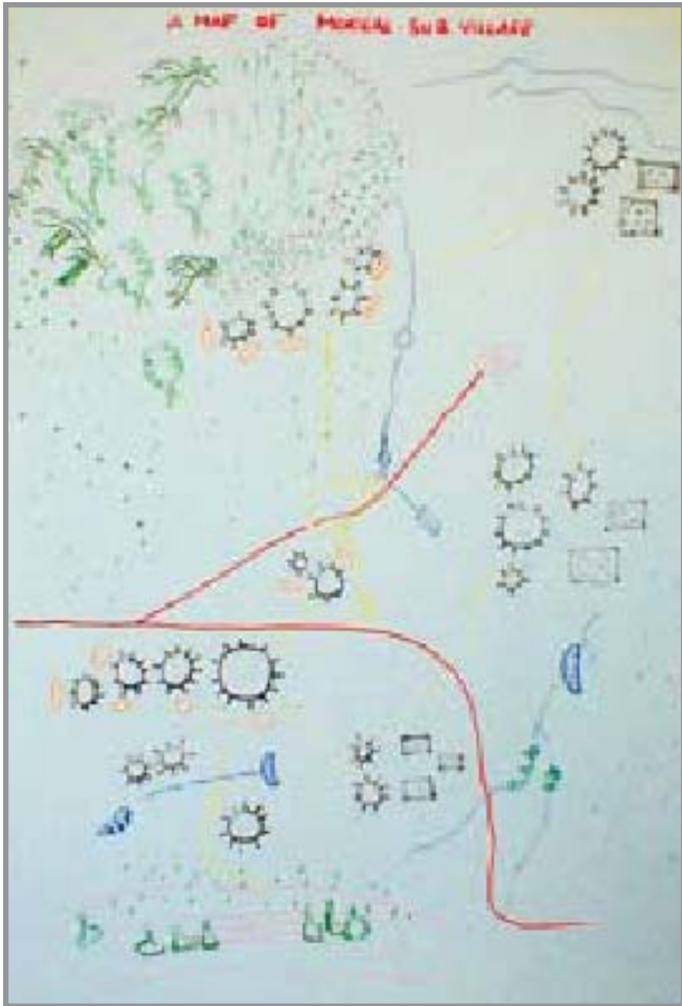
Some PC and NCAA staff were also trained in PLA techniques. However, despite the training neither body has utilized participatory methods in land use planning and zoning, or applied them in their new General Management Plan. A much longer time period is required to establish genuinely participatory integrated land use planning in NCA.

Lesson 8: Clearly defined and respected ownership of water resources promotes sustainable water delivery for pastoralist production and livelihoods

Water management schemes involve many actors, and it has to be made very clear who the beneficiaries are to prevent powerful individuals or the local elite from appropriating interventions (this also applies to restocking). One of Ereto I's most critical tasks was to actively promote ownership during the design and construction of water schemes, and to transfer ownership of water resources to the registered water user committees once the works were completed. More analysis is needed to understand the dynamics of these committees and learn what makes some work and others not function well or at all.

Despite investing heavily in water development and putting a lot of effort into working closely with communities, there have been problems managing some of the completed water schemes. For example, once the project was phased out of the Nainokanoka pipeline, certain village councils tried to take control of water resources that had been handed over to water user committees—leaving the communities struggling to retain control over the operation and maintenance of their new water system. The same thing happened in Endulen, where the dam at Ngarusi was in poor condition. However, in other places, communities were able to retain control over their water resources and manage and maintain the infrastructure.

The status of communities, village governments and other institutions in the overall framework of the NCA Ordinance is an important issue, as individuals and communities alike are uncertain about their rights and obligations as residents of NCA. Although there are registered villages with legitimate village governments, it is debatable whether village by-laws or other village-based regulations are binding within the legal setup of NCA, and whether customary arrangements are recognized. Communities in NCA need to be better informed about their (institutional) rights in order to develop effective strategies for establishing sustainable land and water management regimes.

Lesson 9: ECF immunization increases pastoralist production, allows for selective breeding and higher off-take, and can provide the basis for private veterinary practices

Research in NCA shows that the tick-borne disease ECF was the greatest killer of livestock in the area, and that immunisation can reduce calf mortality rates from 70-90 percent to just 4-7 percent per annum. Pastoralists from all over NCA report that immunized calves grow faster, breed earlier and are more disease resistant than those that have not been immunized. Higher calf survival rates allow them to breed cattle for desired characteristics such as milk production, ability to withstand drought, etc., and increase off-take from their herds, as they can sell livestock while maintaining a large enough herd to make a livelihood.

In 2003 the private veterinary practitioner contracted by Ereto I to treat *ewoloto* livestock reduced his sales outlets and drug stocks in an attempt to make the exercise more profitable. He continued to provide ECF immunization across NCA, and said that this generates enough income to maintain his other distribution and service outlets in NCA. In 2005, ECF immunization cost 6,000 TZ shillings (US$6) per calf, payable in cash.

Lesson 10: Outreach CAHWS linked to private veterinary services are essential for effective veterinary services in pastoralist areas

The private veterinary services supported by Ereto I show that if effective and reliable drugs are available to treat livestock, pastoralists are prepared to pay for them. However, to be sustainable, the service has to be: i) appropriate to the pastoralist production context, and ii) given effective policy support.

When the project stopped providing material support and other handouts, the PVP found that sales were insufficient to keep him operating full-time, although he still has sales outlets in most of NCA and comes to the area to immunize cattle against ECF. There is unfair competition from the District Veterinary Officer and his assistants, NCAA staff, small-scale entrepreneurs

selling drugs at markets, small shops in NCA and herders return-
ing from markets with veterinary drugs.

Pastoralists suggested a two-pronged approach to veterinary
support:

1. Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs) can play
   a vital role in improving livestock production in
   pastoralist areas. These are trusted and capable herders
   selected for training by the community; individuals who
   know the conditions and constraints to livestock pro-
   duction, are skilled animal handlers and can ensure that
   drugs are available where necessary because they come
   from the pastoralist community.
2. The PVP for the locality should preferably be a local
   pastoralist with a sound livelihood in the area. This would
   make PVPs more likely to remain in NCA and better
   able to cope with seasonal fluctuations in drug sales, as
   they would have a parallel livelihood option (keeping
   livestock). They might also accept payment in kind for
   drugs and services, which would help herders with
   cashflow problems.

The Government intends to provide guidelines, a training
curriculum and a legal framework for CAHWs to operate in.
This will make it easier for Ereto II to support PVPs by working
with CAHWs, and improve the viability and sustainability of the
initiative. However, the challenges of passing legislation and
securing effective commitment and further support remain. At
present, government-employed vets and veterinary assistants
are dispensing private services in pastoralist areas with impu-
nity. With no competition in pastoralist areas like NCA, govern-
ment employees will continue to provide inadequate services
and pastoralists will carry on treating livestock diseases them-
selves.

Lesson 11: All users, including women, should be involved in developing project activities to reduce the risk of interventions being appropriated by powerful groups

This lesson is critical in reducing the risk of powerful groups appropriating interventions for their own economic or social benefit and excluding the less powerful. Lessons 4 and 7 above (where ownership of water development schemes is disputed despite the project attempting to involve a broad range of stakeholders) illustrate the dangers of consulting only small groups or excluding certain sections of society. This usually means that users are excluded from managing the resource, so it is not maintained and falls into repair.

There were also reports of people trying to cheat the *ewoloto* programme in its early days. For example, "A" would lend poor person "B" some livestock so that the project would match them as part of the *ewoloto* restocking exercise. Once "B" received the livestock from Ereto, "A" would reclaim the loan, leaving "B" with the animals purchased by the project—or half of what he or she was supposed to get. Apparently a number of people tried this, but on each occasion "A" was shamed into retracting the loan or making it a genuine gift once the community became aware of their scheme.

Lesson 12: Women are empowered through restocking

Ereto restocked 3,400 poor and destitute households, 55 percent of which were headed by women. Restocking these 1,859 women seems to have had far-reaching impacts, although they are not well documented in project reports. However, fieldwork for the study clearly indicated that restocking women changed the way that they were perceived, and that they had benefited from the project policy that women should own outright any livestock they received through the restocking programme.

The restocking programme revealed that pastoralist men are willing and able to work with women on poverty reduction and other development activities. Even though water committees are

traditionally a masculine domain in pastoralist areas, women were readily accepted onto them once the idea that they can effectively contribute to development activities gained ground.

Lack of education was another factor limiting pastoralist women's participation in project management, which was dominated by pastoralist men. This had an impact on the kind of activities that were planned, although women did become more vocal and demanding at community level, and the drive for inclusion in project activities tended to come from men and women in local communities rather than the project. This was attributed to the new sense of women being able and willing to contribute to development. Women also started to contribute regularly to the public debates and meetings that play an important role in pastoralist communities, and which are only open to cattle owners. Promoting methodologies like PLA gave illiterate women their voice and enabled them to articulate their ideas for project implementation. In Kakesio, where these methods were regularly employed, women became Community Animal Health Workers, despite initial resistance from the project management.

Traditionally, livestock belong to and are managed by men. This is still largely the case for cattle, although women do have use rights to livestock products and in practice also manage part of the herd and monitor livestock diseases. Although the women who received cattle through Ereto I did not always secure more than use rights to these animals, they tended to have greater rights to livestock given through the project (especially cattle), adding rights of disposal and management to their customary use rights. These changes were more likely to be supported by the community if they had a positive impact on poverty alleviation.

Understanding of women's roles in pastoralist production and livelihoods has been very poorly documented, and certainly requires further research. The general lack of understanding about gender in pastoralism has led to the proliferation of myths and assumptions about pastoralist men and women, which serve to further marginalise women and lead to them being progressively less heard or consulted. Ereto I attempted to remedy this situation by taking a practical approach to working with

pastoralist women on poverty reduction and supporting local demands for women to be given first priority in the restocking exercise.

Key Policy Implications

Poverty reduction and the sustainable management of the environment in pastoral areas are two key objectives of Tanzania's National Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty:

> "…promoting efficient utilization of rangeland, empowering pastoralists to improve livestock production through improved access to veterinary services, reliable water supply as well as recognizing pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood..." [endnote: NSGRP, 2005].

ERETO I's field experience provides a set of lessons with which to shape how in practice the government's commitment to supporting pastoralist livelihoods can be implemented. The three most significant concern: (i) pastoral poverty, (ii) water and range management, and (iii) adopting a livelihoods approach.

- **Understanding how to reduce pastoral poverty** has been in the forefront of government and donor policy debate for many years in Tanzania and East Africa. ERETO I's experience with the restocking component revealed a good deal about the specifics of pastoralist poverty, such as what constitutes a minimum viable herd for pastoralists. Livestock have multiple roles in the pastoralist economy (among others, subsistence, capital investment and insurance needs), and it is clear that to be viable, a minimum herd should consist of more animals than those needed for immediate living requirements. The roles of livestock are varied, complex and will be specific to each family and location. It is also important to consider the age/sex ratio of the herd as well as the

number of livestock required, since different categories of animal are needed for different roles—largely to act as insurance by mitigating risks, but also to allow for regular off-take for sale and consumption.

Herders' management objectives are also an important factor that needs to be taken into account when trying to improve pastoralist livelihoods. Pastoralists seek to maintain an optimal balance between pastures, livestock and people in a highly uncertain and variable environment, to meet both their immediate and future livelihood needs. This involves maximizing the size and the returns from their livestock herd in good years to generate a surplus for the inevitable bad years. These returns are not simply the accumulation of livestock, but also the relationships and social networks that will prove significant factors in the survival of the family and their herd during times of drought, disease or raiding.

- **Integrated range and water management.** Another area of policy concern has been how best to manage rangelands in a sustainable manner. One of the most tenacious misconceptions about pastoralists is that they are nomadic, haphazardly graze their animals and keep as many animals as they can for prestige reasons alone, and in the process spread disease, cause conflict and degrade the natural resource base. Many policies in Tanzania contain specific mention to all or some of these preconceptions and propose measures to address them including instructions for pastoralists to settle in one place, practice sedentary livestock keeping and to sell their surplus animals.
  ERETO's work on the range and water component demonstrated how pastoralists in Ngorongoro have very complex grazing strategies that make good use of rangelands in response to seasonal and inter-annual variations in the quantity and quality of pastures and water. Through livestock mobility, animals are able to graze on rich wet

season pastures during the rains while retreating to specific strategic areas during the dry season (e.g. highlands). These grazing strategies may cover large distances, but pastoralists are not nomadic *per se*. Each family has a home (*boma*) from which livestock are herded along different routes according to season.

Furthermore, grazing is strictly controlled, particularly in the dry season when resources are scarce. Although resources are shared between different users at different times of the year, rights of control and access are not equal. Local communities have primary user rights to resources within their customary area of residence, while visiting families have to negotiate secondary user rights to water and pasture. ERETO I's work on water and participatory rangeland mapping also demonstrated the critical links between water rights and range management for the sustainable use of pasture, improved livestock productivity and peaceful co-existence of different communities (e.g., water rights normally determine who can access range).

- **Adopting a holistic approach is critical.** ERETO I's work confirms that to address pastoral poverty and strengthen pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood system a holistic approach is critical.
  Pastoralism is not just a traditional form of raising livestock. It is a livestock-based livelihood system regulated by ecology with complex modes of social, political and economic organization with the capacity to adapt to changing environmental and socio-economic conditions. If fully supported, it has the capacity to contribute significantly to the local and national economy in Tanzania. The system rests on three central components:
  - The sustainable management of natural resources, including grasslands, browse and water in an environment characterised by low, irregular and scattered rainfall.
  - Resilient livestock herds and sustained productivity

in the face of environmental variation.

◻ Functioning social institutions to regulate labor, live-
stock production, marketing and rules of access and
control over natural resources.

To support pastoralism effectively, policy and practice have
to address all these three components in an integrated manner in
recognition of its systemic nature.

Using the restocking component as an entry point to directly
tackle the unacceptable levels of poverty in Ngorongoro in a
very practical and immediate way, ERETO I also addressed the
other key components of the pastoralist system through its water
and range management, veterinary services and community
empowerment components. This holistic approach was critical
to the project's success in reducing poverty while building the
resilience of the pastoralist system to such external shocks as
drought and disease.

Endnotes

[1] Draft National Livestock Policy, 2005.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Source: Workshop on Rangelands and Livelihoods March 2004,
Arusha.

[5] 2003 National Census.

[6] Homewood and Rodgers (1991); Homewood (1992); Scoones
(1992).

[7] NSGPR 2005.

[8] Mattee and Shem (2005); Brehonny, Mattee and Nang'oro (2004).

[9] URT (2006).

[10] Mattee and Shem (2005).

[11] Third Draft of the Strategic Plan for the Implementation of Land
Laws (SPILL February 2005) p. 27.

[12] Workshop on Rangelands and Livelihoods, 25th and 26th March
2004, Arusha.

[13] Sangale (2004).

[14] WCED (1987); Scoones and Thompson (1994); Chambers (1993),

(1997).

[15] IIED (1994).

[16] WCED (1987).

[17] Scoones (1994).

[18] Behnke and Scoones (1993).

[19] Scoones (1994).

[20] Ereto II NPP Project document, p. 89.

[21] Shivji and Kapinga (1998).

[22] United Republic of Tanzania (1990).

[23] Arhem (1981); Homewood and Rodgers (1991).

[25] Lane (1995).

[25] General Management Plan (1996).

[26] United Republic Of Tanzania (1990).

[27] McCabe (2002).

[28] Ereto I Project Document p. 89.

[29] 1997 Project Document p. 63.

[30] These were supposed to compensate the Maasai who had been moved from Serengeti to NCA for the loss of the permanent waters of the Moru Springs in Serengeti. Several schemes, funded by taxes raised from Maasai pastoralists, were completed in the 1950s (Fosbrooke, 1962).

[31] They feel that they have more influence within the NCAA than outside it. Moreover, operating as independent agents could deprive them of benefits of up to 600 million TZ shillings a year, which they now administer as part of the NCAA.

[32] Ereto NPP. Report of the gender study, Stella Maranga, MS-TCDC, December 2001; "What residents say about Ereto performance and possible expansion of the programme"

– workshop held on 11th

– 13th December 2002, facilitated by Alfred Sakafu and Alais ole Morindat; Review of Lessons Learned in Phase I and Issues to be considered in Phase II, John Rowley, ITAD, November 2002; Evaluation of Ewoloto Programme, Alais ole Morindat, MS-TCDC, Arusha, Tanzania, December 1999; Joint review cum Pre-Appraisal of Ereto NPP, March 2002, Joint Review Team, Danida/MNRT.

[33] The 2004 assessment report on the veterinary services component of Ereto I notes poor accounting systems, non-compliance with PVP contracts, lack of quality control, poor quality drugs, etc. This prompted another review of the veterinary services through a consultancy study at the onset of Ereto II.

[34] For example, the local NGO PADEO received a written reprimand for "sneaking" into NCA in early June 2000 to deliver training on land rights; HAKIARDHI was not allowed to run the land rights training re-

quested by the PC in 1999; and some anthropology researchers were prevented from conducting their studies in 2002.

[35] This is illustrated by an anecdote from one of the elders in NCA: "Ngorongoro is full of wildlife so NCAA bought a bus, from revenue collected on our account, to take their staff's children to school every day so that they do not get killed by wildlife. But our children do not get such privileges. Don't the lives of our children have value?"

[36] Workshops held in Endulen on March 30, 2003 and Dar es Salaam on May 24, 2005. See also draft report for a full list of the people met, workshop reports and a full list of the literature, including all documents produced by Ereto I.

[37] Such as the Project Completion Report October 2003.

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10

Self-Determined Development: Lessons from Kalimantan Credit Union Movement*

by John Bamba

…the word "development" in its Pali equivalent means "disorderliness" or "confusion"…Ivan Illich once told me that the Latin word *progressio*, which is the root of "development," can also mean "madness."

Sivaraksa, 1992:35

E
ver since the word "development" was introduced and used as frequent jargon in international affairs and diplomacy after World War II, it has widely spread, much like a religion, to become part of the dominant vocabulary. Development has been used by several dictatorships to suppress any critic to their anti-democratic policies. Under Soeharto's regime in Indonesia, questioning any project or activity carried out in the name of "development" was considered a subversive act against the State and the government and could mean ending up in jail.

Experts all over the world have tried to define "development" and clarify what Ivan Illich believes "can also mean mad-

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ness." Amartya Sen, 1998 Nobel Prize winner in Economic Science, suggests we should accept "development as freedom" (Sen, 2000). On the other hand, "freedom without opportunities," according to Noam Chomsky, "is the devil's gift" (Chomsky, 2000: 135).

Taking the case of Indonesia as an example, its 1945 Constitution recognizes the Indigenous Peoples (termed as "Customary-law Communities") under four conditions:

1. that they still exist;
2. that they are in accordance with the development of societies, times and civilizations;
3. that they are in accordance with the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia; and
4. that they shall be regulated by law.

This constitutional recognition is undeniably an advanced "development" that has given Indonesian indigenous peoples some freedoms, but at the same time the conditional recognition leaves them with no opportunities to exercise those freedoms. Therefore, the legal recognition, even when stated in the Constitution, becomes useless. It may after all be a "devil's gift."

As indigenous peoples, we have experienced, witnessed and become victims of this so-called "devil's gift" of developmentalism. In the name of "development" our lands are taken over, our homes destroyed, our Mother Earth raped and ripped. In many places in the past, our brothers and sisters, including women and children, were even killed or tortured, kidnapped and brainwashed. Perhaps the most recent shocking case is *The Guardian* report about "A Peruvian gang that allegedly killed people and drained fat from their corpses .…which exported the amber liquid to Europe as anti-wrinkle cream."[1] The gang has been dubbed the "Pishtacos" after an ancient Peruvian myth about white colonialists who killed indigenous peoples, quartered their bodies with machetes, before extracting the fat and turning it into a range of perfumed soaps.[2] A situation which is best described by Boris Pasternak as "… the bare, shivering human soul, stripped to the last shred…" (Pasternak, 1958: 394).

However, the world has also been witnessing a constant and uncompromising commitment of struggle for change by indigenous peoples and their non-indigenous supporters. For more than two decades, our struggles have been able to achieve the most important thing real "development" can offer: "opportunities." Opportunities that challenge us to exercise our "freedom" and thus bring us to the real fruit of "development." The adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) on 13 September 2007 by the UN General Assembly's 61st Session provides vast "opportunities" to exercise our "freedom" and our own "development" model—self-determined development.

However, besides this achievement from our struggle, the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples also poses challenges. It is an undeniable fact that not all UN member countries supported the Declaration, among them the United States, which plays the most important roles in present world affairs, along with Canada, Australia and New Zealand (known as CANZUS group). At the national level, each of us is also experiencing a number of challenges, even if our government is among those who support the Declaration. The right to self determination (Article 3 of UNDRIP) remains a big problem for most of our governments, but indigenous peoples welcome it as the most important "opportunity" to push for the kind of development they want.

"Development with Culture and Identity:" Philosophies and Spirituality

Development with Culture and Identity, also referred to as Self-Determined Development, is based on the mandates emanating from Articles 3 and 32 of the Declaration. These are mandates "…for the development or use of their [indigenous peoples'] lands and territories and other resources."[3]

"Lands, Territories and Other Resources" are indeed the three most important elements which determine indigenous peoples' culture and identity. However, these are at the same time the three most important interests and objects of "development." And this has become the heart of the matter, the source of conflicts and challenges for indigenous peoples all over the world, in the past, at present and in the future.

"Development" is undeniably a foreign concept for indigenous peoples. It is something we have to approach with extra care, critical minds and determination for one simple reason: to make sure it brings us the freedom and the opportunities it is capable of offering. We have to avoid accepting any form of "development" that initially or eventually brings the opposite impacts: exploitation, destruction, appropriation of our lands and natural resources, and cultural genocide of our indigenous identities, in most cases for the sake of economic and political interests. Even with the concept of "sustainable development," we have to make sure that all the economic, ecological, social, cultural and spiritual benefits are taken into account. None of these should be sacrificed or ignored for the sake of economic benefits alone because it would be contradictory to the real meaning of "sustainability."

Drawing from the lessons and experiences in Asia, in particular of the Kalimantan (Borneo) indigenous peoples, this writer has summarized the "Seven Fortunes" (Bamba, 2008: 241-249) received by the Dayaks (Kalimantan indigenous peoples) that cover the main principles and philosophies of their natural resource management. These Dayak principles and philosophies could offer some criteria and indicators for our self-determined development or development with culture and identity. Unfortunately, these are often in direct opposition to the activities of the "global development model" implemented by most governments and developers around the world.

The seven principles and philosophies are briefly summarized below:

Dayaks Self-Determined Model		Global Development Model
1. SUSTAINABILITY (BIODIVERSITY)	versus	PRODUCTIVITY (MONOCULTURE)
2. COLLECTIVITY (COOPERATION)	versus	INDIVIDUALITY (COMPETITION)
3. NATURALITY (ORGANIC)	versus	ENGINEERED (UNORGANIC)
4. SPIRITUALITY (RITUALITY)	versus	RATIONALITY (SCIENTIFIC)
5. PROCESS (EFFECTIVITY)	versus	RESULT (EFFICIENCY)
6. SUBSISTENCE (DOMESTICITY)	versus	COMERCIALITY (MARKET)
7. CUSTOMARY LAW (LOCALITY)	versus	STATE LAW (GLOBAL)

Sustainability (Biodiversity) versus Productivity (Monoculture)

Sustainability and productivity are hard to compromise. Sustainability demands biological diversity, resulting in relatively lower outputs, while productivity needs massive, large scale, single type product to flood the market in order to generate cash income. The Dayaks' rubber gardens and rice fields are two examples of how this biodiversity principle is essential in their philosophies. The rubber gardens are very rich in biodiversity since rubber trees grow with other tree species in the forests. The Dayaks need not clear an area to plant rubber trees, thus reducing environmental loads and preserving biological diversity.

The priority for biodiversity also manifests in the rice fields where the Dayaks grow not only paddy rice but hundreds of different local crops. But both Dayak rubber gardens and rice fields are being destroyed on a massive scale by monoculture plantations, such as palm oil and industrial trees. Having adopted

the global development model, the government, which is developing these huge monoculture plantations, argues that rubber gardens and rice fields are "unproductive."

Collectivity (Cooperation) versus Individuality (Competition)

The philosophy behind the principle of collectivity is that the world is home to all beings, not only humans, animals and plants but also spirits. Interdependency and coexistence occur not only among human beings but with non-humans as well. Nature is managed by considering this coexistence. Opening an area for human interests and needs should be done by taking into account and respecting the interests of other beings. Before the Dayaks clear an area for a rice field, they perform a ritual to seek permission and agreement of the spirits which they believe might exist in that place. Omens and auguries are their media of communication. On the other hand, working on a rice field, building a house, dealing with sickness or death and celebrating a wedding are all done collectively by the members of the community.

This is one of the reasons why Dayaks live in longhouses. They are not used to competition and working individually. Rather they live in collective spirit and cooperation to manage their wellbeing. That is why they are not the favored choice of plantation or mining companies who have complained that the Dayaks are less disciplined, less intelligent and lack formal education to meet their required criteria. Companies instead employ migrant workers and the more companies operate, the more migrants flow into Dayak villages and territories. Indeed, indigenous peoples including the Dayaks are bad competitors and are always left behind in the competition over natural resource utilization.

Naturality[4] (Organic) versus Engineered (Inorganic)

"Naturality" here should be understood as a philosophy to interact with nature based on its laws and carrying capacity. The ethic and moral behind it is that human beings should not exploit nature more than its capacity, and no matter how sophisticated, advanced and mighty the technologies and knowledge they have achieved, human beings cannot live without nature. The key words are "to manage and to maintain/preserve" nature at the same time, and these two actions are inseparable as prerequisites to avoid overexploitation and trespassing the limits of nature's laws and capacities.

This philosophy rejects overexploitation, which is based on greed rather than mutual benefits and coexistence. It rejects any form of genetic engineering of human and non-human beings as well as the green revolution that pollutes nature with man-made chemical substances, such as fertilizers and pesticides. Indigenous peoples believe that human sufferings in the form of natural disasters, the spread of new and incurable diseases, extreme hunger and poverty are the result of humans' failure to manage and maintain nature based on its capacities.

Spirituality (Rituality) versus Rationality (Scientific)

Spirituality is manifested in various rituals performed to maintain human beings' connection with nature and other beings. By performing rituals regularly, human beings tell, teach and remind themselves about their interconnectedness and interdependence with nature. Rituals also serve as a medium to enhance their capacity and understanding about "the way of nature." In the global development model, these are perceived as extravagant activities, irrationality and a sign of backwardness, as its underlying belief is that nature is to be conquered through the advancement of science and technologies, and rationality is the symbol of modernization and an educated/civilized society.

Process (Effectivity) versus Result (Efficiency)

The consistency in performing various rituals shows how "process" is a top priority for Dayaks. Effective results are obtained through a consistent process, which sometimes goes through long and complicated steps to maintain the connection with nature and other beings. The effectiveness is determined by the process that is carried out; thus, what is done should be effective. In comparison it is the results that matter in the global development model, and they should be achieved as efficiently as possible to boost production. It is no wonder then why indigenous peoples' natural resource management systems and their way of life are under massive attack and destruction all over the world by global development activities.

Subsistence (Domesticity) versus Commerciality (Market)

The Dayaks believe that living in prosperity means living in harmony with nature. Overexploitation and mistreatment of nature will cause sufferings, miseries and disasters for human beings. Thus, wealth possession must have its limit. Money is a tool not the goal of life, and the goal is the quality of life rather than quantity. Human beings have four main needs on earth: physical survival, and sustainable, social and spiritual needs. The management of natural resources should be limited to the fulfillment of these four basic needs. Life should not be based on and driven by greed.

The choice of living a subsistent life where the use of natural resources is confined to domestic needs is the manifestation of this philosophy. Although the Dayaks also produce some local products to sell or barter with other villages, production is limited and controlled based on the principles and philosophies they believe in. When commerciality is pursued to fulfill global market demands as demonstrated by the global development sys-

tem, overexploitation of natural resources is unavoidable and the earth's carrying capacity is broken, resulting in one problem after another for human beings.

Customary Law (Locality) versus State Law (Global)

Customary laws *(Adat)* serve as the basis for controlling and safeguarding the harmonious relationship among human beings and their relationship with other beings and nature. Customary laws do not only involve penalties and punishment for wrongdoers but also a process of reconciliation and healing the disturbed relationship with nature caused by breaking commitments to their principles and philosophies. Therefore, customary laws are not universal laws and do not deal with universal norms and values, but rather are regulated based on local context and driven by local necessities. In comparison, State laws are not only meant to protect national interests but are also influenced by global concerns. Some State laws on forestry, investment and trade, for instance, tend to protect global interests rather than those of the people in a country.

However, customary laws also have weaknesses. When an authoritarian ruler is in power, the dispensation of justice is in his hands. Non-members of a specific community or outsiders also tend to underestimate customary laws. Since fines imposed under customary laws are relatively low, non-members tend to undervalue them. On the other hand, some community members themselves could also commercialize them for their own benefit, neglecting or ignoring the moral value of punishment under customary laws.

The above seven principles or philosophies are under threat by the global development system and may soon be found only in history books in school and university libraries. As we are witnessing and experiencing from day to day in our own community, the struggle is like that of "the elephants and the ants." Most governments, backed by police and military forces, are supporting multinational corporations and financial institutions

to take over the management of natural resources from indigenous peoples. Three major development activities are now carried out in indigenous territories: monoculture plantations (for biofuels and pulp/paper), mining and logging. The "ants" have to continually fight these "elephants."

However, as indigenous peoples' various achievements especially at the international level open up opportunities for them, the concept of self-determined development could be continuously explored, promoted and exercised. The Dayaks' seven principles and philosophies clearly show how self-determined development differs from the global development model. These philosophies could be further enhanced with the richness of knowledge and experiences of other indigenous peoples in the world.

Dayak Credit Union Movement: Empowering and Liberating

Self-determined development can only be achieved if it is rooted and emerges from the indigenous peoples themselves. It should be an initiative undertaken by, from, and for the indigenous peoples. Outsiders could give support by offering alternatives and sharing experiences or facilities. A fine example of an harmonious collaboration and initiative is the Credit Union Movement developed by the Dayak in Kalimantan. Initiated in 1987 the movement has grown impressively and spread all over Indonesia, and various groups have even come from overseas to learn about it.

As with the notion of development, the credit union is not originally a Dayak concept. As is widely known, the urban credit union was first developed in Germany by Franz Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch in 1852, and the rural credit union in 1864 by Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, also known as the Father of Credit Unions.[5] The Dayaks only borrowed the credit union's financial

management system to create their own model based on their cultural values and principles.

Credit unions were first introduced to the Dayaks in the early 1970s by the Catholic Church. In 1975, 95 credit unions were established all over West Kalimantan, but only five remained in operation after one year! The credit unions during this period were based on the original model and the Dayaks had to adapt to it. The failure of this first credit union movement shows how a foreign development model has a slim chance of succeeding when introduced and implemented without considering the local culture and identity.

In 1987 the nongovernment organization, Pancur Kasih, established its own credit union with a totally different approach and philosophy. It saw credit unions as a tool and as such, should be adapted to the needs of the users and the purposes to be realized. Human beings (members) rather than money are the target and goal. To Pancur Kasih credit unions are a tool for empowering and liberating the Dayaks from the many grave problems they face, such as poverty, lack of education and healthcare, as well as investment for their own and future generations.

The philosophies adopted in the Pancur Kasih Credit Union are drawn from Dayak farmers themselves. According to AR. Mecer, founder and chairperson of Pancur Kasih Movement, these are based on four main obligations the farmers must perform in order to secure their living in their community (GPPK, 2009: 127-128). These are: 1) to secure their daily basic consumption needs (Survival Need), 2) to secure the seeds for the next season (Sustainable Need), 3) to perform solidarity (Social Need) with their fellow farmers, and 4) to perform rituals as an obligation to nature and other beings who coexist with them (Spiritual Need). The Dayaks believe these four obligations are the four basic needs that no one should avoid in order to live safely and peacefully. These four needs are then implemented through various products of services provided in the credit union as seen in the following figure:

The Ways of the Farmers

1. Consumption (Survival Needs)	2. Seed (Sustainable Needs)	3. Solidarity (Social Needs)	4. Religiosity (Spiritual Needs)
⬇	⬇	⬇	⬇
Saving with Daily Interest (±3%)	Saving with Annual Interest (±14-15%) Protected by Insurance	Funds for Health, Accident and Death	Funds for Religious, Cultural activities, etc.
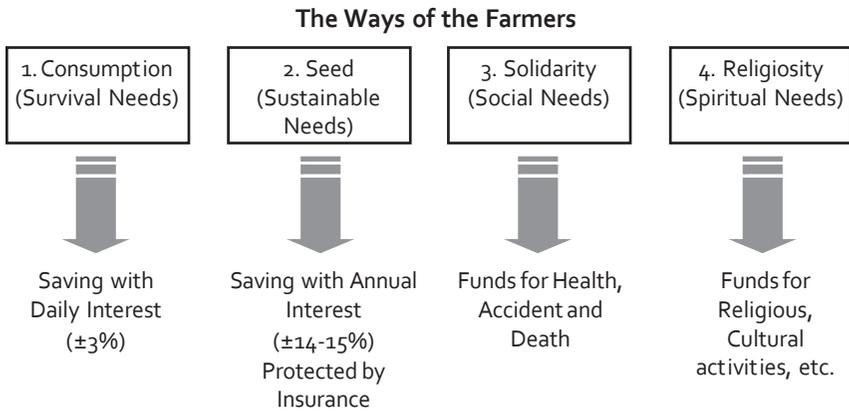
However, the question remains: Why credit unions and why should it be something originally from Germany? A quick and simple answer to this is the credit union offers "freedom" and "opportunities" to the Dayaks. It gives them freedom to exercise their cultural knowledge, explore new possibilities in order to respond to new challenges and the opportunities to manage their resources independently and collectively. In the credit union, the Dayaks find a way to exercise their self-determined development model based on their own culture and identity. Although they are using foreign systems of organization and management, they have the freedom to choose which ones are beneficial and contribute to their empowerment and at the same time gain independence in altering the model to suit their needs and local context.

Within the PancurKasih Movement, credit unions are all about making changes—changes from the circle of impoverishment, desperation, feeling of helplessness and hopelessness, and from dependence on outsiders resulting from centuries of oppression and marginalization. And the changes have to be done by changing oneself with the help of others. Through this effort, a better quality of life could be achieved and when it happens, it is a liberating and empowering process for the community.

Credit unions are also about managing people. Changing oneself contributes to changes of situation. It is done simply by

helping oneself first (1ˢᵗ principle: self-reliance); by helping him/herself, a person is also helping others (by not becoming a burden to others) and making him/herself capable of helping the others (2nd principle: solidarity). No matter how small the potential a person has, when collected with those of others, it could gradually become a powerful force to make changes. When this process is started, grows, and controlled through and backed by education (3rd principle: education), the changes are sure to happen sooner or later. In the education process through various training and discussions, the community tries to change their mindset (that they are hopeless), false beliefs (that they are too poor and uneducated to take actions) and mentality (of dependencies) so they can start taking concrete actions together.

As a result of this process of change, the Pancur Kasih Movement Credit Union had reached nearly 100,000 members by the end of 2008 with total assets of more than US$6M (PKCU, 2009). When it was first established 23 years ago, it had only 61 members with assets of US$16. However, the PancurKasih Movement Credit Union is not the only credit union developed and facilitated by the Pancur Kasih Movement. By the end of 2008, the Movement had set up a total of 54 credit unions all over Indonesia in 13 provinces in nine islands, with a combined total membership of almost 500,000 (496,007) and total assets of US$313M (BKCUK, 2009).

The success of PancurKasih Movement Credit Union is clearly seen not only in its numbers and assets but also from a comparison with other credit unions in Indonesia. By 2008 Indonesia had 851 credit unions with a total 1,154,208 members and assets of US$ 575M (CUCO-Indonesia, 2009). Although Pancur Kasih's 54 unions comprise only 6.3 percent of the overall number of credit unions in Indonesia, they have almost half of the entire credit union membership in the country and 54.43 percent of all credit union assets.

Credit Union: Reducing Poverty and Strengthening Indigenous Peoples' Rights

Two decades of existence of the Credit Union Movement in Kalimantan have significantly changed the way the Dayaks perceive themselves in terms of their own potential and capabilities to make changes. It has opened up new confidence that a self-determined development is possible. Through the credit union, they have been experiencing a new process of development that can empower and liberate them from previous desperate conditions without destroying their identity and culture as indigenous peoples. The credit unions have brought the following financial and non-financial benefits:

1. Financial Benefits

Credit unions have given indigenous peoples the opportunity to secure their future through their investments as members, both in shares and non-share investments with reliable productive incomes from dividends of up to 15 percent annually. As credit union members, they now have direct access to financial sources that they can use to fulfill their needs for better healthcare and education, as well as productive activities to secure incomes for their family with low and reasonable interests (2% that can go lower or 1.5% flat interest rates). Through the spirit of togetherness and working in groups, they have more opportunities to manage community projects that provide better public facilities, such as roads, electricity, clean water. The credit unions also allow them to manage community funds to be used for their cultural and religious activities.

2. Non-Financial Benefits

By having access to financial sources in the credit unions, the communities have found better solutions to address their immediate and emergency needs. People used to turn to the only asset they had to meet their need for immediate cash—lands but credit unions have significantly helped to reduce land sales and extractions of natural resources, such as timber, to generate cash. As credit unions prioritize the continuous education of their members to have sound financial management, the communities are protected from gambling and consumerism. The universal and non-discriminatory values attached to credit unions have promoted peace building and reconciliation in conflict-prone areas, while multiculturalism and pluralism are implemented in concrete actions within communities. These and other contributions the credit unions are able to deliver have strengthened the safety, unity and solidarity of members of the communities where they operate. They eventually contribute directly towards achieving sovereignty and dignity for indigenous peoples.

Conclusion

Credit unions are only one example of a possible self-determined development model that has been implemented by indigenous peoples in Kalimantan and that brings empowerment and liberation. It shows how a "development" model, which originally came from outside indigenous peoples' culture, could be implemented and transformed in accordance with local culture and identity. It might not be a perfect example and will still have to be tested though time. The development of this movement for more than two decades in Kalimantan, Indonesia has at least taught us a number of lessons, which could be valuable experiences to be shared with indigenous peoples in other parts of the world.

However, as with other development models coming from outside indigenous communities, credit unions should also be implemented wisely and carefully. In places where the communities have been disorganized and have lost their collectivity due to continuous marginalization and oppression, the establishment of a credit union should perhaps be done as a last step. There are a number of challenges that those who decide to implement it in their communities have to face. Experiences have taught us that the biggest challenge is how to manage a credit union within the principles, philosophies and spiritualities of the indigenous peoples. Therefore, credit union movements should be supported through strong community organizing, cultural revitalization and transformation as well as strengthening natural resource management. Credit unions deal with money and when principles, philosophies and spiritualities are replaced by greed and get-rich -quick mentality, they can also become a powerful destructive force for indigenous peoples, showing their real "development" face that is capable of creating "disorderliness," "confusion" and even "madness." However, when the community is able to manage a credit union with their wisdom, knowledge and philosophies, it could equally become a powerful tool to foster changes to bring real empowerment and liberation for indigenous peoples.

Endnotes

[1] <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/nov/20/peru-gang-killing-human-fat>.

[2] <http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/world-news/peruvian-gang-killed-farmers-to-extract-fat-for-antiwrinkle-treatment-14571889.html>.

[3] Article 32, point 1.

[4] The term "naturality" is used here instead of "naturalism" to avoid it being misunderstood or associated with "fatalism," which is perceived as ,"…living in harmony with whatever fate it delivers." See: Darrow L. Miller, "The Development Ethic: Hope for a Culture of Poverty, Univer-

sity of the Nations." <http://www2.gospelcom.net/uofn/kona/resources/worldview/devethic.html >.

⁵ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Credit_union>, 12/18/09 2:27:45 pm.

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11

Self-Determination and Indigenous Research: Capacity Building on Our Own Terms[1]

by Dr. Jelena Porsanger

This presentation[2] is on the theme regarding factors that enable or obstruct indigenous peoples' participation in development processes. I intend to highlight capacity building efforts that provide the necessary conditions for development activities. I argue that there is a need for qualified indigenous human resources in order to succeed in development processes which are conducted on the terms of indigenous peoples. There is also a need for negotiations about research protocols and parameters.

Although I have never been politically involved, I believe that indigenous research in general, as well as my research work in particular, have political impact. I consider indigenous research as a means of empowerment of indigenous peoples through production of knowledge and capacity building. Empowering capacity building means the development of indigenous human resources on our own terms and for our own purposes. These purposes are to continue as indigenous peoples with our own distinctive culture, languages, traditional knowledge, philosophies, and worldviews.

Indigenous research and research on, about and with indigenous peoples

Reading the text of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and other documents related to the Declaration itself and the process of its implementation, I have discovered that indigenous research is not clearly emphasized as a means of self-determination. Indeed, research as such is not mentioned in the Declaration. This paper does not intend to analyze the reasons for this. Indigenous peoples have learnt that research has been one of the most powerful tools of colonization of our peoples and our territories.

In this context it is very important to differentiate between the concept of "indigenous research" and "research on, with and about indigenous peoples." Indigenous research here means research done by scholars who develop indigenous theorizing, identify and use indigenous concepts, and build their projects on an indigenous research paradigm. Over the past few decades, indigenous scholars have brought to the academic world their indigenous perspectives on research. These perspectives were clearly described by Lester Irabinna Rigney, an Australian researcher from the Narungga Nation, who believes that indigenous peoples' interests, knowledge and experiences must be at the centre of metho-dologies in the construction of knowledge about indigenous peoples. (Rigney 1999, 119; and in indigenous methodologies in general, see Porsanger 2004 a) This research paradigm is different from "research on, about and with indigenous people," conducted by outsider researchers on their terms and for their own purposes or those of their institutions, regardless of how respectful and collaborative this kind of research might have been from their point of view.

In my view, indigenous research must produce new knowledge which our societies require and need for their development processes. The Western concept of development has been imposed on indigenous peoples and connected with modernization, industrialization, use of new technologies. On indigenous

terms, development is related—among other things—to the strengthening of our societies, the use of our languages on different levels, including research and education, the incorporation of our traditional knowledge into resource management in order to secure sustainable use of natural resources, and the reproduction and further development of indigenous knowledge systems transmitted from generation to generation.

Development is connected to continuity, which is one of the characteristics of traditional knowledge. The use of the Sami concept of *árbediehtu* instead of "traditional knowledge" (*árbediehtu* is the North Sami term containing two interrelated parts: *diehtu* "knowledge" and *árbi* "heritage, inheritance") clarifies knowledge as both the information and the process, and emphasizes different ways to gain, achieve or acquire knowledge. The concept indicates indissoluble ties between the past, the present and the future, which is validated by *árbi*, "heritage, inheritance." The introduced Sami concept can be useful and applicable for academic discussions, regardless of local (indigenous or non-indigenous) contexts of tradition or traditional knowledge.[3]

During the last centuries and even over the last few decades, indigenous peoples have been mostly *re-active*. By re-active I mean struggling and arguing against the views, explanations, and interpretations of our culture, identity, knowledge, philosophy presented by outsiders. The time of being re-active is seemingly over now. Indigenous peoples have trained their own academics who are not, in many cases, re-active any longer, not complaining or arguing, but suggesting and testing new solutions. They are pro-active. In my opinion, it is a start of a new epoch of indigenous capacity building borrowing Linda Tuhiwai Smith's expressions "on our own terms and for our own purposes."

Decolonizing Research Methodologies

Some 10 years ago scholarly discussions about decolonizing research were initiated. The most well known book, a must-read called *Decolonizing of Methodologies* by a Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) has influenced the whole understanding of research paradigms in an indigenous context.[4] According to Smith, the process of decolonization is "about centering our concepts and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes" (Smith 1999, 39). As I have argued elsewhere (Porsanger 2004, 106-107), "our purposes" are those of indigenous peoples, and "our own perspectives" are the indigenous approaches that allow indigenous scholars:

- to decolonize theories;
- to elaborate indigenous methodologies;
- to use indigenous epistemologies (theories of knowledge);
- to make visible what is special and necessary, what is meaningful and logical in respect to indigenous peoples' own understanding of themselves and the world.

This whole process allows indigenous research to break free from the frames of Western theories of knowledge, which are in most cases very different from indigenous ones and are, indeed, suited to Western academic thought. Western theories of knowledge are mostly foreign to indigenous ways of thinking (Porsanger 2004). What is needed in indigenous research is to put into words, to describe and analyze: what is really different, and why it is so. Theorizing about our own knowledge will give us arguments in discussions about research which disempowers indigenous peoples.

Self-Determination and Power Relations in Research on Indigenous Issues

If indigenous peoples do want to decide about their present and future (right to self-determination), they need access to their own knowledge. All indigenous peoples know from their philosophies as well as from their experiences of colonization that knowledge is power. Research processes nowadays show very clearly that colonization is not over in the field of research. Indigenous scholars have challenged the hegemony of research done by outsider scholars. Challenging this hegemony, indigenous researchers have, in many cases, changed power relations. However, the indigenous academy is small, indigenous theorizing is young and requires knowledge of both "traditional academic" and indigenous academic thinking (so-called "both-ways" knowledge) in order to be argumentatively strong and to speak "the language of theory," which is understandable by the traditional academy. At present, power relations in the academy are still in favor of traditional Western researchers. What can be done in order to change the imbalanced power relations? My answer is indigenous capacity building.

Many indigenous scholars will surely recognize themselves in the following picture: when entering academic discussions, they must explain their belonging to an indigenous people, argue that they are not subjective, and have to refer to the most well known facts about their indigenous peoples in order to contextualize their research. For indigenous peoples themselves such generalized information is worth almost nothing, because we have our internal diversity and our own criteria for describing the peculiarities of our cultures. This knowledge is advanced and requires quite detailed explanations and the use of indigenous concepts and arguments. Such information is too advanced to be background information to contextualize a research project. In the academic view, this information will often be labeled as subjective. Most of the outsider anthro-pologists will certainly argue that they know our culture in detail and understand our internal diversity; there is nothing new or too advanced

for them in our explanations.

However, we, indigenous researchers, must be—once again —pro-active in such discussions. We do not need to continue arguing and defending the peculiarities of our knowledge. We need to produce new knowledge which is based on new approaches, concepts that derive from our own cultures, and theorizing on the basis of these concepts. Such indigenous research will be capable to compete with the traditional academic research, and even more, will give a fresh breath and indeed enrich the academy. But this requires the development of our own theorizing, which in turn is possible if and when we achieve intellectual independence.

Many of my colleagues and I myself have experienced that indigenous researchers in a way do not belong to the same clan as "researchers" in general. We are always labeled as "indigenous." In many cases this implies that this kind of research is different from a "normative," traditional research which is claimed by the academy as being neutral and objective. It is important to mention that traditional research is also institutionalized. An appellative "indigenous" emphasizes that our research is different, and in many cases is considered as dubious by the academy: naíve, illogical, subjective. That is why we must always defend our research practices and outcomes. Undoubtedly, both outsider and indigenous researchers are supposed to think critically about their processes, their relationships, and the quality and richness of their data and analysis. However, academic power relations often give privilege to and provide funding for outsider researchers, even if she or he is lacking important skills.

If we ask a Western researcher, who is doing her or his research on, for instance, Sami culture, whether she or he commands the Sami language, most probably we will get the following answer: "I'm sorry, I don't speak Sami, but my research can be complemented in the future by some other scholars in the field who do command the language." What is unfair and shows imbalance in power relations, is that it is very easy for the acad-

emy to accept such apologies and to give funding for such research projects. I cannot imagine any indigenous scholar apologizing for not having basic academic skills and getting funding for her or his academic research project.

The situation is even more complicated when we take natural science as example. A Norwegian ornithologist who was once investigating a special kind of bird in a certain area was confronted by a traditional Sami man who asked if he knew what the weather was like during the spring time of the year of investigation. The researcher could not answer this question, and furthermore he did not even consider it as related to his research issue at all. However, according to traditional Sami knowledge, the quality of spring weather has a great influence on the behavior of birds in the area (most of the birds come in spring to the Arctic area from the South).

These two examples show that indigenous knowledge is not a prerequisite of "traditional" academic research but rather complementary knowledge. Indigenous knowledge can be an exotic addition to the "real" and objective research. Scholars involved in this "objective" research gain the authoritative status in their research field despite of the lack of important skills. From the point of view of traditional knowledge, there are some basic skills which a researcher must possess. However, this knowledge is not included in any academic curricula or in any requirements for the conduct of research. Researchers can apologize for the lack of knowledge which is basic for indigenous understanding, or they can simply ignore the fact that they do not possess important knowledge. This situation must be changed.

It has been difficult for the academy to accept that indigenous ways of thinking, understanding, and approaching knowledge can belong to anything the academy is prepared to recognize as theory (Cook-Lynn, 1997, 21). The voices of some indigenous researchers bringing indigenous views into academic debates have often been reduced by the academy "to some 'nativist' discourse, dismissed by colleagues in the academy as naïve,

contradictory and illogical" (Smith, 1999, 14). This is an accurate observation of what I myself and many of my indigenous colleagues have experienced in Western university systems (see also Kuokkanen, 2007). The academy has often denied that there is any theoretical value in indigenous approaches. This is precisely because what is allowed to count as theory has been thoroughly premised on Western models of knowledge and epistemology (Porsanger, 2004:112).

Basic skills in indigenous knowledge must be required in research projects and included in the educational curriculum. This sets new standards and requirements for research. These standards, protocols and requirements are not, according to my knowledge, articulated in any country where indigenous peoples live. There are some attempts to regulate research on indigenous issues in Aotearoa and Australia, especially regarding research ethics. But my suggestion is to establish and gain acceptance for indigenous parameters and protocols for research. As long as research is conducted according to the established "traditional" academic practices, we—indigenous researchers—will continue to legitimize imbalanced power relations and we will continue to be re-active. The establishment of new required standards for research will give better possibilities for indigenous peoples to achieve self-determination.

Developing Parameters and Requirements for Research on Indigenous Issues

Protocols can contain important requirements for scholars on indigenous issues, and these concerns outsider researchers and indigenous researchers alike. It is worth mentioning that reflexive analysis is needed in a great array of issues related to indigenous so-called insider research. But this issue must remain outside this presentation.

At least four core issues to the development of research protocols must be negotiated: Respect, Reciprocity, Reliability, and Relevance. These four R's can be filled with content in the following way (based on my own suggestions and fundamental questions about research processes expressed by Linda T. Smith (1999, 10):

Respect:
- What is a minimum requirement for participation in indigenous research?
- How can paternalism be avoided?
- What is the difference between respect and tolerance in indigenous research?
- How will the research outcomes be disseminated?

Reciprocity:
- What negotiation processes are required for a research project, starting from initiation of research, through research conduct to the dissemination of research outcomes?
- Who will carry out research? Who will write it up?
- Who is responsible for research outcomes (any impact)?
- What is the role of indigenous community/communities?

Reliability:
- What is required for negotiation about research paradigms and processes?
- What are the factual requirements to a researcher's skills

(language etc.)?
- Who owns a research project? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it?
- Objectivity of research: both for the indigenous and academic worlds?

Relevance:
- Whose research is this? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope?
- What data can and must be used?

These are just some questions which arise when thinking about possible protocols. The establishment of generally accepted protocols might sound like an impossible mission, but I believe that this feeling of impossibility is rooted in our minds and our education. Every single scholar with academic skills—both indigenous and non-indigenous—has received her or his education through the existing educational system, which is not based on indigenous theorizing or on the use of indigenous knowledge, which is still complementary in the academic institutions.

Many scholars, who do realize the limitations of classic academic education, get their strength from either their own indigenous knowledge or they start learning about this knowledge, which is still considered as alternative and not required in the academy. Indigenous research protocols might be generally the same all around the indigenous world, if we admit the importance of the regulation of research. The establishment of protocols is not mission impossible. It just requires *re-socializing* (as expressed by Ande Somby, a Sami law scholar), i.e., coming to know our limitations and understanding our place in our own society on our own terms, not to show our belonging to others or to defend our understandings, but to gain strength and intellectual independence.

In the period from 2003 to 2004, I was involved in the development of the Master program in Indigenous Studies at the northernmost university of Norway, the University of Tromsø. On the basis of my lectures on indigenous representations and self-rep-

resentations I have published an essay on indigenous methodologies (Porsanger 2004), in which I argue that indigenous methodologies should be designed:

- to ensure that the intellectual property rights of indigenous peoples will be observed;
- to protect indigenous knowledge from misinterpretation and misuse;
- to demystify knowledge about indigenous peoples;
- to tell indigenous peoples' stories in their voices;
- to give credit to the true owners of indigenous knowledge;
- to communicate the results of research back to the owners of this knowledge, in order to support them in their desire to be subjects rather than objects of research, to decide about their present and future, and to determine their place in the world.

Following these methodological issues, indigenous research will strengthen indigenous peoples' identity, which will in turn support their efforts to be independent, not only legally, politically or economically, but first and foremost intellectually.

Indigenous Capacity Building

Indigenous academics have been active in capacity building for their own peoples. In Sápmi, the first indigenous Sami professors started working in the 1960s. But already in 1910, one particularly well known Sami, Johan Turi, wrote the first description of Sami life and understanding of the surrounding world and reality in the Sami language, expressing Sami understandings and explanations. Despite the fact that he did not have any academic education, he should be considered as the first Sami professor in traditional knowledge. Probably sometime in the future Sami academy will express its gratitude to this extraordinary Sami man and award him an honorary position as a Sami

professor, postmortem. Respect and gratitude are also parts of our capacity building.

In different parts of the indigenous world, research methodologies based on particular indigenous cultures and concepts have been developed. One can for instance mention Kaupapa Maori methodology, the Yupiaq concept *tangruarluku* "to see with the mind's eye," the Inuit term *Qaujimajatuqangit* for traditional ecological knowledge (Arnakak 2002), the Mi'kmaq concepts *telinuisimk, telilnuo'lti'k* and *tlinuita'sim* suggested as being more comprehensive for an understanding of indigenous knowledge because they cover connections of diverse indigenous manifestations as part of a particular ecological order (Battiste & Henderson 2005, 35) and so on.

Indigenous research, flourishing during the last few decades around the world, has shown that development and modernity are not found just outside indigenous peoples. Development and modernity do not mean that indigenous peoples must learn from the outside world in order to survive and to adjust to the modern world. Quite the opposite, results of indigenous research have shown that indigenous knowledge can be used in many modern ways. Indigenous research outcomes can open new perspectives and offer new methodological solutions, which can be usable, applicable, and very modern for "Western" (non-indigenous) academic research. But most of all, indigenous research will serve indigenous peoples in their desire to determine and develop priorities and strategies for their development.

Indigenous research conducted on our own terms, educational programs based on indigenous knowledge, establishment of general research protocols can be parts of systematic capacity building for indigenous peoples. Capacity building will enable their participation in development processes and will provide the necessary conditions for development activities.

Endnotes

[1] This paper was presented as a contribution to the International Expert Group Meeting, Indigenous Peoples: Development with Culture and Identity, Articles 3 and 32 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in New York, 12-14 January 2010.

[2] This presentation is based on my experiences from 17 years as indigenous Sami researcher (including my research for a doctoral degree, done in the frame of indigenous methodologies), as well as on my work as a director of the Nordic Sami Institute (in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino, Norway) during the last years of its existence. The NSI was an indigenous Sami research institution since 1974; it was co-organized with the Sámi University College in 2005, where I continued as a research director for the whole institution. I am grateful to my colleagues from the Sámi University College, WINHEC (World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium), and Gáldu (Resource Center for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples), who have shared with me their views on research and self-determination for this presentation.

[3] For more information about Sami traditional knowledge, see Árbediehtu Pilot Project 2009.

[4] This book also had a great impact on my own research, which has resulted in a proposal of indigenous Sami methodology for the study of Sami indigenous religion (Porsanger 2007).

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12

Cartographic Encounters within Counter-Mapping in West Kalimantan

by Albertus Hadi Pramono

Cartographic encounters are a common phenomenon in surveying and mapping. To date, literature on the subject focuses on the colonial mapping activities. Using the case of counter-mapping activities on Dayak lands in West Kalimantan, this paper contends that such encounters still occur today. Many Dayak peoples have counter-mapped their lands since mid-1990's. Their lands are located within complex river systems. These river systems are then the basis of their spatial orientation. This paper shows how Dayak persons who hold and practice such spatial knowledge interact with cartographic knowledge.

Introduction

In a village planning session co-organized by an NGO from Pontianak (the capital city of West Kalimantan province) and village leaders of a *desa* in the *kecamatan* of Nanga Mahap, an elder man approached the GIS technician who was working on a computer to type river names on the map of a *kampung*.[1] On the screen was a map of the village that was generated from the UTM coordinates taken with GPS units by surveying teams earlier in the day. The river on the map ran north and thus upward. The

technician looked at a sketch map of the kampung containing a river system and place names that another NGO activist and villagers drew and worked on previously. The elder man looked at the map on the computer screen and said, "Sir, could you turn the map upside down?" The GIS technician replied, "I can't do that because the map has been set like this."

I did not understand why the man asked such a question. Then I recalled my conversation with some men in another village in a previous mapping exercise and understood that the people in this area orient themselves following a river system from river mouth to the headwaters. Then I realized, this was what I was looking for throughout my research. That encounter was a good example that different spatial knowledge systems came to interact.

Figure 1. Map of West Kalimantan with an indication on the field site

PROVINSI KALIMANTAN BARAT
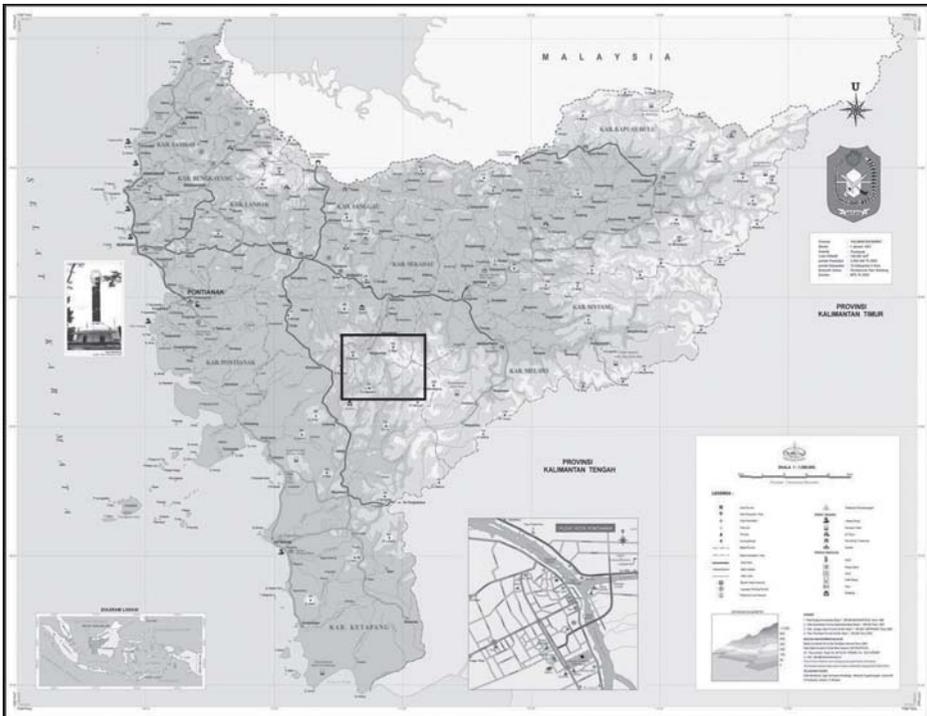
(Source: Bakosurtanal and CIA Factbook)

Interactions between modern knowledge system and indigenous knowledge systems have attracted the attention of scientific communities (e.g., ICSU, 2002), including those in geography. Since the early 1990s, studies on such interactions within cartographic enterprises have flourished. As some authors note (e.g., Latour 1987, Mundy 1996, Turnbull 2000), surveyors obtain geographical knowledge from indigenous informants who have different knowledge systems. Lewis (1998) promotes this phenomenon as cartographic encounters. While he does not provide a clear definition of the term, he implies the encounters as *the encounters between different spatial knowledge traditions that occur either directly in the field or indirectly through the stored information.* Such understanding suggests a focus on the encounters experienced by persons from (Western) modern cartographic tradition who try to collect geographic information on the *terra incognitae* to them which in fact is the *terra cognitae* for the indigenous populations.

In this setting cultural politics of knowledge production took place, since two different knowledge systems were in contact in which the scientific knowledge system dominated indigenous knowledge systems, although the former adopted information from the latter into its body of knowledge. So far, most scholars give much attention to such encounters in the colonial contexts, while it occurs until today and is even more interesting (e.g., Warhus 1997). In the past it was the Europeans who took the advantages of such from indigenous peoples who then became dispossessed. Today the encounters also occur in counter-mapping in which the dispossessed peoples attempt to resist the erasure of their existence represented in state-sanctioned modern maps by reconstructing the knowledge about their places in order to put them back on the maps.

This paper is based on an ongoing research. I am particularly interested in applying the concept of cartographic encounters for the contexts of counter-mapping performed by non-state-backed actors, because knowledge acquisition occurs between those who use the Western knowledge system and the local communities with their indigenous knowledge systems. To do that, I

chose to study the counter-mapping exercises in West Kalimantan.

The counter-mapping movement in the province grew very rapidly. Some NGOs have adopted counter-mapping into their programs. Until November 2008, the Pontianak-based NGO mentioned in the beginning of this paper had been able to assist mapping 309 kampungs in nine kabupatens—an administrative unit under province—covering an area of 1,285,954.25 ha or 8.76 percent of the extent of West Kalimantan. This is considerably a large area for the movement in Indonesia, since most NGOs are only able to map less than 10 villages in ten years. I do not have data for other NGOs, nonetheless the movement has expanded considerably in West Kalimantan, and has even become the yardstick for Indonesia.

Before explaining how cartographic encounter works in counter-mapping, I attempt to theorize cartographic encounters by emphasizing the roles of human agency, particularly surveyors and local (indigenous) people. I approach this through the concepts of spatial literacies (adopting ideas from literacy studies) and geographic translation (Belyea, 1992). The former is a means to emphasize the existence of diverse spatial knowledges, while the latter is to reveal the centrality of human agency in mapping endeavors. In doing so, I take particular attention on the cultural politics within knowledge production. Then I compare the spatial literacy of Dayak peoples in West Kalimantan (particularly those in the kecamatan of Nanga Mahap) and the cartographic literacy of the NGO activists, and discuss how the different spatial literacies interact.

Spatial literacies

Literacy is generally understood as the ability to read and write. However, today the term is widely used to refer to one's ability to comprehend and utilize technologies. If we consider that letters are also forms of technologies, this new definition can apply. Nonetheless, such broadened understanding is still problematic. To understand what literacy means, I refer to the works in literacy studies.

In a recent report, UNESCO argues that literacy "is about knowledge—its creation, storage, retrieval, transmission and use —knowledge from the local environment and knowledge from elsewhere" (UNESCO, 2003: 21). This quote implies not only the production and reproduction of knowledge within a certain group, but also the engagement among different knowledges in literacy. The report also acknowledges that literacy is intertwined with identity. However, the questions are what kind of knowledge and what kind of identity, because certain groups strive to make decisions for others.

Taking into account that particular issue, Street (1995) proposes two models of literacy. The first is *autonomous model*, which treats literacy (particularly in Latin characters) as a superior and necessary skill for a modern person to function in a society and to be a good citizen. By advocating a single concept of literacy, this model tends to promote dominant cultures that in turn set what literacy means and should be. Nonetheless, it is inclined to treat literacy as a non political matter, since it is a taken-for-granted issue. As we know, on the contrary, the political implications of literacy are quite strong as it (re)produces a certain type of culture. It is such impacts that attract ethnographers to give attention to the power relations and cultural settings in which literacy exist. Street calls this an *ideological model*.

This second model adopts the idea that literacy is many, not single, and they exist even within a community and are "embedded in social and cultural contexts … [They] are part of contests over power and resources—and over the meanings" (Street

1993:82). Meanings and social practices in turn exist within certain discursive practices. This means that literacies are also forms of discursive practices (Lankshear & McLaren 1993), and by placing them in the context of discourses within a society, researchers can understand how the society "organize ways of thinking into ways of doing and being" (Lankshear & McLaren 1993:10).

Moving toward spatial literacy, a recently published report of the US National Research Council's Committee on Learning to Think Spatially (NRC, 2006) describes the term as a person's proficiency in "terms of spatial knowledge, spatial ways of thinking and acting, and spatial capabilities" (p.18). The report emphasizes three elements within the term, i.e., concepts of space, tools of representation, and processes of reasoning. In this paper, I use these elements as guiding ideas of spatial literacy.

With the aim at promoting the use of GIS among school students in the United States, the committee (NRC, 2006:20) further elaborates the importance of those elements to spatially literate persons, who should:

- have developed appropriate levels of spatial knowledge and skills in spatial ways of thinking and acting, together with sets of spatial capabilities;
- have the habit of mind of thinking spatially—they know where, when, how, and why to think spatially;
- practice spatial thinking in an informed way—they have a broad and deep knowledge of spatial concepts and representations, a command over spatial reasoning using a variety of spatial ways of thinking and acting, have well-developed spatial capabilities for using supporting tools and technologies; and
- adopt a critical stance to spatial thinking—they can evaluate the quality of spatial data based on their source, likely accuracy, and reliability; they can use spatial data to construct, articulate, and defend a line of reasoning or point of view in solving problems and answering questions; and they can evaluate the validity of arguments based on spatial information.

In short, spatial literacy refers to how "people draw upon their spatial knowledge, their repertoire of spatial ways of thinking and acting, and their spatial capabilities to solve problems in all aspects of their lives" (p. 49).

Although it acknowledges the existence of other traditions of spatial knowledges, the committee prefers to employ (modern) cartographic traditions, particularly through the application of GIS, as a means to develop spatial literacy. Spatially literate person in this regard will adopt what can be called as (modern) cartographic literacy. Such proposal is then inclined to the autonomous model of literacy, while there are other spatial literacies.

To show different spatial literacies and how they interact, I use the example of counter-mapping exercises of the Mahap people, an indigenous Dayak group in the kecamatan of Nanga Mahap in West Kalimantan, that I discuss in a later section.

Geographic Translation

Translation is generally understood as the process and the product of translating written or spoken expression in a language to another language.[2]

A translator is at the center of this process. He/she has to possess the mastery of both source and target languages and the cultures of speakers of both languages. A translator thus mediates both cultures and has to be sensitive to them. Such central position leads them to claim themselves as a force for good, a creative artist, an interpreter and inter-cultural mediator or even as "a figure whose importance to the continuity and diffusion of culture is immeasurable" (Bassnett, 2002: 4). However, for a long time translators considered their act of translating as technical matters that focused on the issues of equivalence of meanings between the words of the source language and target language. This view was under scrutiny in the 1990s.

As in many other disciplines of the social sciences, the development of Cultural Studies and postcolonial theory greatly influenced Translation Studies in the 1990s to be interdisciplinary and to adopt the issues of power and ideology in translation (Bassnett, 2002; Hatim & Munday, 2004). In this newly established tradition, translation is considered as "a process of negotiation between texts and between cultures, a process during which all kinds of transactions take place mediated by the figure of the translator" (Bassnett, 2002: 6). This tradition reveals the act of translation is a means of dominating the colonized/marginalized cultures. The translator's voice is in fact an expression of power (Hatim & Munday, 2004). He/she creates a certain image of subjects through the words of the target language, while at the same time putting his/her culture in superior position compared to other cultures. The outcome is a process of Othering. As Niranjana (in Hatim & Munday, 2004: 208) argues the colonial translators did this by reinforcing a certain version of the colonized and by fixing the colonized cultures.

This postcolonial approach does not intend to bash the culture of the dominant group and instead tries to show that "linguistic exchange [is] essentially dialogic, as the process that happens in a space that belongs to neither source nor target absolutely" (Bassnett, 2002: 6). I try to apply this approach to explain the phenomenon of cartographic encounters.

In cartographic enterprise a process of translation does occur, as Belyea (1992, 1998) argues, when surveyors and cartographers transform local spatial knowledges into cartographic maps. She coins such process as *geographic translation* where there exists a "communication from one set of culture-specific measurements to another" (Belyea, 1992: 270). In this concept, surveyors, mapmakers and cartographers are thus the translators who are in the middle position between two spatial knowledge traditions.

However, the translators in geographic translation, as in other forms, carry cultural baggage that filters the spatial information of other knowledge tradition through their own set of conven-

tions. The process and the outcomes of the translation depend on the power relations between the encountering cultures. In this regard the filter is cartographic conventions that enable the surveyors and mapmakers to find "[cartographic] equivalent for the map structure and topographical details" (Bekyea, 1992: 270).

In colonial context, the geographic translation had strong notion of European and scientific superiority. As Latour (1987) notices based on a French colonial surveying mission, this shifted the nature of the knowledge that may be alien to the original owners: "[th]e *implicit* geography of the natives is made *explicit* by geographers; the *local* knowledge of the savages becomes the *universal* knowledge of the cartographers; the fuzzy, approximate and ungrounded *beliefs* of the locals are turned into a precise, certain and justified *knowledge*" (p. 216, emphases in original).

Further translation took place at the "centers of calculation" in the scientific centers of the metropolitan cities which are distant from the knowledge owners. These centers employed incorporation, acculturation, and assimilation of indigenous spatial knowledge into cartographic knowledge tradition (Lewis, 1998). Such flow of information, although two-way, is thus unequal as the latter sets the standards for all knowledge traditions. Therefore, cartography developed within racial and imperial ideologies (Piper, 2002), because "the very object of the map is to destroy and replace local or indigenous knowledge" which is the "antithesis of modern knowledge" (p. 180). This is an example of "contact zone" (Pratt, 1992).

Spatial Literacies Among Mahap Peoples in Nanga Mahap

The Mahap people is a group of Dayak peoples who live along Mahap River, a tributary of Sekadau River, which in turn is a tributary of Kapuas River system in West Kalimantan. Administratively, Mahap people live primarily in eight dusuns that belong to three desas (Sebabas, Nanga Suri and Karang Betung) in the *kecamatan* of Nanga Mahap, the southernmost kecamatan in the *kabupaten* of Sekadau.[3] They live in relatively rough terrain, mostly low hills (*mungguk*), with Mount Biwak as the highest peak in their area. The hills and mountains have water springs that flow from small streams to Sekadau River, which in turn runs northward to Kapuas River.

Figure 2. Location of Nanga Mahap (Map: JKPP)
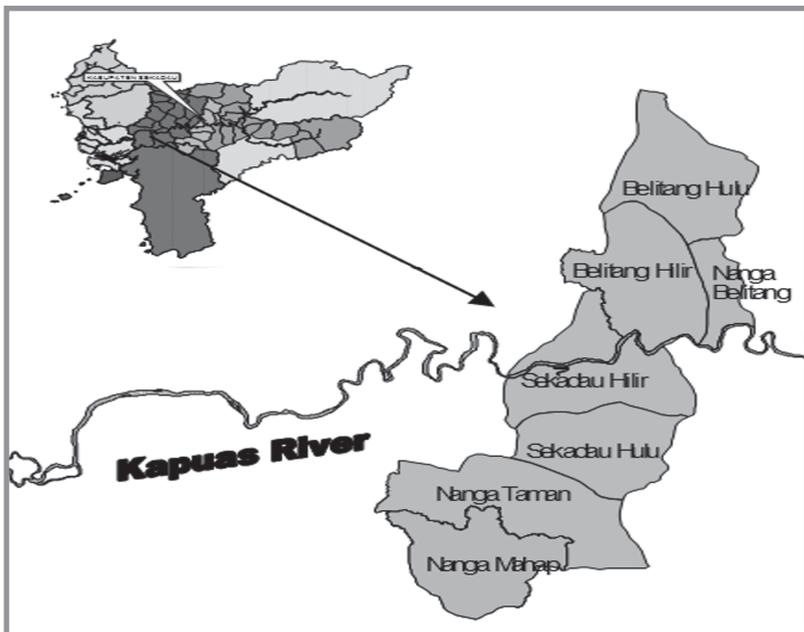
As other Dayak groups in West Kalimantan, the people might have been the descendants of the people of Tamputn Juah (a *tembawang*[4] near the present-day Indonesian-Sarawak border gate of Entikong). They migrated a couple of times following the tributaries of Kapuas and Pawan rivers. Legend says that their ancestors settled in Labai Lawai (an area downstream of Kapuas River near present-day Tayan) and Laman Pupuk (a tembawang in the bank of Kenyabur River—a river of Pawan river system—just south of Nanga Mahap).[5] The first group of Mahap people finally settled in the bank of Mahap River that flows into the southern reaches of Sekadau River.

Until the late 1990s the road system to and in the kecamatan of Nanga Mahap was very poor, because most of them were footpaths. To travel from kampung to kampung and to Sekadau (the nearest trading town, which was the hub for the watershed and is now the capital of the newly established kabupaten), people had to travel on foot using these trails, mostly following the rivers, or took boat rides. Today, most settlements can be reached using motorbikes, while cars can access the town of Nanga Mahap and a small number of settlements, as the provincial government is constructing a paved road from Sekadau, primarily to facilitate the development of oil palm plantations. Due to this development, boats are no longer popular.

One can notice the importance of the river system for traveling and the livelihoods of Mahap people and other peoples in the area. It is then plausible that these peoples use the river system to orient themselves in the landscape, a phenomenon common for other Dayak peoples. Before I discuss further this navigational system, I want to discuss how the Mahap people understand their area.

Figure 3: Sketch of river system

irst, I want to discuss the word *raat* when Mahap people refer to space. They use the word as a description of spaciousness or an area difficult to measure as in *utatn raat* (large extent of forest). In other occasions, they also refer to a place, such as in *pogi ke raat nai kau?* (where did you go?). The word can also be used for a much smaller area, for instance, a position on a table. I think the word is crucial in understanding their concept of space. However, I have not been able to fully grasp its meaning as I am still trying to learn about the concept(s) related to the word.

Another important word is the term *pemogi pejalatn*. They use it to describe the areas where they hunt, collect honey and illipe nuts, and open up lands for their rice gardens and rubber gardens in their swidden cultivation practice. The term is similar

to the concept of land use in counter-mapping practices among the First Nations in Canada (Tobias, 2000), but it tends to have stronger sense of claims.[6] These areas tend to be beyond their settlement area (*kampokng rurokng*). They mostly use natural markers to indicate the boundaries of their area such as *natai* (hillside), river, tema'akng, and *tayak* (swidden fallow). However, in many cases they also use honey tree where they divide the beehives according to the direction of their respective kampokng. Therefore, the term is an expression of territoriality to Mahap people.

However, knowledge about pemogi pejalatn is practically a gendered knowledge. It passes orally from generation to generation in hunting bouts (*mongkal*), an activity females do not take part in. Women tend only to know their own settlement (kampokng rurokng) and their areas along the paths to and in their gardens.

The transmission of knowledge on pemogi pejalatn occurs through oral means and participation in hunting trips. By repeatedly joining hunting with his father or his grandfather, or other older male members in his family, a boy will gain knowledge of the position and names of the rivers and hills by memorizing them. When he is older and is able to take hunting trips by himself, he will apply the memory in orienting himself. If he gets lost and forgets where he is, he will follow a river until he meets a river he remembers. Once he is back in the kampung, he will ask other men about the position of the river and hills. Therefore, a man accumulates a mental map of areas claimed and used by his people through apprenticeship and memorizing. This process also means that a man gains knowledge on wayfinding.

Although not with the Mahap people, I joined a survey to take coordinates of the boundary of a dusun. In this survey I noticed how the peoples in Sekadau watershed navigate. With two villagers and a community mapper,[7] I went to a location where the boundary survey began. Another surveying team also went with us to the site. Both teams departed to opposite directions once we reached the site. A villager in my team was a hunter

whom the head of his dusun had requested to show the boundary of the dusun.

Along the way I noticed that both villagers made markings on the big trees by taking out a small patch of tree bark using their *parang* (similar to machete). They also bent small trees to the direction of our destination by cutting the trunk half way and pushing them with their hands. Along the way I spotted old markings on the trees or bent trees that had outgrowth on the bending areas. Once we arrived at a site where the last surveying team took coordinates, we went back to the hut where we stayed during the survey. The hunter decided to make a short cut, a different path that we took earlier. We went up and down a few hills and arrived at a stream. We followed the stream and met a larger stream. After about an hour of walking on the stream we climbed up and down a few more hills. Along the way the hunter searched for the markers other people or he himself made and finally arrived at the hut.

In addition to understanding their spatial concepts and wayfinding, it is also important to understand the tenurial system of the Mahap people. Like other Dayak peoples, they have both common property and private property regimes. Lands under common property regimes include locally-sanctioned protected forests (*gupukng*) and *tema'akng* of the ancestor of the kampung (*kampokng* in Mahap language). Privately owned lands are areas opened by somebody for swidden cultivation or rubber gardens as well as *tema'akng* of individual family.

Private property is, however, not absolute, especially for the individual tema'akng where different types of access to land or trees can exist. On these lands "owned," other persons or families may have different claims to trees which the person him/herself or someone in his/her family lineage planted or invested in labor. The rights to the tree can be the right to ownership or right to harvest that will be inherited by their children. Such practice is common among Dayak peoples (see for example Peluso, 2003). Therefore, on a piece of land there can be several layers of claims or bundles of rights.

Cartographic Literacy

Cartography evolved within the history of private land ownership, print capitalism and development of the nation-state in Europe (Pickles, 2004). Private property regime in Europe is exclusive and absolute that does not allow other types of claims on a given land parcel. By assigning monetary value on the land as well as by calculating the potential and real incomes from it, land then became a commodity as a means to accumulate wealth. The idea influenced to a great extent the territorial claims of nation-states. Cartography developed to these needs, i.e., to depict accurately the land of a landowner or territory of the state. At the same time, print culture flourished to induce reading and writing which was also believed as a key component of modern culture or a crucial characteristic of progress.

Such history, I suspect, might have led to the Newtonian understanding on space that is absolute and independent: "a kind of absolute grid, within which objects are located and events occur" (Curry, 1996: 5). This concept seems to imply that space is a single layer; no other space can exist on top of another space. It also enables anyone to quantify the space. Cartography tends to employ this concept.

Cartography evolved along visual culture as well that emphasizes vision in making sense of the world. In this tradition a viewer detaches herself/himself from the earth, so that the viewer can objectify it through a bird-eye view of the world. Edney (1997) notices that this "highly visual epistemology" creates "an almost physical distance between the viewer and the viewed, between the subject and the object of the vision. [The viewed is then] pushed away from the viewer into the external world of objects, an action exaggerated by the use of instruments to see and measure the 'true world'" (p. 48). The measurements of "objects on earth" are conducted using geometric principles so that the globe can be flattened into a piece of paper to produce scientific maps. It is in fact a mathematization of space (Duncan, 1993: 41) that turns the world into a space which is "abstract, ho-

mogenous, and universal in qualities" (Harvey, 1989: 254). This conception becomes the basis for reorganizing and ordering the space.

These ideas got translated into a cartographic language. The needs of accuracy led to the emphasis on point, line and area. The cartographic grammar includes scale, orientation, reference system (latitude and longitude), and projection, while the alphabets are the map symbols in depicting things on the earth (Hodgkiss, 1981). A cartographically literate person must comprehend the language and has to be able to link the map into the area covered. The process of training can occur in a place outside the mapped area. A person, therefore, is able to know the location of thing(s) even before he/she comes to the area. This also means that a person can find his/her way by reading the map.

Now I move on to how spatial literacies of Mahap people and cartographic literacy interact in counter-mapping exercise.

Geographic Translation in Action

From the beginning, proponents of counter-mapping in Indonesia have acknowledged the practice of translation in the mapping program. In a meeting that led to the formation of a counter-mapping network in Indonesia, two thinkers of the movement explain that "[c]ommunity makes the maps of their areas by translating mental map they possess into a modern map" (Sirait and Moniaga n.d.: 9, my translation). The Pontianak-based NGO that worked closely with one of the authors in developing methodology of counter-mapping adopts this idea as well. However, it was not until 2001 that the NGO realized the unintended effects of mapping such as boundary disputes between neighboring communities.

Counter-mapping, in Indonesia at least, was an outgrowth of participatory methods, where the peoples are expected to be the

mapmakers and the map users at the same time. Due to this history, counter-mapping in the country is known as *pemetaan partisipatif* (participatory mapping). The proponents of counter-mapping claimed that their mapping activities were participatory and based on indigenous knowledge. Not all these claims could be met, since they had to deal with their social and cultural reality and that of the peoples they worked with as well as with the cartographic techniques.

The NGO assisted in mapping the land of the Mahap people who live in the desa of Sebabas after the latter sent a letter requesting the former to carry out the activity. The NGO then sent a group of its activists to the desa. These activists were themselves indigenous persons and thus were familiar with indigenous methods of wayfinding and tenurial systems.[8] In the desa, they organized meetings to agree on the place names for surveying teams to map the boundaries of the desa with neighboring desas and to hold basic training on map and mapping.[9] The boundaries included rivers, forest gardens, hillsides, and swidden fallow.

The surveying team led either by an NGO activist or a community mapper went out to take geo-referenced points using GPS receivers. Each team consisted of one participant of the mapping training, a guide (usually a hunter) who knew the places of the agreed-upon boundaries, and a person who wrote down the coordinates (and the description of their surrounding) on previously prepared forms, a group of villagers who carried supplies and food. The team took coordinates of the boundary with a given neighboring desa.

The NGO has a set of practices in mapping the boundaries. For boundaries where a path exists, the team took coordinates along the path with an interval decided randomly by the team leader or GPS person. Meanwhile, for boundaries that are a belt or an area, the coordinates were taken depending on the characteristics of the places. If the boundary was a river, the team took coordinates in a place where the survey path met the river. They walked along the river and took another coordinate when the

path went off the river. For boundaries of such areas as forest garden or swidden fallow, the GPS person took coordinates to cut the area across in the middle. Finally, for boundaries on steep hill slope the team took coordinates at the foot of the hills at one side and went around the hill to take another coordinate on the other side. Thus previously area-shaped boundaries according to local knowledge now become lines to conform to cartographic conventions.

Concurrently, in the village a team, usually of the older men, gathered to work on a sketch map on land use. The sketch map generally contained the river system to help the team to locate the area within the boundary of their kampung. They filled in the map with different land uses, particularly settlements, swidden fields, rubber gardens, forest gardens, and communal forest. This activity is coined as PRA session, though its sole activity was to produce a sketch map.

After finishing the surveys, six representatives of the desa, each representing a dusun and a participant of the mapping training, went to Pontianak to assist and see the map production process. In this phase, GIS technicians would digitize all the spatial data, from both topographic map published by Bakosurtanal[10] as the reference map and data from the mapping exercise (both geo-referenced points and sketch maps). For the river system, the technicians took the meanders of the river from the topographic sheet as a reference. When the exercise revealed mistakes on the map, the technicians corrected the data according to local knowledge. They also confirmed other information with the desa representatives, particularly clarifying the spelling of place names.

During this phase, the desa representatives were required to provide translation of map legends in the Mahap language. They had hot debates on a number of terms, particularly in translating "land use map." The final translation is *kar tanah ampah, utatn raat tapakng tama2 akng, buah layah, kampokng rurokng*. The debate was whether to use *gupukng tama2 akng* instead of *tapakng tama2 akng*. The former tends to emphasize the nature

of forest garden as "forest island," whereas the latter emphasizes the rhyme that is more widely acceptable among Mahap people. One should also note that the translation of the term is actually a description of map contents. This might come from how the GIS technician described what the term means.

Once the maps were finished, the representatives brought copies of the maps to their respective dusuns for final checking. After those involved in the mapping exercises agreed, the GIS technicians printed the final maps, which had signature lines for each household, desa and dusun heads, and *camat* (kecamatan head) to sign. The signing ceremony was held in an *adat* traditional ceremony during which a ritual was performed.

The fixing of boundaries in this mapping exercise had a downside. Recently, tension arose between two neighboring dusuns over the cutting of ironwood (*Euderoxylon zwageri*) for commercial purposes. One dusun imposed a regulation to collect levies from the timber cut in its jurisdiction. The other dusun, many of whose residents were cutting trees in the neighboring dusun, claimed that they cut trees in their pemogi pejalatn; they, therefore, did not have an obligation to pay the levies. The residents of the first dusun actually migrated from the second, so they are of the same lineage. The mapping exercise tends to raise the sense of identity within the population of a given kampong, but at the same time it also shifts the concepts of property. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the proponents of the counter-mapping movement intend to revitalize adat (customary) laws and institutions with an expectation to maintain the values of the old times.

Conclusion

Cartographic encounters do occur in counter-mapping activities. The Mahap people have their own spatial literacies (at least the multiplicity can be seen from different bodies of knowledge between men and women). The NGO activists on the other hand know both indigenous spatial literacy and cartographic literacy at the same time. They are aware of the reality that boundaries for Dayak peoples are often not a line. However, the cartographic principles and techniques require them to translate the area-shaped boundaries to lines. Translating Mahap spatial literacies into modern maps confirms the concern over the problem of cartographic techniques in recording indigenous geographical knowledge.

Fox (1998) raises the issues of how modern maps cannot incorporate the fluidity of boundaries and the ethnological content of indigenous spatial patterns. Using GIS as an example, Rundstrom (1995) argues that the technology is an inscriptive technology that can disenfranchise or, using his word, is even *toxic* to indigenous peoples. The cartographic inscription causes indigenous geographical knowledge to become fixed and static, suffers from misrepresentation and information loss, loses its holistic content, and becomes distantly separated in space and time from the source of knowledge (the people). These issues show the unequal relations between the indigenous peoples and the mapper or cartographer, and also the possibility of manipulating the knowledge from a distance.

Furthermore, counter-mapping grew within the discourses of development and natural resource management. Some scholars warn that both discourses tend to treat indigenous knowledges as mere technical matter or an input into the body of scientific knowledge (Nadasdy, 1999, Briggs & Sharp, 2006). In this regard, indigenous knowledges suffer from decontextualization because they fall into the compartmentalization of knowledge as in Western scientific tradition and distillation of complex information provided by indigenous knowledge into statistical figures (Nadasdy, 1999).

This paper also confirms the "ironic effects" of adopting cartographic techniques in mapping community lands (Fox et al., 2005). These effects include increased conflict within and between communities, resource privatization, and loss of common property. The application of cartography in these mapping activities initially promised empowering prospects to the communities. However, once mapping completed boundaries within the communal lands, for example, these become rigid due to increased notion of private property which creates tensions within the community.

Endnotes

[1] Desa is equal to village, the smallest autonomous territorial unit headed by an elected kepala desa (village head). It has autonomy in managing its own resources.

[2] Kampung is an administrative unit under desa in West Kalimantan. Until 1987 kampung was also a desa. In that year the Governor of West Kalimantan ordered the regrouping of desa to meet the criteria set by the now defunct Law on Village Government (No. 5/1999), which grouped a number of kampungs into a desa. Kampung then becomes dusun, a territorial unit under desa.

[3] Kecamatan is an administrative unit that consists of a number of desas headed by camat, an appointed civil servant position. Camat reports to Bupati, an elected public official, who heads a kabupaten (district), an administrative unit under province.

[4] Tembawang or tema'akng (in Mahap language) is widely known as forest garden in scholarly literature. It is a former settlement of Dayak communities where such fruit trees as coconut (Cocos nucifera) and durian (Durio zibethinus) are dominant as well as other edible species including illipe or engkabang (Shorea spp, which villagers use as vegetable fat for cooking). Dayak peoples planted these species to support their lives. Due to natural disasters and/or conflicts with other communities or families, a given community or family moved to a new place for their settlement. In addition to the trees, they left behind remnants of household utensils, jewelry, etc. The old place transformed into a forest pocket which the community or family claims as their property.

[5] Several other Dayak groups also have legends that mention these

two former settlements as the routes of migration of their ancestors.

[6] Except for hunting, the first person(s) who does one of these activities can make claims as primary right holder(s), or even owner(s) for farm lands. Anyone else who wants to access the honey trees (primarily tapakng, Koompasia excelsa [a legume species]) and illipe trees as well as use tayak (fallow lands) has to ask the right holders for permission prior to making any action. Anyone who fails to do that will be sanctioned and is required to pay adat (customary) fines in a ceremony.

[7] A community mapper is a person, usually male, who assists the Pontianak-based NGO in mapping. The mapper is also a villager who had some basic training on mapping, particularly how to operate GPS receiver and to conduct interviews or meetings for the mapping exercise.

[8] A GIS technician even mentioned that he was much more comfortable with orienting himself using the river system rather than north-south orientation.

[9] The participants of this training were young people, mostly male, who can read and write. Most of them had high school education and were from the elite group.

[10] Bakosurtanal is an acronym of Badan Koordinasi Survei dan Pemetaan Nasional (National Coordinating Agency for Survey and Mapping), a national government agency that is responsible in mapping the country.

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13

Kalinga Banao Tribe: Self-Determined Development in Small-Scale Mining and Watershed Protection

by Geraldine L. Fiag-oy

The natural resource wealth in indigenous peoples' territories has historically been the target of exploitation by colonizers and big business, and this has led to environmental degradation and impoverishment of the local inhabitants. An extractive industry that continues to play havoc in indigenous lands is large scale mining. Various human rights violations have been committed in order that mining operations can be carried out in these areas. Guided by the principle of maximizing profit at minimum cost, large-scale mining disrupts the social, cultural and economic order, depriving the majority of the right to pursue a satisfactory livelihood. Sustainable livelihoods have been diminished, leading to poverty.

The massive resource destruction mining causes has also a cumulative effect on the environment and eventually on the climate. Mining "contains a key threat to climate change (Nettleton 2009) as its activities bring about environmental degradation ranging from biodiversity loss, destruction of ecosystems, resource loss, and soil, water and air pollution, which in turn contribute to climate change." Refusing to take responsibility for the environmental damage they produce and influencing subservient governments to act in their favor, mining companies defend their actions by stressing their contribution to national wealth and development.

Large-scale mining is favored by various governments as an industry that creates wealth and therefore results in economic development. Propelled by liberalization policies imposed by international financial institutions, governments enact laws favorable to extractive industries while creating laws that disenfranchise indigenous peoples. They provide the industry tax holidays, repatriation of profits and investments, and other kinds of assistance, including military support to suppress local resistance or opposition.

Indigenous peoples however contest mining's contribution to the economy, maintaining that such benefits as infrastructures, jobs and taxes do not compensate for the social, cultural and environmental costs, which end up as economic costs. In their struggle to protect their territories, indigenous peoples worldwide have demanded a stop to the operation of extractive industries on their lands, and recognition and respect for their rights, including free, prior and informed consent and participation in decision-making. At the same time, they assert their right to self-development, which articulates their identity and culture, and confirms their territorial rights.

Various indigenous communities are exercising self development, as they resist the entry of extractive development projects, and instead manage their resources themselves. They are guided by their culture even as they formulate new mechanisms and strategies to suit their situation.

Rejecting Extractive Industries and Developing One's Resources

One such example is the self-determined development of small-scale mining among the Banao tribe of Kalinga in northern Philippines. Their experience shows how an indigenous group manages and benefits from its own resources instead of allowing the entry of mining and logging companies. The result

is that economic benefits accrue to the people and the vast and rich forest ecosystem is maintained and enjoyed not only by the local inhabitants but also by other people.

This is also an example of self-development wherein the integration of identity, cultural practices and territory is articulated (Ulloa, 2003). In indigenous communities where people are able to assert tribal control over land and resources and where tradition recognizes man-nature- spirit co-ownership of the natural world, consumption and production patterns tend to be socially and culturally regulated as to have minimal impact on the environment but not compromising the society's opportunities to survive materially and culturally. In this case mineral extraction exists together with other livelihood activities such as food production.

This system of self-management of a non-traditional industry evolved as a response to a crisis that confronted the Banao in the 1980s. The beginning of small-scale mining in the area created inter- and intra-tribal disputes on ownership of the gold-rich area, spurring the tribal elders to resolve the problem to avoid violence. The result was the formation of an indigenous organization tasked to manage the industry and provide opportunities for livelihood for the tribal group. This organization emerged as the social capital to "enhance the protection of natural capital both from degradation by external agents through acts of protest as well as from overuse by members, through the enforcement of rules, fines, sanctions and other means (Ostrom, 1990:401).

Small-scale mining in this case is not a traditional industry and outside the purview of traditional management systems. Mechanisms of management using both traditional and modern systems evolved. While indigenous peoples' traditional practices may be regarded as anachronistic given the changing situation, the dynamism and flexibility of culture enable the people to "evolve novel and syncretic methods as they confront, negotiate and try to reconstruct the discourse of sustainable development (Duhaylungsod, 2001).

Banao Tribe of Northern Philippines

The Banao is one of several subtribes of the Kalinga ethnolinguistic group inhabiting the province of Kalinga in the Cordillera highlands of northern Philippines. Six provinces straddling the Cordillera mountain range comprise the Cordillera Administrative Region, which is home to several indigenous groups. The Banao consider the three barangays[1] of Balbalasang, Pantikian and Talalang as the ancestral domain of the Banao tribe in Kalinga.

Historically, Banao territory extends to portions of the adjacent province of Abra. It is believed that the Banao ancestors settled in a place called Bana-aw[2] in Pantikian. As the population grew, the early settlers' descendants moved out to other places including Abra. The creation by the Spanish colonial government of the province of Abra in the late 1800s fragmented Banao territory. Today, there are two Banao tribes claiming separate but contiguous ancestral territories and, at the same time, recognizing their common origins and kinship relations.

These ancestral territories are characterized by mountain ranges of pine, montane and mossy forests. Dipterocarp forests are found in the lower portions. Currently referred to as the Banao Ancestral Watershed, these mountains are among the remaining major forested watersheds in the Cordillera. The headwaters of the Chico and Abra rivers, which are tapped by the Chico, Binga and Ambuklao hydroelectric dams, spring from these mountains (FPE, 2008). Meanwhile, the Saltan River whose headwater is in the Kalinga portion of the watershed has been declared by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources as one of the few remaining clean rivers in the country.[3]

In 1972 and 1974 the state declared the Banao territory in Kalinga (1,338 has) as the Balbalasang-Balbalan National Park. It is also a protected area under the category of biotic area. The total Banao watershed/territory, including the Banao area in Abra province, is 16,700 hectares. According to the Foundation for the Philippine Environment (FPE), "the watershed contains a rich

biodiversity; most of it endemic, such as the wild pigs and the Philippine brown deer (*Cervus mariannus*), which are the hunters' top picks in this area but almost gone in other parts of the country." Recent scientific investigations also reveal the presence of rare and undocumented fauna.

Banao Worldview

The Banao hold that the land they presently occupy is their ancestral land, having been traversed, inhabited and utilized by their ancestors, and therefore land that is valuable and meaningful in the collective memory of the people.

The Banao worldview also holds that there is a spiritual, cultural, social and economic relationship between the Banao and the environment. This interconnection between the material and spiritual worlds defines their ways of life and how they deal with both worlds. As a forest people they utilize methods of survival that are in consonance with their beliefs regarding the environment. This worldview also holds that the territory, historically occupied by the Banao, defines their identity and that this territory must be defended and protected. In addition, the resources in their territory are to be shared with the spiritual world and must be taken care of. Such belief guides the people's conduct with regard to the utilization of natural resources.

Protection of ancestral domain

Before the opening of the small-scale mining industry in Banao territory, a mining firm entered the area to do exploration activities. Informed by Banao members working in mining areas elsewhere about the destruction caused by large-scale mining, the people, through their elders, rejected the mining firm's plan. In the 1980s, Cellophil Resources Corporation (CRC), which had a forest concession covering the Banao forests, attempted to harvest the trees and offered jobs and the construction of roads

and a hospital. Again, the people refused to allow CRC to operate in the area.

By maintaining peaceful relations with other tribes, the Banao are able to protect their resources and control access to these. Disputes regarding property, territory and crimes against persons are resolved through the *bodong* or peace pact institution. Inter-tribal peace ensures the safety of persons entering communities they have peace pacts with. Conflicts regarding boundary disputes and access and control of natural resources may also be resolved through the bodong. The *pagta* or rules of the bodong ensure that both sides are aware of each other's territorial boundaries which are reiterated every time the two sides hold any of the rituals involved in the maintenance of a bodong. This may be a peace pact "warming" where the members of one tribe visit the other for several days of discussions followed by feasting and dancing.

While big logging and mining firms were rejected by the Banao, they shared their resources with neighboring communities and others they had peace pacts with. Firewood and other forest products could be freely gathered. Several years ago, the Banao elders even allowed hunters from another tribe to put a trap inside Banao territory. This later became a disputed area when the hunters' tribe tried to expand their territory by insisting that the area where the trap was placed was part of their territory. After several inter-tribal negotiations involving their elders and peace pact holders, the two tribes resolved their boundary problems.

Resource Use and Utilization

The Banao depend on the forest for building materials, food and other basic needs. Other food sources are produced in swidden farms and rice paddies. Production of traditional crops such as rice and vegetables remains at the subsistence level. Despite the aggressive campaign by the government to use inor-

ganic agricultural inputs and hybrid rice varieties, the people continue to raise traditional rice varieties.

Coffee, which is usually planted around the house and in swiddens, is a cash/barter crop. The local orange (gayunan) industry which used to be a source of cash declined some twenty years ago when it was ruined by disease. According to the elders, the disease was brought in by the government's introduction of an orange variety from a lowland province. There is presently a government effort to revive the industry with hybrid varieties that need chemical inputs to enhance its fruit-bearing capacity. Several farmers have set up orange plantations but the costs of agricultural inputs and hired labor have become a problem.

Several micro-hydroelectric dams provide electricity and irrigation water. In paddies not supplied by the dams, the distribution of water is communally managed, with the elders resolving disputes.

Banao Bodong Association: Managing the Tribe's Resources

Small-scale mining industry[4]

The Banao Bodong Association (BBA) is historically linked with the small-scale mining industry. The organization traces its roots to an earlier formation, the Banao Bodong Federation (BBF). The discovery of gold in the mountain area of Gaang in the 1970s marked the beginning of small-scale mining in Banao territory. The local people learned the technology from non-Banao small-scale miners and also from Banao who worked in the mines in Benguet Province. To prevent a gold rush and to settle inter- and intra-tribal conflict regarding ownership of and access to the mines, the Banao elders initiated the formation of the Banao Bodong Federation, which was later renamed Banao

Bodong Association.

The BBF resolved the issue of ownership by declaring that the Banao tribe of Kalinga province collectively owned the gold resources within Banao ancestral territory. It formulated rules on who should have access to the mines, limiting the entry of non-Banao but at the same time performing the tribe's customary practice of sharing. Aside from encouraging the tribe to continue its peaceful relationships with other groups, the BBF, together with other indigenous organizations in the Cordillera, became an active proponent of indigenous peoples rights. By declaring its right to ancestral domain and by controlling the mining industry, BBF challenged several laws that threatened to deprive them of their lands and resources.

One is the Regalian Doctrine which states that all lands belong to the State. Presidential Decree 705 also states that lands which are 18 degrees in slope cannot be alienated. Mining laws declare that the State owns the natural resources which can be extracted only by legal applicants who have to pay revenue and other fees.

Two years after its formation, BBF changed its name to Banao Bodong Association which continued the advocacy for ancestral land rights. As an organization, it has a formal, non-traditional structure with a board of directors elected every two years by a general assembly. The board is headed by a president and chief executive officer. The president, who has just been reelected, is also a third-term mayor of the municipality.

The organization has formulated a list of guidelines based on experience regarding the conduct of small-scale mining, ideas learned from other stakeholders and also based on cultural practices regarding the allocation of resources. According to its policy guidelines, BBA is "geared towards the conservation of the natural wealth of the locality and preservation of peace and order in the Banao region and maintenance of harmonious relationship with the neighboring tribes." It further declares the need to "regulate the indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources in preservation for the forthcoming generation."

These guidelines are also intended to control the entry of non-Banao in Gaang and address social and environmental problems in the community. The BBA organizational structure includes marshals who are tasked to ensure that the guidelines are followed.

To regulate the entry of miners in Gaang, BBA policy categorizes those who can enter the mining site. People belonging to the Kalinga Banao tribe have the right to work in Gaang for as long as they want. Their spouses who are not Banao can also go to Gaang. Those belonging to "privileged barangays" are allowed in the area only for a particular period. These are the barangays adjacent to Banao territory, the two Banao communities in Abra province and *nikuligong*[5] communities. Further, the BBA requires that only **40** people from each privileged barangay be allowed in the mining community for a two-week period, after which they may reapply and pay the corresponding fees or give their slots to others.

An important guideline which is related to inter-tribal relations is the ban on people who are *kabodong*.[6] The Banao do not allow tribal groups they have peace pacts with to enter the mining area since anything that will happen to them may result in a rupture of the peace pact.

As a non-traditional industry[7] small-scale mining in Gaang uses technology borrowed from mining communities elsewhere. The use of mercury in gold recovery has already been adopted by small-scale miners all over the country, including communities where the industry has been in place for several hundred years.[8] Aware of the toxic effects of mercury in the gold processing stage, the BBA requires that only gold traders with retorts[9] may engage in business inside the mining community. The construction of tailings ponds are required to prevent mine wastes from polluting the water systems. However, this is still a big problem especially when the tailings ponds overflow during the rainy season. Other miners continue to violate the rule against dumping wastes into the water systems. The use of cyanide is also prohibited. The organization is in search of other gold recovery

methods that are less harmful to health and the environment. Unfortunately, the dissemination of alternative technologies is out of the reach of many people.[10]

Meanwhile, timber for the tunnels requires permits from the BBA, and cutting of rare tree species is also prohibited.[11] To maintain the forest cover, the burning of forestland for swiddens is not allowed. Gathering of forest products is limited to Banao tribe members. Miners who establish "kampo" or shacks in Gaang are also required to plant at least five trees a year within the vicinity.

To replace trees used in tunnel construction, tunnel owners are required to engage in reforestation activities. In addition, each privileged barangay is allowed to bring in only one chainsaw each as a measure to control the felling of trees.

BBA funds are generated from fees and penalties. Fees are collected from those who enter the mining site as miners, traders, storeowners and haulers. Registration fees are imposed on tunnels and equipment such as ball mills, generators and chainsaws. Meanwhile, penalties are imposed on violations such as illegal cutting of trees, smuggling of liquor and illegal entry. Troublemakers are also penalized and habitual violators are banned from entering the mining area.

The small-scale mining area in Gaang, despite its location within a state-declared protected area, is symbolic of the people's assertion of ancestral land rights. In deciding to engage in small-scale mining, the Banao contested the provision prohibiting resource extraction in a protected area. The BBA has also declared the mining site as a Minahang Bayan (community-owned mining area) as an affirmation of tribal ownership as expressed in the BBA guidelines, which states that "the mining area is located within the ancestral domain of the Banao tribe." The Banao mining site is a self-declared one and different from the Minahang Bayan recognized by the state.[12]

The notion of collective ownership of the resource facilitated the emergence of a system that is appropriate to the management of common property. In the absence of a traditional

mechanism to fully manage a non-traditional industry like small-scale mining, the people—without abandoning their cultural norms—created a mechanism that could manage common property using both traditional and formal systems.

BBA's role in community development

Earlier in its history the BBA focused on two concerns: maintenance of inter-tribal peace and management of the small-scale mining industry. Recently, it has collaborated with another NGO in a conservation project.

Livelihood

In the past, cash was obtained from employment as teachers and government employees in the municipality. Due to limited jobs in the locality, people migrated to other areas to seek employment. The small-scale mining industry now provides more people the opportunity to earn a living in their own locality. It has also encouraged Banao living elsewhere to return home and engage in mining.

The industry has provided some Banao the means to acquire houses and agricultural lands especially outside the territory. The majority, however, view small-scale mining as a means to meet their household and farm needs such as material goods and food for the household and tools for the farm. People also go to the mines in times of emergency such as when a family member needs cash for medical expenses. Unlike in other places, the opening of the mines did not lead to the abandonment of rice paddies and other subsistence activities. Families still maintain their fields and go to the mines during the slack season in the agricultural cycle. Many of those who spend considerable time in the tunnels return to the community during the harvest and planting seasons.

Education

Education is important to the Banao, having been introduced to formal education much earlier than the other tribal groups in the province. In 1923 the government set up an elementary school in Balbalasang followed in 1946 by a high school operated by the Anglican Church. The literacy rate of the Banao is high given the presence of these schools and the premium set by the community on education. Community affairs such as peace pacts are sometimes postponed so as not to distract the students' attention as these entail feasting and the entry of many people from other communities. One inter-village activity was moved to another date to enable the community to prepare for graduation ceremonies. Another reason, however, for holding peace pact activities during school breaks is to enable college students to participate and increase their knowledge regarding cultural activities.

The small-scale mining industry is also the major source of financial support for most Banao going to college. The students work in the mines during school breaks to augment what their parents have accumulated. A teacher in the local high school gave up his job to work in the mines so his children could go to college. Women who are farmers or employed but whose earnings are barely enough also go to the Gaang mining site before school opening in order to earn for their children's educational needs. Many of these students finished college and found employment in the local government bureaucracy and elsewhere. The lure of cash however resulted to some young people leaving school and becoming full-time miners.

Students are a privileged group in the mines as they are not required to pay the usual fees charged by BBA for all who enter the mining site to work in the tunnels or engage in commerce. Through the sharing system called *saga-ok*,[13] tunnel owners give students some sacks of gold ore instead of the latter spending time digging for ore in the tunnels. In addition, ball mill owners allow students the use of their ball mills and other equipments for free.

The BBA uses the collected fees for its operations and for the community. As support for the educational needs of Banao communities, the organization approves requests submitted during the annual assembly such as musical instruments and other materials needed by the schools in the three Banao barangays. Plans are underway for a BBA scholarship fund for high school students in these barangays.

Environment and Health

The BBA Committee on Environment regularly reiterates the rule prohibiting pregnant women, lactating mothers and children under five years of age from residing in Gaang as they are vulnerable to disease. This particular rule is usually a topic of debate in annual assemblies as some families maintain that there are no health hazards in the area. The absence of a school in Gaang[14] limits the number of children staying there. As soon as the miners' children are of school age, they are sent back to relatives in any of the three Banao barangays so they can attend school.

While the BBA initially focused on the Gaang mine site, its recent involvement in bigger environmental conservation projects has widened its scope of operation to include not only the forest area in Kalinga province but also in Abra. The BBA is presently working with some NGOs in a project to conserve the remaining forests in the area referred to as the Banao Ancestral Watershed.

Women and children

Women carry out a whole range of activities in the small-scale mining industry. In Gaang the women's involvement in actual mining includes tasks related to ore processing such as crushing, grinding and washing and amalgamation. Aside from the indigenous knowledge involved in gold mining and pro-

cessing, the Banao also absorbed the cultural beliefs and practices of the transmitting culture,[15] such as the belief that women should not enter the tunnels as the gold will be difficult to find if women are around. This belief, however, appears to be universal.

Most women work as entrepreneurs and haulers. As entrepreneurs they manage small stores that carry foodstuffs, cigarettes and other household items. Meanwhile, haulers are those who carry baggage from the roadside up to the mining community which is seven kilometers away. A few women are engaged in gold trading and have become wealthy. However, this is also a risky undertaking as gold traders are targets of robbery.

Although women do not work in the tunnels, their involvement in processing still exposes them to danger as they use mercury in the amalgamation process. It is for this reason that the BBA discourages women, especially pregnant and lactating mothers, from residing in Gaang.

Banao Ancestral Watershed

The existence of Banao communities within these mountain ranges did not prevent the State from declaring it as a national park in the 1970s. Called the Balbalasang-Balbalan National Park, it is considered a protected area under the category of natural biotic area as it is an important site for biodiversity conservation and the largest remaining forest land in the Cordillera region. The rules and regulations regarding protected areas contravene the traditional values of many indigenous groups, whose objective is the harmonious coexistence of humans and forests, based on sustainable use of the resources (Tresierra).

Institutions concerned with environment and conservation issues have shown interest in the Banao ancestral territory. In 1999 the Chicago Field Museum and Haribon, a local conservation NGO, conducted a survey and found the area to be rich in biodiversity. Haribon conducted a research two years later and

documented 34 species of birds which were endemic to the country. Two mammal species recorded belong to the endangered species. Several new species were also found in the area.

In 2003 a local NGO, with support from the Foundation for the Philippine Environment, launched a project in collaboration with the Banao in the provinces of Kalinga and Abra. The goal of the "Community-Based Resource Management Project for the Banao Ancestral Watershed" is to "empower local communities for an effective implementation and sustainable management of a gender-fair, culturally-sensitive and economically-viable biodiversity conservation project towards sustainable development." The area covered by this project is the contiguous forest ecosystem claimed by the Banao in Kalinga and Abra provinces as their ancestral territories. Organizations involved in the project are the Banao Bodong Association (BBA) in Kalinga and the Malibcong Banao Bodong Federation, Inc. (MBBFI) in Abra.

Several trainings were conducted by the partner NGO to build the capacity of the organizations to implement the conservation and economic development program. While traditional sustainable practices regarding subsistence agriculture and forest utilization are in place, the project hopes to introduce and promote other rules and practices, including state-imposed resource utilization rules. These rules are given legitimacy through the tribal elders who endorse those that are imposed by the state or formulated by the community and/or other stakeholders such as environmentalist groups. Examples are the prohibition on fishing with the use of chemical poisons and the cutting of rare tree species.

To further maintain the integrity of the watershed the project promotes the "development and management of local and green investments/livelihoods in ancestral watersheds" (BAW Strategic Sustainable Plan). The project is promoting the revival of the orange industry in the Banao area.

In support of the small-scale mining industry, the project financed the training of some Banao in jewelry making to en-

able the people to increase their profit but more so to enable others—who cannot go to the mines—to share the benefits by making finished products.

A traditional practice being promoted by the project is the *lapat* system which is a mechanism that rationalizes resource use and extraction. Cultivation and resource extraction in areas believed to be the habitation of spirits or unseen co-owners are taboo. Meanwhile, elders may declare a *lapat* or moratorium on the cultivation of swiddens considered overused and may lift the *lapat* after some time. This mechanism results in the maintenance of soil fertility and conservation of biotic and non-biotic resources. In addition, the calendaring of activities like the gathering of forest products is communally agreed upon. The elders, who are custodians of tradition, decide on penalties imposed on violations of *lapat* rules.

Peace and inter-tribal relations

As earlier stated, the organization was set up to settle inter and intra-tribal disputes regarding the mining area. It was also active in the promotion of indigenous peoples' rights, including regional autonomy for the Cordillera in the 1980s. Today, it is limited to development concerns in Banao territory and to the maintenance of harmonious relationships with other tribal groups within and outside of Kalinga province.

Peace with other tribal groups is important in the maintenance of social and economic order. It is necessary therefore to resolve boundary issues, territorial rights and other disputes with other groups. The BBA Bodong Committee, composed of elders and peace pact holders, are tasked to coordinate with other tribal groups in the settlement of disputes and the holding of peace pacts and other related activities.

Traditionally, peace pact holders and their kin shoulder most of the expenses incurred in such activities as peace pacts or the recognition of a new peace pact holder. To lessen the family's

burden, the BBA contributes an amount which is decided upon by the board or by the general assembly. This is possible because of the financial resources generated by the BBA in its management of the Gaang mining industry.

Summary and Conclusion

The assertion by the Banao of their right to their ancestral territory has enabled them to protect their resources from external incursions. Instead of allowing extractive industries into their territories, they decided to utilize their resources for their own benefit, at the same time creating rules and regulations that would control resource extraction and conserve their resources. Regulated access prevented a gold rush and indiscriminate resource extraction activities, but it does not invalidate the traditional values of sharing. The organization has rules on who else could access the gold and adopted external traditional sharing practices. This reflects the flexibility of the tribe as it adopts other practices and formulates new ones in its resource management strategies. The new perspective on management of natural resources involving their cultural practices and formal systems demonstrates that the people are capable of evolving mechanisms that can enable them to attain economic and territorial security and to contribute to both local and national development.

There are problems, however, that the Banao have to contend with. The liberalization policy of the State threatens land security as mega-development projects supported by national laws and State development programs can be enforced in their territory. The State continues to accept mining applications from big mining interests and to allow them to engage in exploration work. The consequence is the division of communities as there are others who favor the entry of mining.

At present, the Banao are benefiting from community-owned and -operated mining.[16] Their low-energy extractive activities are also keeping their ecosystems from degradation. With their history of asserting ancestral land rights and awareness of the value of natural resource conservation, they will be able to contend with forces that threaten their territory, identity, and livelihood.

Endnotes

[1] Barangay (ba-rang-gai) is the smallest formal political-geographical unit; this is headed by a Kapitan (captain). Several barangays form a municipality headed by a mayor.

[2] Bana-aw means lake in the local language.

[3] The river fed by creeks in the Abra side is the Malanas River.

[4] The small-scale gold mining industry has become a major economic activity of indigenous peoples in the Cordillera highlands of northern Philippines. Except for the Ibaloy ethnolinguistic group/tribe which had been engaged in gold production for several centuries, the other tribes in these highlands went into mining much later. At present, small-scale mining is done in five of the six provinces comprising the Cordillera Administrative Region. In many communities the people engage in both small-scale mining and subsistence farming. In other areas where small-scale mining started several hundred years ago and where large-scale mining also operated, farming activities declined due to lack of arable land. The majority of the people also depend on cash from small-scale mining for their needs.

[5] Nikuligong communities are enclaves of Kalinga Banao in other places in Kalinga such as in the urban center of Tabuk.

[6] Kabodong refers to a tribal group with which one tribe has a peace pact. For example, the Banao tribe has a peace pact with Balatok tribe. The Banao considers Balatok as kabodong and vice-versa.

[7] Small-scale mining is a new industry in Gaang compared to communities in Benguet Province where artisanal gold mining dates back to some four hundred years.

[8] The Ibaloy people of Itogon municipality in Benguet province have engaged in small-scale mining as early as the Spanish contact in the 1500s. Itogon has hosted two big corporate mining firms with whom

small-scale miners have been in dispute. Itogon miners have earlier switched from simple processing technology to the use of mercury.

[9] Retort-equipment that keeps the mercury from escaping during the amalgamation process.

[10] A German company has developed an inexpensive device developed in the Brazilian Amazon. It is a modified sluice box with a gravity trap at the end of box and a sealed crucible that prevents mercury from being released into the atmosphere. Tested in Ecuador and Columbia, the retort and sluice box successfully recovered 95 percent of mercury used and 5-10 percent of gold that would have been washed away.

[11] Almaciga (*Agathis philippinensis* Warb.) has been tapped for its resin, commercially known as Manila copal. Locally, the resin is used as incense, torches, caulking substances and smudge for mosquitoes. This is now a protected species

[12] Republic Act 7076 or the People's Small-Scale Mining Act of 1991 provides for the establishment of a Minahang Bayan or small-scale mining area for miners who organize themselves into cooperatives. In the state-established Minahang Bayan, the miners are required to pay taxes and sell their gold to the Central Bank. As legal groups they are entitled to receive technical assistance from the state.

[13] Saga-ok - this term is borrowed from the Kankana-ey and Ibaloy of Benguet province. In the small-scale mining areas in Benguet, tunnel operators allow others, especially women, to collect gold ore which they can process. Among the Banao, women and students are also recipients of this sharing practice.

[14] The nearest elementary school is seven kilometers away.

[15] The Ibaloy and Kankanaey of Benguet Province.

[16] The small-scale mining industry, whether practiced by indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, can no longer be ignored by governments. Firstly, large-scale industries do not have a monopoly on development as demonstrated by small-scale industries pursued by indigenous peoples and other rural communities. Studies show that these industries in many countries provide livelihood especially for rural communities. As an example, revenues in small-scale mining create employment and increase local purchasing power (Compendium of best practices in small-scale mining).

Small-scale mining, however, is considered by big business and governments as a hindrance to development for various reasons. Small-scale miners compete with the big-scale mining industry for resources such as land, water and the resource to be extracted. Small-scale mining is considered a primitive industry because of its use of simple technology. Gold rush areas are disorganized and are usually sites of social problems.

The government does not receive revenue from small-scale mining except for the few legally recognized cooperatives. Both groups blame small-scale mining for causing environmental degradation.

There is a growing recognition of the contribution of small-scale mining in the economy and which merits attention and support. Some 20 million people worldwide engage in small-scale mining with 100 million depending on it for livelihood. The ILO also reports that 1 to 1.5 million children and 650,000 women in 12 of the world's poorest countries participate in small-scale mining (WB Issue Briefs). It is confronted with problems such as competition for land and resources with big mining and other industries, lack of organization which leads to conflict, poor technology and inadequate access to information. Conflicts also occur when outsiders encroach into resource-rich areas. Improving the situation of the small-scale mining industry worldwide will have a positive impact on the communities, especially indigenous peoples, and also on the environment.

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14

Owning Research and Building Force at the Margins: Indigenous Peoples as Agents of Self-Determined Development

by Leah Enkiwe-Abayao

> The struggle for the validity of indigenous knowledges
> may no longer be over the recognition that
> indigenous people have ways of
> knowing the world which are unique,
> but over proving the authenticity of, and control
> over, our own forms of knowledge
> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:104

> The performative is political … [and] provides the context
> for resisting neo-liberal and neo-conservative attacks
> on the legitimacy of the world view in question
> Denzin, 2003:32

Concerned at the increasing perpetuation of neocolonial regimes in indigenous peoples development discourse, indigenous intellectuals are contesting capitalist frameworks and challenging their dominance. But at the same time they are evolving views that resist imperial paradigms that espouse a "dominant-weak" dichotomy, where the weak is the indigenous in the modern world. The widening inequities between dominant development paradigms and indigenous worldviews can be seen in the colonial and neocolonial history of two important fields: research and education. Many indig-

enous communities have questioned the wisdom behind all the studies conducted on them. Indeed how have results of researches impacted the lives and conditions of indigenous peoples in their territories? What are the evidences that these results trickle down to their villages and improve their situations?

"Research" and "education" are not indigenous and have long been associated with their colonial and neocolonial underpinnings. Academics and freelance consultants dominated and still dominate the conduct of researches employing neocolonial frameworks that dislocate the indigenous in both the process and end result. In many less developed countries, past researches carried out by social and natural scientists were used by colonizers and their political successors to further justify their policies and programmes on colonization, modernization and development. Indigenous intellectuals have criticized the many unethical and discriminatory practices and ways of doing research on indigenous peoples, especially in how these perpetuate and aggravate their conditions. Indigenous peoples recognise the need to rectify this situation and to strategically decolonize the ways of doing research.

So what have indigenous peoples accomplished are doing to solve issues and problems affecting them? Are efforts confined merely to protests? I used to struggle in answering these questions from my colleagues and students during my first five years of teaching in the university. Back in the 1990s, few literature talked about what indigenous peoples have successfully achieved or about distinguished indigenous peoples in any of the less developed countries. Indeed the problems, issues and concerns of and on indigenous peoples are not simple, nor are they within the priority area of work of the state.

Ten years since the publication of the first and most influential book on indigenous research methodologies, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, indigenous peoples worldwide continue great efforts to engage in or carry out social researches that serve their needs or purposes.[1] Written by an indigenous Maori scholar, this

work calls for the transformation of research processes and the broader social contexts in which research is conducted. Central to its discourse is the repositioning of indigenous peoples, their knowledge systems and epistemologies, and the development of research methodologies and ethical guidelines that are appropriate or sensitive to indigenous peoples' realities, worldviews and perspectives.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith is among the most influential indigenous scholars who have challenged the historical and contemporary epistemology of Western knowledge. She asserts that research is bound by Western ideology, colonized knowledge and the false notion that researchers are the experts. Indigenous peoples are reduced to mere objects of research. Yet Smith warns us that postcolonial ways of thinking and doing do not mean that people have unlearned colonial ways. This is the kind of problem indigenous peoples encounter when doing research, thus it is important to decolonize research and its practice if it is intended to work for indigenous peoples.

Decolonization is a process of centering indigenous experiences in historical and contemporary discourse, firstly by recreating and re-claiming indigenous histories and knowledges, and secondly, by developing indigenous projects that contribute to the operationalization of self-determined development. Self-determination, in this context, becomes more than a political agenda or outcome. It articulates an indigenous framework and defines the processes by which social justice is achieved by indigenous peoples on which they can freely pursue their economic, social, cultural and political development.

This article aims to show modest ways and efforts of indigenous peoples to free themselves from dominant neocolonial research paradigms and projects, and how they reformulated research to suit their needs and eventually own it. It looks into attempts of indigenous peoples to bring forward their cultural aspirations, affirmation of their tradition, views and analysis of various issues that operationalize what Lincoln and Denzin (1994) call "epistemological version of validity." This is an approach to

validity that locates the power within indigenous peoples and their cultural realm, and where the gamut of research is determined and defined by the "researched" indigenous peoples.

However, very few indigenous intellectuals are working along this line of need in research and indigenous peoples' development. This is the sad reality that exists especially in less developed countries. There is thus a need to raise and promote this issue and its urgency among indigenous activists at the global level, with its core premised on the establishment of a network of indigenous researchers.

Forming a Network of Indigenous Researchers

In 2000 a group of indigenous activists came together during an informal meeting while attending the Tebtebba-organized "International Conference on Conflict Resolution, Peace Building, Sustainable Development and Indigenous Peoples" in Manila, Philippines. They were concerned about common and increasing negative experiences of indigenous peoples on researches and documentation done on and with them by non-indigenous persons and supporters. They used these realities to build a strategic approach in understanding the state of indigenous peoples in the area of education and research and to formulate a mechanism that would provide an opportunity to identify, discuss, resolve and advance the sustainable wellbeing of indigenous peoples. And one way which they saw to address this vital problem was to build a network. From then on, this core group worked towards drawing in more indigenous members and supporters, using as a guiding principle a strong statement they issued in pursuit of this goal. In 2003, the Indigenous Peoples' Global Research and Education Network (IPGREN) was formally formed with the following articulated direction:

> "…We Indigenous peoples are increasingly becoming weary and wary of researches that only treat them as

targets of research and education efforts. In the area of research, indigenous peoples have always been the sources of information. Much of these information, when processed and interpreted by the researchers, become unintelligible if not totally irrelevant to the indigenous peoples' everyday lives. We, Indigenous Peoples, want to speak out now. We want to conduct research that can help them articulate their issues and perspectives. We want to (re)claim an arena where they have been historically marginalized. At the same time, we want to be trained on the rudiments of 'scientific inquiry,' if only to better understand their changing social, cultural and environmental milieu and become more effective in putting forward our issues and concerns."

Represented at its launching were indigenous organizations (countries/organizations) and individuals from Ecuador, Guatemala, South Africa, Kenya, Bangladesh, India, Indonesia and the Philippines. They shared the results of basic researches they carried out in a workshop, "Research and Education on Indigenous Peoples: An Assessment and Planning Workshop" on December 10-12, 2003 in Makati City, Philippines. Based on identified needs, the researches focused on the state of researches conducted on indigenous peoples, indigenous education, and situations of indigenous peoples.

The indigenous organizations/individuals who actively participated in the initial stages of building IPGREN were: Indigenous Information Network (INN) of Kenya; National Khoisan Consultative Conference (NKOK) of South Africa; Instituto Muni'kat of Guatemala; Hill Tracts NGO Forum (HTNF) of Bangladesh; Aliansi Masyarat Adat Nusantra (AMAN) of Indonesia; Tebtebba; Confederacion Nacional de Organizaciones Campensinas, Indigenas y Negras del Ecuador Versalles (FENOCIN) Ecuador; Bineet Mundu (indigenous activist), Jarkhand, India.[2]

Research became the basis of unity among the members, and they committed to do research for indigenous peoples and

by indigenous peoples. They developed a research agenda that would serve their work and purposes. The agenda was directed at basic research that would engage them to start a more concerted effort to continually share updates on research and education. The exercise was seen as a process of getting basic data[3] they needed for their advocacy work.

Thus, IPGREN was envisioned as a venue for indigenous organizations to share, plan and act on a research agenda and education programs that strengthen the indigenous peoples' movement in less developed countries. It was seen as a network where indigenous educators and advocates are organized to train, develop and strengthen indigenous peoples' capacities to undertake research and education work, in particular to generate data, do their own analysis and use research findings to strengthen their advocacy work. Membership was open to all those who share the cause and its principles.

Believing in IPGREN's potential for transformational impacts, one of its convenors, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, led the network and used its guiding principles to expand its membership and work for activities to be undertaken towards achieving its goals. She talked about the network and its goals to her friends in the academe, international institutions, and grassroots indigenous organizations and how they could contribute to its work. Many ended up doing volunteer work, while institutions offered to network or do collaborative work.

Central to the concerns of the founding members and one of the challenges they have to address is how grassroots organizations view research—as a very disempowering tool. Very few indigenous organizations appreciate the uses and importance of research in their work, much less have a research component in their program of work. This is usually left or contracted out to the experts—mostly academic friends. The notion that "research is for experts" is strong, prevalent and continues to marginalize indigenous peoples who do not have necessary academic qualifications even if they are competent enough.

Another reason is that indigenous organizations are more concerned about the functional literacy of indigenous peoples. This is a literacy that refers not only to being able to read, write and count, but to knowing, understanding and internalizing their rights as indigenous peoples. For indigenous organizations, the issues and problems of indigenous peoples, including research and education, are subsumed in a broader spectrum of social realities such as poverty, government policies and development programs geared toward modernization. Indigenous peoples are thus largely unaware of the purposes of researches being done and the benefits they could gain from them; in addition the results may be totally irrelevant to what they really need or want.

Such realities have not only prodded indigenous scholars to work proactively among grassroots indigenous organizations to clarify and correct the erroneous thinking that only experts can do research. These pointed out to a greater need—the training of indigenous peoples in social research. IPGREN has thus embarked on training indigenous peoples who are interested to do research. The training is directed at skills development to enable indigenous peoples to come up with their own situationers and write their own experiences, analyses, programs and actions, and thus own the knowledge. The training program encourages interdisciplinary approaches to research, as these are seen as nearer to indigenous ways. One of the most urgent targets is to build capacities and make an impact, to encourage more indigenous persons to engage in research and own it.

International Research Training on Social Research and Indigenous Peoples

Working on the vision to reinforce the capacities of indigenous peoples in research, Tebtebba-organized "The International Training on Social Research and Indigenous Peoples" on October 25 to November 6, 2007 in the Philippines guided by the

following objectives: 1) To build the capacity of indigenous peoples to conduct intelligible researches relevant to indigenous development that will enable them to better articulate their issues and perspectives and reinforce their proactive engagement on various processes locally and abroad; 2) To initiate the development of training modules on "Social Research and Indigenous Peoples;" 3) To promote indigenous peoples' perspectives integral to the conduct of the trainings, research and its issues, including indigenous discourses on research ethics, indigenous concepts of development and other evolving issues; 4) To strengthen and expand the current pool of indigenous researchers of IPGREN.[4]

Twenty-eight researchers from seven Asian countries: Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam actively participated in the rigorous process of the training. The training not only enhanced indigenous peoples' capacities in research but also provided a space to broaden perspectives and insights, and gain deeper understanding of the issues of indigenous peoples from other countries. The knowledge gained from the training was a valuable tool that the participants could use to help their people to advocate for their rights, especially to self-determination. The training also intended for them to work on a module in their own language on how to develop and train their own indigenous peoples as researchers. At the end of the two-week training, they were able to present research project proposals which they refined based on feedback from the trainors and other participants.

Locating Research in Indigenous Peoples' Advocacy Work

The immediate past has witnessed the increasing involvement of indigenous persons in researching their own situations and issues in their own and other indigenous communities. Worth noting are indigenous organizations who realized early on that

they should have a say on what and how researches are being done in indigenous communities and took up the challenge to conduct researches, themselves. Members of such organizations have already played the role of lead researchers. Some of the members of IPGREN, for example, have undertaken researches related to the campaigns and advocacy work they are involved with. These include studies on the impacts of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, good practices in doing development work with indigenous peoples, and indicators of indigenous peoples' wellbeing, among others.

However, for most indigenous activists who are involved in day to day work and struggle of addressing human rights violations among their own peoples and ensuring the physical and cultural survival of their own communities, research ends up being a low priority in all areas of work. Given such a situation, it is more convenient for them to allow foreign and local non-indigenous researchers to do studies in their communities. By the time the research is finished, however, they realize that the results are misused, making it a problem difficult to correct. Moreover, it is common that indigenous issues and knowledges are chosen as subjects of dissertations, theses and other types of studies, but these do not necessarily benefit indigenous peoples. These include results of studies returned to the people or communities who were the sources of data. Few studies conducted by non-indigenous researchers show useful results for indigenous peoples.

Evolving Efforts, Shifting Paradigms

As IPGREN members engaged in research for their own use in advocacy work, they continued to reflect on how best research could serve them. After doing basic literature surveys on indigenous peoples and attempts at generating disaggregated data on indigenous peoples in their home countries, they soon recognized the need to examine the conceptual contexts to build a

strong framework on which research and education can operate.

A meeting entitled "Advancing Indigenous Peoples Rights through Social Research: Indigenous People's Epistemologies, Paradigms, Research Methodologies, and Approaches" on October 17-20, 2008 in Baguio City, Philippines brought various indigenous persons to again share their experiences in doing research themselves, the various methodologies they used and developed, and their proposals on how to improve further this area of work.[5] Building upon the good experiences and learning lessons from the bad ones, they recognized the complexity of the challenges indigenous researchers face. First, while they want to conduct studies, they lack the means, technical abilities and resources to do so. Secondly, they have to address the challenge of meeting standards set by Western traditions vis a vis indigenous ways of knowing and learning. The ways used to reach these standards have led indigenous peoples to distrust their own capacity and ways of articulation. For others, some formal research practices and results have ruptured their trust in research altogether.

Third, indigenous scholars need to develop ethically responsible methodologies and approaches that value indigenous epistemologies. Further, they have to contend with local dynamics in relation to research implementation, especially when these are done in their own home communities. Indigenous peoples are drawn to defend their knowledge systems and their home territories from current neocolonial agenda that perpetuate development policies and programs. Such programs have destroyed their rainforests and mineral resources, flooded their lands, patented genetic material and tribal medicin, commodified spirituality, and otherwise directed, classified, and interpreted indigenous peoples' ways of knowing within Western paradigms.

Finally, indigenous researchers have to face and overcome their own communities' distrust of researchers. Indigenous peoples are constantly challenged to be actively involved in research to ensure that their own ways of knowing and being are not misrepresented and misused. They have to ensure that the

issues and problems of their communities are well studied and documented as the results can help direct and support the communities' political campaigns and advocacy. Yet very few respond to this challenge. The IPGREN was seen as a venue to encourage indigenous peoples to use research to their own advantage.

Engaging Indigenous Researchers in Assessing the First International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004)

When a research project on the Assessment of the First International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004) was developed, IPGREN members saw a key role that the network could play. It provided an opportunity to implement research as they had envisioned. Researcher-writers, who were indigenous peoples in their home countries in which the research was conducted, were hired to do the research. IPGREN held a series of meetings, consultations and mentoring with the researchers. In one meeting-workshop, they discussed in more detail the project concept and research methodology to be carried out, got feedback from the researchers about the project itself, as well as identified local strategies to enhance the conduct of the research. A project handbook was prepared and given to the researchers. The country researchers then prepared a research and implementation plan for their respective countries, and organized national consultations where these were validated and generated feedback from key people and institutions.

The research project produced a set of common recommendations, which affirm that while there is evident policy and program support for indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia, they still have a long struggle ahead in order for States to recognize their existence and identities as indigenous peoples. The most prominent of these were categorized according to themes and the

agency they were addressed to: States, UN agencies and international organizations working along thematic areas.[6] All the country researchers presented their findings on the assessment of the First Decade of the World's Indigenous People in a culmination workshop held in November 2006 in Katmandu, Nepal. The research was funded by IFAD and implemented jointly by ICIMOD and Tebtebba.

Needs-Driven Researches and Activities by Indigenous Peoples

Seven years after the founding of IPGREN, the number of indigenous researchers doing research for their own organizations has increased significantly. This section discusses in detail two ongoing research activities of indigenous peoples at the grassroots level that also demonstrate the ways in which IPGREN has operationalized its vision. These two projects are: the "1997 Chittaggong Hill Tracts Peace Accord[7] Evaluation" and the "Indigenous Peoples, credit union and grassroots holistic development: the case of the Pancur Kasih of West Kalimantan, Indonesia."

1997 Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord Evaluation

In 2007 key leaders of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in Bangladesh embarked on a systematic evaluation of the CHT Peace Accord. This was in response to a defined need among leaders of the Hill Tracts NGO Forum (HTNF) to assess the implementation of the 1997 CHT Peace Accord from the perspective of the CHT indigenous peoples (including layman-indigenous peoples [non-educated], women and minority indigenous groups such as the Khyang) as well as to determine the views of the

national/regional/district governments and international organizations on the same implementation.

They felt that previous evaluations were inadequate in certain areas: the level of understanding of the layman-indigenous peoples of the contents of the 1997 CHT Accord and its implementation, how inclusive the negotiation process was, and implicit and unwritten agreements made during the signing of the Accord (including functional elements and interpretations of the agreement). They wanted an in-depth study of the extent and processes of implementation of the CHT Accord, drawing data both from CHT institutions, regional councils and ministries tasked to implement the Accord and from the layman Jumma peoples themselves who view the Accord and its implementation in their own terms.

Indigenous intellectuals from the Chittagong Hill Tracts were called to help articulate these views of the indigenous leaders in a research proposal. HTNF asked the support of other IPGREN members including Tebtebba to organize activities to develop the contents of the study, including an implementation plan that would work for the local indigenous researchers. It took three meetings of IPGREN members to complete and subsequently deliver a full proposal which indigenous leaders in CHT were happy to carry out. The indigenous elders had high hopes for the proposal, giving their full support and commitment to be key informants and to assist in local forms of data collection.

It took a while before the research got implemented. It was difficult for the local researchers to rid themselves of the established notion that research is practiced by "expert consultants" who are mostly academics. Some creative activities and guided research exercises had to be conducted to boost their confidence and make them realize their potentials to do the research. Tebtebba invited some of them to attend IPGREN meetings and workshops with fellow indigenous researchers who were conducting studies. This helped them prepare not only for the implementation of the research project at hand but to make them realize that they could contribute at various levels within the indig-

enous movement, including doing collaborative work with other indigenous peoples outside their countries.

The researchers soon gained support and confidence, including a realization of the urgency of the work they were going to do. After they had gathered sufficient data, indigenous intellectuals assisted them through a workshop to analyze the data. This activity posed difficulties to the researchers as it revealed data gaps and security issues. But they learned to be more flexible in the research process and to appreciate the rigor involved in data collection, considering the study involved a very sensitive topic. Soon they were employing several exercises and mechanisms to generate more data without sacrificing the credibility of the research. It took at least three years to fully conceive of and implement the research agenda within the ways and village structures of the indigenous peoples of the CHT as well as strong IPGREN guidance and leadership for it to be carried out.

One of the biggest achievements of this research exercise was that as insiders the local researchers were able to draw out data, including very sensitive information that form a credible empirical basis for the reports on human rights violations that were committed in the Chittagong Hill Tracts despite the 1997 CHT Peace Accord. In addition, the researchers came to experience and appreciate the rigors of research work and gained the confidence that have led them to turn around the wrong notion about research; the previous connotation of "expert administered" can now be applied to indigenous peoples in the villages. The results will soon be published, and to date, the researchers have completed writing all four sections of the book.

But what the researchers and indigenous intellectuals of CHT celebrate most is that the data they have generated serve several other purposes in their work locally as well as globally. The evaluation research demonstrated that indigenous epistemologies are important in delivering intelligible researches useful to indigenous peoples. The results show a rich political articulation of indigenous peoples at the grassroots level, an aspect that was restrained if not concealed in previous researches. An indigenous

Marma, for example, explicitly said: "The hill district council has never attempted at preserving the 'indigenous entity and identity' of the indigenous peoples in the CHT and has frequently violated the Accord especially in cases authorizing issuance of permanent resident certificates to settlers."[8]

Further the research is valued for generating important statistical data, both from official reports and from village recording systems, a big leap that allows indigenous leaders to advance their work. In addition, indigenous lawyers analyzed legal cases that reveal sensitive and vital information in raising the political credibility of cases presented by indigenous peoples to legal authorities and national and international human rights institutions. The research skills developed by indigenous researchers contribute to the political action of indigenous peoples in CHT in their struggle for self-determination. The research has proven indigenous capacity as well as the validity and theoretical value of indigenous worldviews.

The Pancur Kasih Peoples' Organization

In 2008 another research project was conceived under IPGREN. Inspired by the great achievements of a Kalimantan-born indigenous peoples' organization, Tebtebba Executive Director and IPGREN Convenor Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, convinced some key members of the Pancur Kasih (PK) to write and share their story, as it can serve to inspire other indigenous peoples. PK founder A. R. Mecer gladly accepted and asked for assistance on how it can be done in collaboration with international organizations.[9] Tebtebba offered support by mobilizing IPGREN members, and a similar process as undertaken in the earlier discussed 1997 CHT Peace Accord evaluation was implemented. Meetings and a workshop were held with distinguished key leaders of all PK units (about 20 including those from the PK Credit Union) to develop the content of the research agenda.

The project aimed to conduct a systematic and comprehensive research of the historical development and achievements of the Pancur Kasih and the Pancur Kasih Credit Union, discussing in depth indigenous Dayak development. It focused on the positive attributes of the Dayak (as opposed to discriminatory and stereotyped labels) and demonstrate the initiatives and good practices of indigenous Dayak development (e.g., addressing poverty). Also highlighted were the good practices and lessons learned from the Pancur Kasih movement and the operation of credit union cooperatives.

PK and Indigenous Peoples' Development

The Pancur Kasih Foundation (PK) is an indigenous Dayak organization established in 1981 by teachers working in church-run schools in Pontianak. A. R. Mecer, a Dayak from Ketapang, West Kalimantan, was one of the founders who believed that the aspiration for better conditions for the Dayak people had to be achieved through the spirit of solidarity, self-reliance and a strong cultural base.[10] He has sustained his energy and commitment to work for the advancement of the Dayak people and other indigenous peoples in Indonesia.

Pancur Kasih was instrumental in establishing schools in Dayak villages that sensitized and organized the Dayaks to work towards their development. It started as a foundation composed of a few volunteer teachers teaching a group of junior high schools in West Kalimantan, but soon grew in scope of work, geographic coverage, organizational structure and manpower. Today it has become an organization with specialized units, support organizations, and a federation that continues to respond to the various needs of the Dayaks and other indigenous peoples in Indonesia.

To date, PK has established at least 22 local organizations/institutions, various economic units and credit union coopera-

tives throughout Indonesia. The PK Credit Union Cooperatives alone illustrate the work PK has done and the economic and socio-cultural benefits gained by the Dayak people. Initially set up to meet the need of PK activists for easy to access credit with low interest, the credit unions have developed into a vital financial institution, not only for PK but also for the people in West Kalimantan. Of 1,400 credit unions in Indonesia, 43 were established by Pancur Kasih, with assets composing some 50 percent (approximately 160 million Rupiah) of the total combined assets of credit union cooperatives in the country.[11] The PK credit unions are affiliated with both the Asia regional and international credit union cooperatives. More importantly, however, the PK credit unions, which are run by and for the Dayaks themselves and nurture their holistic development, have proven to be an empowering tool for indigenous peoples.

Of interest to some IPGREN members is how such a grassroots cooperative has achieved comparative advantage and financial management through cultural revitalization and proactive education work at the community level. The PK movement has long been praised as outstanding by indigenous activists in Asia and other regions, and they look up to it for inspiration, expressing interest to learn from its initiatives, motivations and guiding principles. While its work and achievements in 25 years have faced challenges and local dynamics, PK has demonstrated its strength and success through cultural and spiritual motivation as well as innovative strategies and approaches. Its success story and good practice in indigenous peoples' development can be measured both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The IPGREN research project on the Pancur Kasih movement will be published in a 2-volume book: the first part will cover the history of the PK and its achievements and the second part will deal with the PK credit union. Fifteen PK leaders, each heading an independent unit or institution within the PK organization, are contributing to the book project. It was thought that the best people to write each section of the book would be current PK members who built and grew with the organization.

Perhaps the greatest challenge encountered in the research project was language differences. The involvement of international indigenous intellectuals necessitated the use of the English language, which somehow posed limits to some of the local researchers who are articulate in the Dayak language. As part of the remedy, translations were used, which worked well but demanded a lot of time, resources and much work from a local research manager. IPGREN fellows took extra care to allow the local researchers to learn the rigors of doing research at a pace acceptable to them, and in such a way that the conduct of the research and their engagement with it do not undermine their identity.

Celebrating Modest Work in 10 Years

Indigenous intellectuals and the IPGREN have reasons to celebrate as their achievements are gaining momentum in the indigenous movement, especially in building and enriching the capacities of indigenous peoples at the grassroots level to advance their work. But as much as IPGREN encourages indigenous peoples to conduct their own researches using their own strategies, more work needs to be done in three areas: 1) to raise their confidence to develop, conduct and implement research programs to serve their needs and correct wrong notions that only expert academics can do this; 2) to encourage and assist indigenous peoples to develop a tradition of research rigor that meets indigenous standards; and 3) to strengthen collaborative work between indigenous intellectuals and indigenous leaders working at the grassroots level and allow research work to strengthen and enhance advocacy work. In this way, "research" is transformative and a site of resistance in which indigenous peoples reclaim historical, cultural and moral ties, promote their authority over traditional knowledge, and sustain their determination to continue the ways of life of their ancestors.

Endnotes

[1] See Linda Tuhiwai Smith. (1999) Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples. London: Zed Books.

[2] IPGREN. Proceedings of the *Research and Education on Indigenous Peoples: an Assessment and Planning Workshop* on December 10-12 2003 in Makati City, Philippines. Unpublished.

[3] See details in the proceedings of the meeting.

[4] IPGREN. Proceedings of the "International Training on Social Research and Indigenous Peoples," October 25 to November 6, 2007, Philippines. Unpublished.

[5] IPGREN. Proceedings of "Advancing Indigenous Peoples Rights through Social Research: Indigenous People's Epistemologies, Paradigms, Research Methodologies, and Approaches" on October 17-20, 2008 in Baguio City, Philippines. Unpublished.

[6] For details of the findings and recommendations, see *First International Decade of the World's Indigenous People in Asia, 1995-2004 Assessment Synthesis Report* by International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD), Katmandu, Nepal, November 2007.

[7] The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) Accord, popularly known as *CHT Peace Accord*, was signed between the Government of Bangladesh and the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (PCJSS) on December 2, 1997, ending more than two decades of armed conflict between the indigenous Jumma peoples and Government of Bangladesh. The two main purposes of this accord, as with many other similar political arrangements, was to reestablish peace in the Hill Tracts and to provide a measure of autonomy to the southeastern border region that is topographically, demographically and culturally different from the rest of Bangladesh—being the home of indigenous peoples, namely the Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Tanchangya, Murung, Lushai, Khumi, Chak, Khyang, Bawm, Pankhua. The Accord recognizes the reestablishment of the rights of the Jumma indigenous peoples over the CHT region with the formation of four local councils as controlling and supervisory bodies over land & land management, law and order, civil administration, police (local), development, primary and secondary education, forest and environment, and many more.

[8] Evaluation of the 1997 CHT Peace Accord. Draft. IPGREN files.

[9] PK members expressed the concern that they did not want to do this alone because they did not want to make it appear like self-promotion.

[10] See John Bamba. Land, Rivers and Forests: Dayak solidarity and ecological resilience. In "Indigenous Social Movements and Ecological

Resilience: Lessons from the Dayak of Indonesia." Edited by Janis B. Alcorn and Antoinette G. Royo, Peoples, Forest and Reefs (PeFoR) Program Discussion Paper Series, Biodiversity Support Program. Washington, D.C.

[11] John Bamba, Ibid.

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15

Indigenous Peoples and the Millennium Development Goals*

by Victoria Tauli-Corpuz

If the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are met, there is no doubt that some effects will trickle down to some of the world's 350 million indigenous peoples, the majority of whom live in poverty. The question remains whether Governments, the international community, civil society, indigenous peoples and the private sector can achieve these goals. It could happen that indigenous peoples become the sacrificial lambs for the reduction of poverty through development projects that will displace them from their lands. Framing the Millennium Development Goals as a human rights-based agenda is therefore essential. For indigenous peoples it is difficult to talk about development without talking about basic rights to lands and resources, culture and identity and self-determination. At the same time, some Governments and even intergovernmental organizations question the wisdom of targeting indigenous peoples as a specific beneficiary group for development.

Indigenous peoples are invisible in the Millennium Development Goals. A review of the Millennium Development Goals in some countries shows that they are not even mentioned or referred to. In this context, it may be worthwhile to explore how to make the Millennium Development Goals relevant to indigenous peoples and, in the process, discuss more comprehensively indigenous peoples' development.

Development Aggression

The term "development" has acquired a negative connotation for indigenous peoples even if this is called "sustainable," because their histories are replete with traumatic experiences with development projects, policies and programmes. In fact, mainstream development is regarded as one of the root causes of their problems. If the Millennium Development Goals reinforce this paradigm instead of challenging it, there is little hope that the Millennium Development Goals can really bring positive changes for indigenous peoples.

"Development aggression"[1] refers to the imposition of so-called development projects and policies without the free, prior and informed consent of those affected, under the rubric of modernization or nation-building. This process can lead to destruction or loss of ancestral territories and resources, denigration of indigenous worldviews and values and of their political, economic and socio-cultural systems and institutions, ecosystem degradation, displacement, and violent conflicts. This is often associated with large-scale commercial extraction of minerals, oil and gas, logging, biodiversity, building of mega-hydroelectric dams, highways, chemical-intensive agriculture, industrial forest plantations, designating environmentally protected areas that encroach upon indigenous peoples' lands, among others. Sectoral loans from international financial institutions, such as education sector loans that are primarily used to perpetuate the dominant development paradigm and the modernization agenda, can also be considered development aggression.

Systemic changes and policy reforms are required for the Millennium Development Goals to make a difference in the daily lives of indigenous peoples. In the face of the negative experiences of indigenous peoples with nation-State building and mainstream development, they built up their own distinct movements, which helped bring about policy changes. They pushed for constitutional amendments and legal reforms that recognize indigenous identity and rights. In some countries there are policy shifts

away from paternalistic approaches, which regard indigenous peoples as primitive or vulnerable sectors who will benefit from modernization and integration into the dominant society. More emphasis is given on the right of indigenous peoples to preserve their cultural values and institutions and exercise more control over their own development. Unfortunately, in most countries, this is more the exception than the rule. More substantial structural changes are still needed to change discriminatory and oppressive structures, laws and policies.

Protection and mitigation of the adverse impacts of development are not enough for indigenous peoples, who did not seek such projects in the first place. The need to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before policies affecting them are formulated or before projects are brought into their communities is slowly gaining recognition. There are now evolving concepts and concrete proposals from indigenous peoples in relation to development. These come under different labels such as "self-development," "ethno-development," "development with identity," "autonomous development" and "life projects."

Poverty Situation of Indigenous Peoples

The little research that has been done indicates that generally indigenous peoples are disproportionately represented among the poorest of the poor in both developed and developing countries. The World Bank study on indigenous peoples and poverty in Latin America concluded that "poverty among Latin America's indigenous population is pervasive and severe."[2] One conclusion is that the poverty map in the region coincides with indigenous peoples' territories.

A subsequent study in the region conducted by the Inter-American Development Bank[3] came up with similar conclusions and observations,

"By conventional socioeconomic indicators, whether based on income data or on concepts of unsatisfied basic needs, indigenous peoples as an ethnic group are represented disproportionately among both the poor and the extreme poor.

Moreover, with very few exceptions, the indications are that this trend has been worsening over the past decade or so...This is mainly rural poverty, given that despite recent demographic and occupational trends the vast majority of indigenous peoples are still concentrated in rural areas. But there is also new urban poverty confronting indigenous peoples, with evidence that extreme poverty once again affects them disproportionately as an ethnic group."

A report on Mexico says that the indigenous peoples live in "alarming conditions of extreme poverty and marginality." This study observed that being poor and being indigenous are synonymous. "Virtually all of the indigenous people living in municipalities with 90 percent or more indigenous people are catalogued as extremely poor."[4] Statistics in Guatemala show that 50 to 60 percent of a total population of 11 million persons belong to 23 indigenous peoples.[5] Some 54.3 percent of them are poor and 22.8 percent extremely poor. Sixty percent of households do not have the capacity to earn half of the cost of their minimum food needs despite spending a greater part of their earnings on it.[6] In Ecuador's rural population, of which 90 percent are indigenous, almost all are living in extreme poverty.[7] Eight out of every ten indigenous children in this country live in poverty according to the indicators published in the 2001 Human Development Report.

In terms of how indigenous poverty compares with the non-indigenous populations, the UNICEF Latin America and Caribbean office shows that in Guatemala, 87 percent of the indigenous population is poor, as compared to 54 percent of the non-indigenous population; in Mexico, that ratio is 80 percent vs. 18 percent; in Peru, 79 percent of the indigenous population is clas-

sified as poor, compared to 50 percent of the non-indigenous population; while in Bolivia, the ratio is 64 percent vs. 48 percent.[8]

The Asian Development Bank also undertook a study in 2002 on the poverty situation of indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities in Viet Nam, the Philippines, Cambodia and Indonesia. This study could not establish trends in the relationship between poverty and ethnicity, because there is a lack of disaggregated data based on ethnicity. However, in the case of Viet Nam, such disaggregated data is available. The finding is that the worst poverty situation in Viet Nam is among the ethnic minorities[9] who live in the Highland areas of Northern and Central Viet Nam. This study cited 1998 data from the Institute for Economic Survey which says that ethnic minorities, which comprise 14 percent of the total population, accounted for 28 percent of poor people in the nation.[10] The Philippine study concluded that there was no substantial improvement in the economic condition of indigenous peoples in the Philippines between l988 and l997.[11]

In spite of the fact that indigenous peoples' traditional livelihood systems, such as owner-tiller small farm agriculture, swidden or shifting agriculture, hunting and gathering, and pastoralism, sustained them through centuries, these were regarded by modern economic thinkers as inefficient and backward. The integration and assimilation of indigenous peoples into the market economy and the dominant society has been the solution adopted by most Governments. Such approaches have led to the conversion of their lands into commercial monocrop agriculture and forest plantations, mines, export processing zones or dumping sites for nuclear wastes. Cash crop production took place in massive scales, not only in Central America but also in Asia and Africa. Its impacts on indigenous peoples in Central America, as described below by the Inter-American Development ment Bank (IDB) study, applies to other regions as well:

"From an indigenous perspective, the situation appears to have been particularly serious in those countries where the development of cash crops for export (such as cof-

fee) led to demands for indigenous labour as well as to pressure on their lands. In Guatemala and parts of Mexico, where the coffee economy grew particularly rapidly at this time, indigenous peoples lost much of their communal lands. Many became resident workers (colonos) on the coffee plantations; and in the Guatemalan highlands, where the indigenous population was now mainly concentrated, farm plots rapidly became too small to provide for a subsistence income. Regular periods of migrant labor to the large agricultural plantations became part of the Guatemalan Indian's life. Until the 1940s, coercive debt-bondage and vagrancy laws compelled indigenous peasants to provide seasonal estate labor; since that time, with most indigenous lands unable to provide a subsistence income, market forces have been enough to provide the migrant and seasonal labor in commercial agriculture."[12]

Structural Causes of Indigenous Peoples' Poverty

Poverty amidst indigenous peoples finds its roots in colonization, the destruction of indigenous economic and socio-political systems, continuing systemic racism and discrimination, social exclusion, and the non-recognition of indigenous peoples' individual and collective rights. In several countries indigenous peoples were part of the pre-independence liberation movements and fought side by side with others against the colonizers. Yet, when the nation-States came into being, they in turn perpetuated internal colonization.

Indigenous peoples felt betrayed by nation-States, when they saw that the autonomy and local sovereignty that their ancestors fought and died for had been violated by the new rulers.[13] Legal, political, economic and cultural systems in the European mould were put into place that ignored or contradicted pre-existing social, political and cultural systems that indigenous peoples had

developed to govern themselves and to govern their relations with nature and their neighbours.

Doctrines and laws used by the colonizers such as *terra nullius*[14] or the Regalian Doctrine,[15] which disenfranchised indigenous peoples of their territories and resources, were invoked by new nation-States. Indigenous socio-cultural and political systems, which were seen as barriers to the entrenchment of colonial rule or perpetuation of State hegemony, were illegalized or destroyed. These were the factors that led indigenous peoples to continue their ancestors' struggles to maintain their pre-colonial self-determining status as peoples and nations.

Structural inequities and inequalities were further reinforced by the legislation of discriminatory and oppressive land laws that ignored indigenous peoples' customary land tenure systems and laws. Natural resource management laws of Governments contradicted indigenous sustainable natural resource management practices. Pervasive paternalism, development aggression and government neglect in providing social services to indigenous peoples all contributed to chronic poverty among indigenous peoples. Indigenous territories were mainly regarded as resource-base areas and it was the sole prerogative of the nation-State to decide how to exploit these resources.

The debt burden, undoubtedly, is a major factor for the exacerbation of indigenous peoples' poverty. To generate foreign exchange to pay for foreign debts, Governments rely upon massive extraction of natural resources for export. In many countries, indigenous peoples' territories are the last frontiers where such resources are found, because many indigenous peoples protected their territories from being plundered by colonizers and even by post-colonial Governments.

Structural adjustment packages tied to foreign loans made basic social services even more inaccessible for indigenous peoples. Governments spending most of their budgets to service local and foreign debt have problems providing basic services to their majority urban populations. Providing social services to indigenous peoples in remote areas gets an even lower priority.

Mineral, oil and gas extraction is carried out in many indigenous territories to generate income to pay back debts. The situation in Ecuador as described below is a classic illustration of the links between the debt problem, extractive industries and indigenous poverty.

"Despite the knowledge of contamination in the Oriente, the Ecuadorian Government has continuously advocated the mining of petroleum in the Oriente with absolute disregard to the interests of the indigenous peoples. There is a prevailing hope that oil production will help stabilize the economy and eventually be a key component in the reduction of the national debt. Notwithstanding the fact that the national debt has risen from two hundred million dollars in 1970 to over 16 billion in 1998, the Ecuadorian Government continuously favors the interests of foreign companies over its own indigenous citizens. This dependence on foreign investors leaves Ecuador's economy vulnerable to the fluctuating prices of oil, which is responsible for 40 percent of the national income yearly. With such a large portion of their economy based upon such a fluctuating industry, the results have been fairly disastrous for the people and the poverty rate in Ecuador. The poverty rate, which was at an overwhelming level of 50 percent in 1975, reached the appalling rate of 65 percent in 1992. Without a set of well-monitored regulations concerning the extraction of oil in the Oriente, Ecuador is leaving itself open to the possibility of continued environmental destruction and human rights violations."[16]

The debt trap has condemned debtor countries to poverty. Unless there is a political will to have strong and effective solutions, such as debt forgiveness and debt arbitration, it is difficult to imagine how such countries can ever get out of poverty. The Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative and the development of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) are some of the international community's responses to the debt problem. Indigenous peoples belonging to PRSP countries attest that they

have never been involved in drawing them up nor were their concerns reflected in any satisfactory way. The PRSPs, in fact, are seen by some indigenous peoples and civil society organizations as recycled structural adjustment policies.

The approach taken by a country to cut by half the number of poor and hungry people by 2015 will determine whether indigenous peoples' poverty will be alleviated or not. The path of incurring more debts, engaging in more aggressive extraction of mineral resources, oil, or gas in indigenous peoples' territories, or further liberalizing imports to the detriment of traditional livelihoods, would not alleviate poverty among indigenous peoples.

Poverty and Poverty Indicators Seen Through Indigenous Lens

Concerns about the definition of poverty and about poverty indicators have been raised by indigenous peoples. Poverty is generally defined in terms of income and consumption and is constructed around cash incomes and food expenditures within a market and cash-based economic setting. These are parameters that do not adequately reflect the realities of many indigenous peoples. Important non-income indicators of poverty include the lack of voice or power in political and bureaucratic systems, the non-recognition of the collective rights of indigenous peoples, and their lack of access to basic infrastructure and social services. While there is an increasing number of indigenous people engaged with the market economy, the majority are still mainly in subsistence production. Thus, the $1 indicator does not make much sense for people who do not sell their labour or who spend little time producing for the market.

It is clear that the poverty situation of indigenous peoples is a relational phenomena. Some are rich because others are poor. Furthermore, as stressed in the earlier sections, the poverty situation of others may be alleviated, but this may mean further pov-

erty for indigenous peoples. Furthermore, poverty, especially for indigenous peoples, is a collective phenomenon with historical and structural causes and, therefore, this cannot simply be dealt with on an individual level. Poverty should be addressed through a human rights-based approach and in particular through the recognition of collective human rights.

The need for data disaggregation to understand better the particular situations of indigenous peoples cannot be overemphasized. The *Human Development Report*, in its issues from 1994 to 1998, stressed that it is important to disaggregate the human development indicators on the basis of factors such as gender, race and ethnicity, and geography in order to portray more accurately and act appropriately in response to such indicators.[17] If the indigenous peoples' situations are accurately reflected in the Report, the ranking of countries with indigenous peoples in the Human Development Index (HDI) goes down.

In the 1996 Report, for example, Mexico ranked 48th among 120 countries. If the country's indigenous populations, however, are excluded from the results it will end up ranking 29th. Bolivia and Guatemala, countries with indigenous peoples composing 50 percent or more of the total population, are found in the lowest ranks, Bolivia 111, Guatemala 112. Peru, which has a large percentage of indigenous peoples, is ranked 91. The 2004 *Human Development Report* concluded that indigenous peoples are more likely to be poor than non-indigenous peoples. It further said that in many countries, public spending in basic social services "systematically discriminates against minorities and indigenous peoples."[18]

Data disaggregation was one of the recommendations that emerged from the first and second sessions of the Permanent Forum. A workshop on this was held and one of the recommendations says that:

"Indigenous peoples should fully participate as equal partners, in all stages of data collection, including planning, implementing, analyzing and dissemination, access and return, with appropriate resourcing and capac-

ity building to do so. Data collection must respond to the priorities and aims of the indigenous communities themselves. Participation of indigenous communities in the conceptualization, implementation, reporting, analysis and dissemination of data collected is crucial, both at the country and international levels. Indigenous peoples should be trained and employed by data collecting institutions at national and international levels. The process of data collection is critical for the empowerment of the communities and for identifying their needs."[19]

Conflict of Paradigms

In countries where economic growth rates are increasing, the situation for indigenous peoples has not necessarily changed for the better. In fact, for many countries whose economic growth has been spurred by massive extraction of natural resources and the building of giant hydroelectric dams, indigenous peoples became more impoverished. Many of those who lost their cultures and displaced from their lands have not yet been resettled and even those who were resettled have been placed in the most hostile or infertile lands.

It is a common observation that indigenous peoples live in territories richly endowed with natural resources but they remain the poorest of the poor. Chiapas, in Mexico, is an example. It is the main producer of gas and oil, yet most indigenous women cut firewood for cooking. Around 11 million people throughout Mexico live in extreme poverty and the great majority of these are indigenous peoples. The result of a study on poverty of indigenous peoples in Nicaragua represents a typical situation:

"As a region the Atlantic Coast is exceptionally rich in terms of natural resources. The coasts are teeming with fish, shrimp and lobster; the forests in the RAAN[20] have extensive stands of pine and, to a lesser extent, ma-

hogany and other hardwoods; and there are extensive deposits of minerals (gold, silver, copper and lead), especially along the headwaters of the rivers in the RAAN. Historically, however, extraction of these resources have been capitalized and directed by interests based outside the region, most of whom have had little interest in the long-term development of the Atlantic Coast. The indigenous peoples of the region have consequently had little opportunity to share in the commercial exploitation of this wealth, and gained little in terms of the development of a rationally planned and maintained infrastructure."[21]

A similar observation was made by the Asian Development Bank study done in Indonesia.[22] This shows that the richest provinces per capita GDP include East Kalimantan and Irian Jaya, yet the living standards of the population are generally lower in terms of per capita consumption. This transfer and resulting depression of living standards have undoubtedly led to serious discontent and a potentially explosive situation in these provinces.[23]

In the present era of globalization, where trade and investment liberalization, deregulation and privatization are the policies followed by most Governments, the face of poverty for many indigenous peoples has changed for the worst. A case study was carried out on how the dumping of cheap imported vegetables, through agricultural liberalization, affected indigenous vegetable farmers in the Philippines: imported vegetables, which came in legally or through the back door, were priced 30 to 50 percent lower than the local produce. This resulted in a loss of profits and the destruction of the livelihoods of 250,000 farmers and 400 vegetable traders.[24] The affected farmers are still trying to search for alternatives to this livelihood that they depended on for almost 100 years. Because of this crisis, more farmers are shifting to the production of marijuana, even if this is illegal. The cost of one kilo of marijuana can be 100 times more than the cost of one kilo of potatoes.

The production of marijuana, coca and opium are now alternative sources of livelihood for some indigenous peoples in countries such as the Philippines, Thailand, Myanmar, Colombia and Venezuela. The destruction of their subsistence production systems by cash cropping or extractive industries has not lifted them out of poverty. With the volatility of commodity prices and the dumping of cheap, highly subsidized agricultural products from foreign countries, the shift to plantation economies and cash cropping has not paid off. Indigenous peoples are planting marijuana or coca to be able to survive the grueling poverty they face. At the same time, indigenous peoples' territories have become highly militarized and massive violations of their rights are taking place as Governments carry out drug control and anti-terrorism campaigns.

The example of coffee production demonstrates the problems of indigenous peoples with the mainstream development model and with the globalization of the market economy. Coffee production for export has been taking place in indigenous communities in Guatemala since the late nineteenth century. Seasonal migration of indigenous peoples to work in coffee farms has been one of their survival strategies. Some indigenous peoples opted to permanently migrate, such as the Q'eqchi and the Poqomchi. This is also the case in Mexico. The profits from coffee are dependent on the exploitation of cheap labour of indigenous peoples, who live in bunkhouses, without privacy or clean water and toilets.

When Viet Nam opened up its economy to the world market it built irrigation canals and provided subsidies for farmers to migrate to the central highlands and other upland areas in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1990 it only produced 1.5 million bags of coffee. This increased to a phenomenal 15 million bags in 2000, making Viet Nam the second largest coffee producer in the world. Large tracts of land, including well-preserved forests in the territories of the indigenous peoples/ethnic minorities, were converted to coffee plantations. Most of these are now owned by rich lowlanders based in Saigon. Massive deforestation and environmental devastation resulted from this economic project.

The indigenous peoples of Viet Nam were displaced from their lands, owing to the migration of tens of thousands of lowlanders into their communities to engage in coffee production.

The overproduction of coffee worldwide brought the prices tumbling down. Among those who suffered the most are indigenous peoples, not only from Viet Nam, but from various parts of the world. Coffee prices dropped from $1,500/ton in 1998 to less than $700/ton in 2000, largely owing to the flooding of Vietnamese coffee onto the world market.[25] This has made it less economical to grow the "black gold" and has slowed the immigration somewhat, yet the problem of land tenure remains.

In Mexico, coffee cultivation has been an important source of income for the indigenous communities of Chiapas and Oaxaca. Nationwide, over 70 percent of coffee farmers have plots of less than two hectares. And in Chiapas, Mexico's most important state for coffee production, 91 percent of producers have less than five hectares. These coffee farmers now find themselves in extreme poverty. The World Bank says that in Central America 400,000 temporary coffee workers and 200,000 permanent workers lost their jobs after the collapse of coffee prices.[26]

Viet Nam is one of the few countries on track in achieving the Millennium Development Goals. This was achieved, however, at the expense of the indigenous peoples in that country. An anthropologist from Yale University, presenting a paper on Viet Nam in December 2004, concluded that

"Although the opening of Viet Nam's economy to market forces in the 1980s and 1990s has reduced poverty levels and increased personal freedoms for much of the population, minorities continue to face many hardships ...Most upland ethnic minorities have little benefited from these changes. They suffer from disease, lack clean water, and have low literacy rates and low incomes, despite many government efforts at upland development."[27]

Massive protests from indigenous peoples in Viet Nam, never seen in its recent history, took place in 2000 and continue still. The indigenous peoples cut down coffee trees and replaced

these with food crops to meet their immediate food needs.[28] The main demand of the indigenous peoples is for the Government to recognize and secure their land rights.

This picture is not unique to Viet Nam. The pastoralist Maasai peoples in Kenya and Tanzania are faced with similar situations. Their grazing lands are now occupied by settler farmers and have been converted to agricultural lands.[29] The destruction of the pastoralist economy around which their identities and cultures as indigenous peoples revolve is taking place with full complicity of the State and the market.

The paradigm of economic growth through trade and investment liberalization, deregulation and privatization has so far resulted in the further impoverishment of indigenous peoples and the disappearance of their knowledge and cultures. Numerous studies carried out on the adverse impacts of this kind of globalization on developing countries have concluded that this one-size-fits-all kind of globalization is not appropriate for developing countries. Countries should be given the space to design and implement development policies that will fit their particular economic, social and political context. This recommendation is equally applicable to indigenous peoples. The conflict over different paradigms of development is the central question. The key weakness of the Millennium Development Goals is that it does not question the mainstream development paradigm nor does it address the economic, political, social and cultural structural causes of poverty. Women activists share this analysis.

> "A major problem of the MDGs is their abstraction from the social, political and economic context in which they are to be implemented—the 'political economy' of the MDGs."[30]

The approach taken by a country to halve the number of poor and hungry people by 2015 will determine whether indigenous peoples' poverty will be alleviated or not. The path of incurring more debts, engaging in more aggressive extraction of mineral resources, oil, or gas in indigenous peoples' territories, or further liberalizing imports to the detriment of traditional live-

lihoods would, in all probability, not alleviate poverty among indigenous peoples.

The grants or loans provided by intergovernmental development agencies, like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) or international financial institutions, for government projects implemented in indigenous territories can help address indigenous peoples' poverty. However, serious evaluation of these is required to assess whether these projects are planned, implemented and evaluated with indigenous peoples, whether these are reinforcing or destroying their sustainable resource management systems, traditional systems of reciprocity and collective decision-making, and whether such projects have brought about policy changes in their favor. The Permanent Forum has undertaken a project with the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) to do case studies on such projects to cull lessons which can be used in the future, and the results of which would be presented to the Permanent Forum.

A more sustainable approach is to deal squarely with the structural causes of poverty by introducing policy and structural reforms, not only at the country level but at the global level as well. There is a lot to learn from the experiences of the international and regional financial institutions that required debtor countries to create indigenous peoples' development plans (IPDPs) before loans for projects in indigenous peoples' territories are released. How were these plans formulated? What are the lessons learned in terms of their design, planning and implementation? Millennium Development Goal 8, on developing global partnership for development, should look into these questions and issues and elaborate further on how such a partnership with indigenous peoples can be forged. The second International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples (2005-2015) falls exactly within the period left for the Millennium Development Goals to be achieved. Interface between these two should be developed.

The issue of poverty reduction and economic development cannot be addressed separately from the issues of indigenous

identity and worldviews, cultures and indigenous peoples' rights to territories and resources and to self-determination. There is tension, no doubt, between maintaining indigenous identity on one hand and improving economic conditions on the other hand. In a world where improving economic conditions is equated with the growth of market institutions, nationally and globally, many indigenous peoples find themselves in a dilemma. If they participate fully in the market, they have to forget about their customary land tenure systems, their traditional practices of re-distributing wealth and ensuring more equitable access to and sharing of resources, and their natural resource management systems.

Free, Prior and Informed Consent

It is in this context that it is crucial to obtain the free, prior and informed consent of indigenous peoples before development projects or any policies affecting them are designed and brought to their communities. This is nothing else but respect for the right to participate in decision-making. Indigenous participants in the first session of the Permanent Forum stressed that there should be discussions on how this principle is being developed, pro-moted, and respected by Governments, intergovernmental bod-ies and the private sector. On the recommendation of the third session of the Permanent Forum, a workshop on free, prior and informed consent was held in January 2005 and the report was presented at the Fourth Session.[31]

An expert of the United Nations Working Group on Indig-enous Populations, Antoanella-Iulia Motoc, and Tebtebba[32] jointly prepared a paper on this, which was presented at the July 2004 Working Group session. The paper highlighted that:

"Substantively, the principle of free, prior and informed consent recognizes indigenous peoples' inherent and prior rights to their lands and resources and respects their

legitimate authority to require that third parties enter into an equal and respectful relationship with them based on the principle of informed consent. Procedurally, free, prior and informed consent requires processes that allow and support meaningful choices by indigenous peoples about their development path."[33]

The Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of the Philippines has clear provisions on free, prior and informed consent. Chapter 2, Section 3g, of the Act defines free and prior informed consent to "mean the consensus of all members of the Indigenous Cultural Communities/Indigenous Peoples to be determined in accordance with their respective customary laws and practices, free from any external manipulation, interference, coercion, and obtained after fully disclosing the intent and scope of the activity, in a language and process understandable to the community."[34] This law underscores that indigenous peoples have the right to accept or reject a certain development, activity or undertaking in their community.[35] While this law exists, much more needs to be done to have it implemented appropriately. The present efforts to weaken its rules and procedures should be stopped.

This is one of the most difficult issues for Governments and corporations, and why one of the recommendations from the Permanent Forum Workshop on Free, Prior, and Informed Consent is that the Inter-Agency Support Group on Indigenous Issues (IASG), in cooperation with the Permanent Forum, should develop a handbook on indigenous issues, as well as materials on free, prior and informed consent for UN country teams' work on the Millennium Development Goals, poverty reduction strategy papers and common country assessment/United Nations Development Assistance Framework. This handbook should be flexible, user-friendly, and should take into account the diversity of interests of the stakeholders in the process of free, prior and informed consent.[36]

Recommendations Relating to Millennium Development Goal 1

The key challenge is to deepen the understanding of poverty in indigenous communities, developing culturally sensitive poverty indicators that can define poverty in terms of unsatisfied basic needs, taking into consideration the nature of traditional subsistence economies. Basic needs are largely satisfied through non-market mechanisms for the redistribution of goods. The primacy given to market mechanisms or state-defined development programmes ignore or destroy the indigenous systems which work best for them.

Indigenous peoples have presented some recommendations in various forums, including the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. Some of these are as follows:

- The Millennium Development Goal reports of countries and intergovernmental bodies should make indigenous peoples visible. The guidelines for reporting, and the indicators, approaches and methods used to achieve the Millennium Development Goals should be made more sensitive to indigenous peoples' situations and perspectives.
- Mechanisms and processes that allow indigenous communities, institutions and organizations to play key roles to enrich the debates, design the framework and activities on Millennium Development Goals should be created and enhanced. The indigenous lens should be used to analyse the Millennium Development Goals and recommend ways to make them relevant to indigenous peoples. There is a need to critique and reshape programmes and policies to be more sensitive to indigenous issues.
- The human rights-based framework and approach to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, in general, and poverty reduction strategies, in particular, should be adopted and operationalized by Governments, intergov-

ernmental bodies, non-governmental organizations and the private sector. The recognition of indigenous peoples' claims for individual and collective rights, as distinct peoples, is crucial for a just and sustainable solution to widespread poverty in their midst.

- Methodologies and strategies should be developed to research the underlying causes of feminization and indigenization of poverty and develop programmes that effectively address those underlying causes. Systematic needs assessment for indigenous women and their involvement in all phases of the programme cycle should be ensured.

- Disaggregated data on indigenous peoples should be collected in all countries where they are found. UNDP, the World Bank and other intergovernmental bodies should include disaggregated data on indigenous men and women in their regular human development and poverty reports.

- More in-depth discussions and dialogues among indigenous peoples and between them and Governments, intergovernmental bodies and the broader society should seek to develop further perspectives and recommendations on indigenous development paradigms. These should further develop and popularize concepts such as "ethno-development," "life-projects," "development with identity." Such processes should explore how to address the structural causes of indigenous poverty.

- Obtaining the free, prior and informed consent of indigenous peoples should be ensured before any development project or policy that directly affects them are undertaken. Support should be provided for the elaboration by the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and the Inter-Agency Support Group on Indigenous Issues of a guidebook on free, prior and informed consent.

- Indigenous peoples' own institutions should be supported so that they have sufficient funding and capacity to provide contextualized empirical data and to monitor

their poverty situation; and to ensure they contribute to their own development proposals and fully participate in the planning, design, implementation and monitoring of policies and programmes.

- Further, indigenous peoples must be enabled to participate fully in national and international gatherings where issues directly affecting them are being discussed—including environmental agreements, negotiations around global, regional and bilateral trade agreements and debt.
- Systematic training on indigenous peoples' rights should be undertaken for staff in intergovernmental bodies, donor agencies, civil servants, and non-governmental organizations.
- Governments should positively contribute to the ongoing process of discussing and defining indigenous rights in forums such as the Organization of American States and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and ratify and adequately implement existing instruments for the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights, for example, International Labour Organization Convention No. 169, as well as adopt a universal declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples in the immediate future.*
- Several pilot countries should be selected to explore the opportunities and risks for indigenous peoples in relation to the poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSP) process.

Universal primary education

Education, for most indigenous peoples, is seen as a way to get out of poverty. However, the rate of illiteracy among indigenous peoples is usually higher than that of the dominant groups. Even the number of indigenous children who go to primary school and finish is much lower. The Organización Nacional

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*The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 2007.

Indigena de Colombia[37] revealed that a 1985 census in Colombia showed there is a 44 percent illiteracy rate among the country's 64 indigenous ethnolinguistic groups, which is still higher than the 30.6 percent of illiteracy among the rural population.

A World Bank study has also shown that illiteracy remains a problem for some states in Mexico with predominantly indigenous populations. It states that in l980 illiteracy in Oaxaca was 46 percent. It dropped to 28 percent in l990, but this is still more than twice the national average of 12 percent. In Chiapas the illiteracy rate in l990 was 30 percent.[38] This same study did a survey on the effects of gender and ethnicity on educational attainment in Bolivia. One of the conclusions was "that indigenous individuals were 30 percent more likely not to have completed primary school than their non-indigenous counterparts."[39]

The Asian Development Bank study on indigenous poverty showed that there were significant deviations from the national average of literacy when it comes to indigenous territories.[40] The main causes of the high levels of illiteracy range from sheer lack of schools and teachers, isolated and remote communities, inability to buy school uniforms and school supplies, to discrimination and absence of bilingual education. This study clearly established the direct connection between the high incidence of poverty among indigenous peoples and high illiteracy.

While education is very important, it can also lead to alienation. There is no question that universal primary education is desirable for indigenous peoples. However, the quality of education has to be looked into. Does universal primary education make indigenous children value their indigenous cultures and norms or does it make them deny their identity or despise their own cultures and tradition? In most cases, indigenous children who enter school for the first time are traumatized because they do not understand the language used, they are teased and discriminated against because they speak a strange language or dialect, they are not dressed like the others and they are treated badly by teachers. This explains why there is a high dropout rate in the first three grades.

Acquiring higher education is very difficult for many indigenous people mainly owing to economic constraints. If they finish college or university, the chances that they will return to their ancestral lands lessen.

In terms of pedagogical methods, is due consideration given to indigenous teaching and learning approaches? Indigenous worldviews, perspectives and history are absent from textbooks and school curricula. In fact, discriminatory references to indigenous peoples are common. Bilingual intercultural education is a frequent demand by indigenous peoples in most countries. Unfortunately, the general response to this by Governments, whether at the national or international level, is the lack of resources. Nonetheless, in some countries in Latin America like Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Guatemala, educational reforms are being undertaken that include, among others, bilingual intercultural education.

At a consultation held among indigenous peoples of Asia in February 2005, the participants raised the issue of indigenous and tribal children not being able to attend schools because school buildings are occupied by the military or there are no teachers. This is common in communities where armed conflicts are raging, but even in areas with no such conflicts, many communities still have no schools. Since many small groupings of indigenous peoples are found in the most inaccessible areas, Governments are reluctant to invest in schools for them. With the increasing push to privatize education, schooling for indigenous peoples becomes an even more remote prospect.

Recommendations relating to Millennium Development Goal 2

Some of the recommendations relating to this issue are the following:

- Indigenous education (formal or non-formal) must be based on indigenous peoples' worldviews. Bilingual education should be arranged for at least the first three grades of primary school.
- Education materials must be purged of discriminatory contents and erroneous historical accounts that make indigenous peoples invisible, and misrepresentations of them should be rectified.
- Curriculum development should be adapted to local contexts of indigenous peoples. It must be a tool that prepares and gives them the choice to enter the formal system and/or function effectively in their own communities. Opportunities should be given to indigenous elders to come and teach in the schools, whether this is at the elementary or secondary level.
- Curricula for primary and secondary schools should reflect the insights and usefulness of indigenous knowledge systems and indigenous values. Indigenous pedagogies that are informed by stories, values, practices and ways of knowing indigenous peoples should be developed and integrated into education programmes.
- Indigenous education must provide alternative learning paths that respect and utilize indigenous learning systems that meet basic needs, such as identity, resource control and self-determination.
- Mobile schools for semi-nomadic, nomadic and pastoralist indigenous peoples should be set up.
- Resources should be made available to indigenous peoples to set up their own education systems, including schools, should they choose to do so.

Conclusion

This paper has mainly focused on the concerns and perspectives of indigenous peoples primarily from developing countries. It is intended to promote discussions and future projects that will analyse the issues in more depth. It is my hope that it will also challenge Governments, intergovernmental bodies and NGOs to see whether their approaches in achieving the Millennium Development Goals are sensitive to indigenous peoples. The human-rights based approach to development is essential to their achievement of these Goals.

The Inter-agency Support Group on Indigenous Issues held its annual meeting in September 2004, at which a statement was made on the Millennium Development Goals:

> "... as the 2005 review of the implementation of the MDGs nears, it appears from available evidence that indigenous and tribal peoples are lagging behind other parts of the population in the achievement of the goals in most, if not all, the countries in which they live, and indigenous and tribal women commonly face additional gender-based disadvantages and discrimination…Concern has also been expressed that the effort to meet the targets laid down for MDGs could in fact have harmful effects for indigenous and tribal peoples, such as the acceleration of the loss of the lands and natural resources or the displacement from those lands."

In light of the situation of indigenous peoples, as partially presented in this paper, Governments, the United Nations, other intergovernmental bodies and NGOs would be well advised to look closely at their policies and programmes on indigenous peoples. The different perspectives and recommendations offered by indigenous peoples provide new challenges, especially in rethinking mainstream development. States should reconsider development frameworks and policies that have negatively affected indigenous peoples and should espouse different ones

that effectively address the challenges posed by their situations and visions. The remaining 11 years can make a difference in changing their poverty situation. The role which the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues will play in bringing these changes is crucial.

Endnotes

[1] E/CN.4/2003/90, para. 28.

[2] Psacharopoulos, George and Harry Anthony Patrinos, eds., *Indigenous People and Poverty in Latin America: An Empirical Analysis* (Washington, D.C., The World Bank, 1994), p. xviii.

[3] Plant, Roger, *Issues in Indigenous Poverty and Development* (Washington, D.C., IADB, 1998).

[4] Luis Hernandez Navarro, "Indigenous Poverty and Social Mobilization", in *The Poverty of Rights: Human Rights and the Eradication of Poverty*, Willem van Genugten and Camilo Perez-Bustillo, eds. (London, Zed Books, 2001), pp. 116-117.

[5] Birgitte Feiring, *Indigenous Peoples and Poverty: The Cases of Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua* (London, Minority Rights Group, 2004).

[6] <http://www.socialwatch.org/en/informes/Nacionales/365.html-ftn_5>, downloaded 13 January 2005.

[7] International IDEA, Women in Parliament (Stockholm, 2002) (http://www.idea.int). English translation of Nina Pacari, "La participation politica de la mujer en el Congreso Ecuatoriano. Una taria pendiente."

[8] UNICEF News Note, November 2003.

[9] Ethnic minorities is still a term used in Viet Nam. However, some of these people self-identify as indigenous peoples.

[10] Huynh Thu Ba, Duong Buh Hanh, Bui The Coung, *Indigenous Peoples/Ethnic Minorities and Poverty Reduction: Viet Nam* (Manila, Asian Development Bank, 2002), p. 17.

[11] Rovillos, Raymundo and Daisy Morales, *Philippines* (Manila, ADB, 2002), p. 19.

[12] Roger Plant, *Issues in Indigenous Poverty and Development* (Washington, D.C., Inter-American Development Bank, 1998), p. 14.

[13] Victoria Tauli Corpuz and Joji Carino, eds., Reclaiming Balance (Tebtebba, 2003).

[14] *Terra nullius* means "lands unoccupied before European settlement". This was used in Australia by the colonizers to justify their exploitation and occupation of indigenous peoples' territories.

[15] The Regalian Doctrine dates back to the arrival of Spaniards in the Philippines when they declared all lands in the country as belonging to the King of Spain. The 1987 Philippine Constitution affirms this doctrine in Sec. 2, Article XII, which says, "All lands of the public domain, waters, mineral oils, all sources of potential energy, fisheries, forests or timber, wildlife, flora and fauna and other natural resources are owned by the State."

[16] Brandon Yoder, *Indigenous People and Oil Production in Ecuador's Oriente*, Fourth World Journal, vol. 5, No. 1 (2002), Center for World's Indigenous Studies, p. 80.

[17] Camilo Perez-Bustillo. "Human Rights, Poverty and Indigenous Peoples' Struggles in the Americas", in *The Poverty of Rights*, Willem van Genugten and Camilo Perez-Bustillo, eds. (London, Zed Books, 2001), p. 90.

[18] *Human Development Report 2004*.

[19] E/C.19/2004/2, para. 34 (4).

[20] RAAN means Región Autónoma del Atlántico Norte.

[21] Mark Jamieson, *Poverty Among Indigenous Peoples in Nicaragua* (Washington, D.C., Inter-American Development Bank, 1999), p. 8.

[22] *Assessment of Poverty in Indonesia* (Manila, Asian Development Bank, 2000).

[23] Roger Plant, *Indigenous Peoples/Ethnic Minorities and Poverty Reduction: Regional Report* (Manila, Asian Development Bank, 2002), p. 30. In Indonesia the people who self identify as indigenous are the Dayaks of East Kalimantan and the various groups in Irian Jaya. Safitri, Myrna and Rafael Edy Bosko, *Indigenous Peoples/Ethnic Minorities and Poverty Reduction: Indonesia*, (Manila, Asian Development Bank, 2002).

[24] Victoria Tauli Corpuz and Ruth Batani-Sidchogan, *Impact of Trade Liberalization on the Rural Poor: Philippine Case Study*, presented at the twenty-seventh IFAD Board of Governors Meeting in Rome on 18 February 2004.

[25] Agence France Press, 2000.

[26] Quoted from *Mugged: Poverty in your Coffee Cup*, (Oxfam International, 2002), p. 14.

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[30] Paper presented by Peggy Antrobus at the UNDP Caribbean Regional Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) Conference to the Working Group on Millennium Development Goals and Gender Equity, July 2003.

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[32] Tebtebba is an indigenous organization, also known as the Indigenous Peoples' International Centre for Policy Advocacy and Education, based in the Philippines.

[33] E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.4/2004/48. This can be downloaded from <www.tebtebba.org>.

[34] For more information on this law, check <www.ncip.gov.ph>.

[35] Section 6 of Chapter 1 on Preliminary Provisions of NCIP A.O. 3 Series of 2002.

[36] E/C.19/2005/3.

[37] The Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia (ONIC) is a national federation of indigenous peoples' organizations in Colombia.

[38] George Psacharopoulos, et al., (1994), p. 140.

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16

Processes Towards the Development of an Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development Paradigm

Proceedings of the Consultation-Workshop and Dialogue on Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development or Development with Identity

by Jennifer Corpuz

Indigenous Development or Development with Culture and Identity

by Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP)

Proceedings of the Consultation-Workshop and Dialogue on Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development or Development with Identity*

by Jennifer Corpuz

This meeting report summarizes the proceedings of the Consultation Workshop among indigenous persons and supporters held on 14-15 March, 2008 to the Dialogue with representatives of UN agencies, multilateral financial institutions and some CGIAR bodies and NGOs on 16-17 March. This activity, mainly supported by The Christensen Fund but with additional support from UNESCO and IFAD, was part of Tebtebba's project on "Operationalizing the Human-Rights Based Approach for the Protection and Enhancement of Biodiversity and Cultural Diversity Amongst Indigenous Peoples."

The consultation workshop aimed to be a visioning exercise among indigenous peoples to further elaborate their concept of development with identity or self-determined development with focus on bio-cultural diversity. A dialogue was then held between this group and representatives of some UN agencies, World Bank, CGIAR bodies, donor community and NGOs to present the results of the consultation and get feedback from the latter on whether the issues and proposals reached resonate with their programs and policies.

There were substantial discussions on the situation of indigenous peoples' traditional livelihoods and other areas of economic, social and cultural development as well as responses of indigenous peoples to their changing situations, with a particular focus on challenges, risks and opportunities. The workshop participants outlined the contours of indigenous peoples' self-determined development or development with identity.

Challenges and opportunities were identified, based on the presentation of representatives of UN agencies, multilateral financial institutions, CGIAR bodies, and NGOs on their work relevant to indigenous peoples' self-determined development and on the interactive dialogue between the aforementioned bodies and indigenous representatives.

Finally, there was a brief discussion and agreements reached on the road ahead for all the participants, towards the realization of indigenous peoples' self-determined development.

Process

A Consultation-Workshop on Indigenous Peoples' Development with Identity was held in Tivoli, Italy on 14-15 March 2008 among twenty (20) indigenous leaders, activists and thinkers from 12 countries, including a few who work with the UNDP and World Bank. Several were representatives of NGOs who have been supportive of indigenous peoples and independent consultants who had worked on indigenous peoples' issues before.

In order to contextualize the consultation-workshop, a summary of an earlier meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, held on 24-25 November 2007, was shared. The Bangkok meeting was a visioning and conceptualization meeting on indigenous peoples' self-determined development, held among twelve indigenous experts and advocates. After the presentation of the summary, there was a thorough introduction by the participants on who

they are, which peoples they belong to, brief personal histories, and a description of the work they have done/are doing relevant to indigenous peoples' self-determined development. Since it is envisaged that this group will be working more closely together, maybe as a network in the future, it was important for everyone to know more about each other to reinforce the synergy between and among them.

The Tivoli meeting proper began with an introduction of the participants, focusing on their life stories and experiences related to doing development work among their own peoples and the campaigns and advocacy work they have been doing from the local to global levels. A discussion of the present state of traditional livelihoods of indigenous peoples, focusing on challenges and opportunities, followed. Thereafter, there was a discussion on the state and issues on education, health, biological diversity, cultural diversity, traditional knowledge, indicators of indigenous peoples' wellbeing, climate change, technology, and other issues of interest to indigenous peoples that the participants have been working on. On the basis of these substantive discussions, the general contours of indigenous peoples' development with identity or self-determined development were mapped out.

The results of the discussions during the two-day Consultation-Workshop were shared with the new arrivals for the second phase of the discussions in Tivoli, a Dialogue with UN Agencies, CGIAR bodies, and NGOs. The new arrivals then identified aspects of their respective institutions' work relevant to indigenous peoples' self-determined development, with emphasis on the challenges and opportunities for indigenous peoples. In order to clarify and sharpen the points shared during the presentations, an interactive dialogue among the participants was conducted, resulting in a road map identifying future steps that should be taken for the realization of self-determined development of indigenous peoples.

I. Main Observations and Conclusions

(a) Overview of global situation

What comes out clearly from the discussions in Tivoli is that the dominant development model or paradigm has failed. The dominant development paradigm is defined here as the incessant pursuit of economic growth without the integration of cultural development, social justice and environmental sustainability. This development model is underpinned by the neo-liberal economic theory (globalization, liberalization of trade and finance, deregulation, privatization, etc.) which is captured by the Washington Consensus. Proof of this failure can be seen in the worsening economic inequity (wider gap between rich and poor countries and the rich and poor within countries), ecological crisis (e.g., loss of biodiversity and climate change), erosion of cultural diversity and rapid loss of languages, and social injustice. Despite all the talk about sustainable development, the unsustainable consumption and production patterns of rich countries and the elite within poor countries continues to plague this world.

These observations validate the critique of indigenous peoples that accumulation of wealth through production surpluses, particularly at the individual level or among elite groups, does not contribute to the security or wellbeing of societies, because it destroys equilibrium and harmony. The erosion of values such as reciprocity, diversity, solidarity, harmony with Mother Earth, accountability, among others, is seen on a daily basis, which is one key factor for this ecological and social crisis the world faces.

More and more, the process of nation-state building is leading towards the weakening of its role in protecting its own citizens and their diversity. There exists now what can be called a failure of governance, characterized by increasing collusion between the state and corporations or situations where corporations have become so powerful that they are able to dictate how

a state conducts its business. The Washington Consensus, which pushes for a weaker state, relegating it to just facilitate the further liberalization of finance and trade, has succeeded in some states leading to a worse situation for indigenous peoples.

This generation has become witness to a severe weakening of the UN due to lack of funds and capable leadership. This lack of funds has, in turn, made the UN organization susceptible to private sector influence. Thus, we find that the programmes and technical assistance provided by some UN agencies and funds are more geared towards promoting the agenda of the private sector, whether this be in promoting industrial agriculture over sustainable agriculture, liberalizing national laws to conform with finance and trade liberalization, or putting more stress on market-based mitigation measures for climate change instead of addressing the root causes of global warming.

Yet, despite or maybe even because of this situation, we find that indigenous peoples' movements, at the national, regional and global levels, have become ever stronger and more vibrant. The phenomenal growth of the indigenous peoples' movements from the local to the global level is unprecedented, and this will be a key influence in reshaping governments, the UN system and society at large. We find in indigenous peoples' territories a persistence of traditional livelihoods and revitalization of indigenous knowledge systems as well as cultural revival and strengthened assertion of identity and right to self-determination. The blossoming of these effective adaptation and coping strategies, in the face of dire crises brought about by the failure of the dominant development model, is testimony to the resilience of indigenous peoples. The cultural revival among indigenous peoples is becoming more dynamic in various parts of the world.

The key achievements of the global indigenous peoples' movement in recent years are the establishment of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the establishment of the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of hu-

man rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people. The Declaration of the Second Decade of the World's Indigenous People is also another achievement which should be maximized by the indigenous peoples.

(b) Situation of indigenous peoples' traditional livelihoods and other areas of economic, social and cultural development:

(i) Swidden Agriculture, Rotational Farming or Shifting Cultivation

The term "rotational farming" is preferred over "shifting cultivation" in order to counter State discourse against this traditional indigenous livelihood system and to emphasize that lands are fallowed and returned to after an appropriate period of time. Rotational farming is still widely practiced among many indigenous groups and is based on a substantial body of indigenous knowledge relating the people to the land, forest and wildlife, and the spiritual world. It is an integral system, which stems from a traditional, year-round, community-wide, and ritually sanctioned way of life. This system has proven to be ecologically sustainable, provided that enough land is available for indigenous peoples engaged in this type of livelihood.

The main issues surrounding rotational farming or shifting cultivation are laws that make this livelihood system illegal (such as in Thailand, Vietnam, Philippines) and eradication programs (such as in Laos) by means of land allocation and resettlement of lowland populations in the Highlands. Governments argue that shifting cultivation is technologically primitive, inefficient and wasteful, destructive to forests and soils, and prevents development, thus keeping people in poverty. However, these types of arguments fail to go beyond purely economic arguments, heavily based on the dominant development paradigm, and fail to take into consideration the multi-dimensional characteristics and values that systems of rotational farming hold for indigenous peoples.

Shifting cultivation eradication programs have resulted in loss of food security, deteriorating quality of nutrition, loss of plant diversity and, most importantly, a host of social and cultural impacts, such as erosion of ceremonial life, reduction or dissolution of communal labor exchange and cooperation, privatization of land ownership and individualization of production, increased socio-economic inequality, increasing conflicts, and general erosion of social cohesion and communal identity. These impacts constitute human rights violations under well-settled international norms applicable to indigenous peoples' rights, most notably, equality and non-discrimination.

Upholding the right of indigenous peoples to self-determined development entails the recognition of and support for the continuation of rotational farming as a way of life, which makes sense because shifting cultivators are flexible, they change and diversify, and have complex land-use and management systems whose economic basis rests on several pillars. Further, this system takes existing knowledge and experience as point of departure, taps potential for exchange, and fosters a belief in one's own creativity.

A caveat, however, when arguing in favor of rotational farming is the reality that in some places the system is under pressure and not always working. The loss of land base and accompanying population increase, as well as promotion of cash cropping, have led to stressed systems. Also, in Africa some shifting cultivators, but more so settled agricultural farmers, have begun to take over a lot of indigenous land, further marginalizing pastoralists. The challenge is to devise some means of land stabilization, as well as how to present the realities and problems without undermining the demand of indigenous peoples for rights.

(ii) Pastoralism

Pastoralism is a livelihood system that incorporates production, trade and social welfare mechanisms. It is a dynamic form of land use and refined resource management system. Pastoralism is constantly changing and evolving in response to the changing environment in which it operates. However, national development paradigms exclude pastoral peoples' views, so no real self-determined development has been possible.

The threats to pastoralism are many, and they include: loss of land; pervasive discrimination against pastoralists; domination by settled agricultural farmer groups who are encouraged by the government to farm the grasslands; frequent and severe drought and flood cycles, as well as upstream life-line river water abstraction; the establishment of administrative units (locations and sub-locations) by authorities; inappropriate water points, resulting to abuse of wet/dry season grazing rules; breakdown in traditional authority structures for regulating mechanisms of access, management, and control of grazing and water resources.

Pastoralism as a way of life also suffers from economic and political marginalization, leading to a lack of viable markets, devaluation of livestock, which is equivalent to the exchange rate in pastoralist systems; commercialized or politically instigated insecurity/arms race; labeling of pastoralists by the State as terrorists; curtailment of mobility and range use; necessitated settlements; alienation of the young generation and loss of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK); urban emigration; and relief food and donor aid dependence syndrome.

A major issue is the question of land ownership, whereby a lot of pastoralist land (particularly in Kenya) is considered trust land. Moreover, there are many competing interests for pastoralists' land, such as by wildlife conservationists, farmers, miners, chicken farms, and the like. Thus, there is an urgent need for the recognition of customary land tenure in law and practice. This can be done by identification, recognition and protection of economically and culturally useful land use practices that are dependent on communal or customary tenure.

Pastoralism need to be recognized as a viable system, especially in light of the fact that there are 3 million pastoralists in Africa. One avenue that can be explored is to demand the observance and enforcement of the right to pursue and maintain traditional livelihoods under International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 111. Also, there should be provision of a legislative framework to ensure communities share in the economic returns accruing from the use and exploitation of valuable natural resources on their land. This can be guaranteed by observance of the principle of free, prior, and informed consent, to which indigenous peoples' are entitled as part of their right to self-determination.

In the meantime, while issues and challenges faced by pastoralist societies are not yet being fully addressed, certain adaptation measures have been put in place, such as livestock diversification (camels), agro-pastoralism (irrigation), livestock/ other trade, migration and waged labor, and investment in child education.

The path towards empowering indigenous pastoralists will start through raising community awareness, enhancing decision-making, participation and visibility, strengthening the old and building hybrid structures and capacity, creation of opportunities, and the understanding, recognition and management of change.

(iii) Fishing/Coastal and Marine Livelihoods

The best-nourished people come from areas where land and sea resource uses are combined, or what may be called amphibious production. Forest farming based economies tend to be less productive and less well-nourished than coastal communities. Among coastal indigenous communities, new concepts of territory have been developed, whereby title extends as much as 25 kilometers into the sea (Nicaragua) or consists of purely ancestral waters (Philippines). This creates problems with private fishing companies, as well as oil exploration companies.

Climate change has also had great impact on coastal communities. Increased and stronger hurricanes are one manifestation of climate change that has alarmed indigenous elders, who now feel unable to predict hurricanes the way they used to. A lot of superstition surrounds the sea and activities performed in it, including in coastal indigenous communities. In Nicaragua, indigenous women have had to bear the blame for the increase in the number of hurricanes because, according to the elders, hurricanes happen because women work in the islands, a right that women had fought for and won.

(iv) Agroforestry

Indigenous peoples' lives are intertwined with land and forest. However, forests are very much under threat from movement of other people into forest areas, as well as from the conversion of indigenous peoples' forests into protected areas, which is greatly supported by environmentalist groups.

This raises the question of whether indigenous peoples can work with environmentalists. Alliances with environmentalists is an issue in all regions, and there is notably an increased aversion to working with environmentalists. Indigenous activists ask whether we try to "save" them or realign them to our cause. The harsh position that they are not "saveable" is held by a lot of Central American indigenous peoples.

Another issue among indigenous peoples who practice agroforestry is the fact that forestry law is so highly exclusionary that even community forestry discourse is extremely dangerous for indigenous peoples. Community forestry programs provide very limited areas, and obliges "forest managers" to have management plans that are usually out of connection with traditional ways of managing community resources. This is actually a means by which forestry departments maintain control over communities. The permitting system may not suit indigenous realities because it requires too much interaction with political personalities, a practice that fosters dependency and illegality, yet provides very little actual protection for indigenous peoples (who become the first victims in "clean-up" operations).

(v) Hunting and Gathering

Hunting and gathering as a traditional way of life is an economic activity as well as an expression of culture. This traditional lifestyle requires the use of wide spaces and inevitably leads to a nomadic lifestyle. Their land use is so often invisible to mainstream society, with some forms considered inappropriate, such as the use of fire and whaling, that there is massive prejudice against it. Thus, the major problem faced by hunters and gatherers is that there is no more space due to deforestation, exploitation, mining, eviction, installation of national parks, advancement of agricultural frontier and the like—all resulting in the loss of traditional land.

The loss of land leads to forced or induced sedentarization, for which there is no proper preparation. It is not surprising, therefore, that hunting and gathering peoples experience difficulty in adapting to a different way of life, leading to cultural instability, as well as economic and social problems. There is also a particular vulnerability to certain types of disease as a result of sedentarization. Most hunter and gatherer peoples now can be characterized as being in transition, where they are neither hunters and gatherers nor agriculturists or pastoralists but, rather, have mixed economies.

Suggested solutions to address these problems include the introduction of small-scale pastoralism, agriculture, money-generating activity, and education. There is, however, an urgent need for training hunting and gathering peoples in order to adapt to these new lifestyles. For those already resettled, there is a need to address the problem of illiteracy, while for those who have not yet been resettled, there is a need to maintain the environment so they can continue their way of life.

(vi) High Mountain Indigenous Production Systems

These systems have significant components based on spirituality. Everything is a cycle. Reciprocity and a strong sense of community are vital for the sustenance of this production system. Production is intensive and small-scale and therefore has

advantage for the family and also for the soil. The agricultural and production system in high montane areas is complex, diverse and high-risk. However, these are very important for diversity and for the variety of adaptive local knowledge. Because these are fragile environments and highly disaster-prone, people have developed a whole range of adaptation mechanisms as can be observed in Nepal, Northeastern India, the Cordillera region in the Philippines, among others.

Highland communities are also increasing their political participation. There is a strong link between highland farmers and groups struggling for more public participation and the establishment of more laws and policies addressing their rights. We can see this in Bolivia where an indigenous person became the President of the nation and where 14 out of 16 cabinet ministers are now indigenous persons. In Ecuador, Peru, Guatemala and Colombia, there are serious efforts by indigenous peoples to occupy more spaces for political participation.

In the face of this, there are also serious challenges and issues confronting indigenous peoples. There is not much cultural control over exchange or trading processes. Demographic growth and advancement of commercial agriculture into the frontiers is creating environmental and land problems. Significant out-migration into urban centers is causing a reduction in production. Reduction of snow and water because of climate change is a big problem. There are cases of corruption and moral decay among the leadership of some organizations.

The strengthening of traditional governance systems and authorities is needed, especially in Colombia or countries where indigenous peoples are not a majority. More environment friendly and culturally appropriate production technologies also need to be developed and used.

In Asia, it was noted that governments have a strong bias towards lowland agricultural systems at the expense of supporting high montane areas. Valuing upland environmental services is still not largely recognized or remunerated by the dominant society especially those from the lowlands. This is a big chal-

lenge which requires a radical change in the economic valuation systems and also in the mindsets of people.

(vii) Handicraft Development

Indigenous handicraft development is an area which has not been discussed more substantially in indigenous processes. However, a huge potential exists for indigenous peoples to develop further their handicrafts, which forms part of indigenous tangible cultural heritage.

Indigenous peoples have traditional dresses, fabrics, weapons, traps, utility tools, cultural and ritual and spiritual items, as well as raw materials. Indigenous peoples also possess intangible cultural heritage, which includes histories, culture, folklore, songs and dances, skills, indigenous traditional knowledge and spiritual wisdom.

Those who are interested to buy indigenous handicrafts, the customers, want to be proud of what they buy. Indigenous peoples are also proud of their culture and handicraft and certainly do not want dole-outs. So if there are customers who want to buy and indigenous peoples are willing to develop handicraft production as part of their economic development, then a win-win situation can be created. However, indigenous peoples have to systematically address issues of sources of raw materials, skill and craftsmanship, aesthetics, tradition, tools and equipment, transfer of knowledge and skills and issues of protection of indigenous traditional knowledge. A system has to be devised to integrate indigenous identity, lore and spirituality into the final products. One method is to articulate the background stories on which people made the product, what the designs mean, what materials were used and for what occasions the products are used for, among others. The product can be combined with a cultural event in which the customer participates in so that she or he will associate a memory with the product.

Marketing of the product has to be organized systematically from the village to the higher levels. Efforts should be exerted to eliminate the middleman and ensure direct links between the

producers and the customers. There has to be a continuous improvement of branding and image, utility, ideas and production systems. Of course, indigenous peoples are always confronted with the issue whether to commercialize or not. Thus the community has to decide and the proper balance should be made between ensuring the integrity and sacredness of indigenous rituals and cultures and commercializing indigenous tangible cultural heritage.

(viii) Indigenous Education

Latin America has more than **30** years of lessons in intercultural bilingual education programs. However, the linguistic approach rather than a holistic approach has been the dominant one. In the past, programs were created for indigenous peoples only. However, the next phases should promote more intercultural education for non-indigenous persons. The last **15** years has seen an increase in the indigenous universities because more spaces have been opened for indigenous peoples.

The experiences of indigenous universities in terms of developing curricula which reflect the worldviews and cosmologies of indigenous peoples, integrating traditional knowledge holders in teaching the young indigenous students, etc. are very rich. There is a need to bolster these efforts further and to promote exchanges and facilitate scholarships not only within the region but between regions.

(ix) Indigenous Health

The indigenous peoples' concept of health is more holistic than mainstream thinking. However, there is a lack of recognition of indigenous health systems. In Latin America, there are four types of recognized health systems:

- Mainstream health system;
- Medicinal plants – whereby only traditional indigenous medicinal plants, but not intercultural health systems, are recognized;

- Mixed institutions – whereby traditional and mainstream health systems are housed within the same building;
- Complementary system – whereby the mainstream system has a mechanism for recommending traditional healers, and there is a mechanism of complementation. This system is the most acceptable, since traditional healers are not forced into mainstream structures.

(x) Culture and Cultural Diversity

Culture does not only mean handicrafts, dances, rituals and songs. Cultural diversity is not a mosaic on the wall or frozen in time. It is dynamic. Indigenous peoples should not just focus on museum objects or costumes as defining them. Rather, the focus should be on the whole connection of things as this is what keeps indigenous peoples alive and intimately connected to their landscapes.

Culture should not be limited to just allowing peoples to use their languages. There is a need to also look into what is being expressed, the substance of what is being said using indigenous languages. There are threats to indigenous cultural diversity, and these include the tendency to fund projects which are only acceptable to governments. The "NGOization" of indigenous communities and organizations just so they can receive funds from donors is another threat. Religious organizations are also major actors in opposing the way indigenous peoples live and practice their cultures. The richness of indigenous food and agricultural systems are parts of cultural diversity, but these are also under threat from food aid, industrial agriculture and biotechnologies such as genetically modified crops.

(xi) Biological Diversity, Protection of Related Traditional Knowledge, Access and Benefit-Sharing, and Indicators of Indigenous Peoples' Development and Wellbeing

Within the framework of the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), protection of traditional knowledge

(TK) through participation in the CBD Working Group on Article 8(j), or WG8(j), is the main area that indigenous peoples have been engaged in. Recently, in the Working Group on the Review of Implementation (WGRI) of the CBD, TK was identified as an area that needs to be monitored through the use of indicators. Seeing this as an opportunity, the International Indigenous Forum on Biodiversity (IIFB) proposed that indigenous peoples themselves should be the ones to propose proper indicators on TK. The parties to the CBD accepted this proposal and, as a result, a series of workshops have already taken place to develop such indicators.

One indicator that has already been agreed is "Status and trends of linguistic diversity and numbers of speakers of indigenous languages." One of the proposed additional indicators is "Status and trends in the practice of traditional occupations." The use of this indicator is supported by ILO Convention No. 111, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of traditional occupations. Research on this proposed indicator can be undertaken by indigenous peoples' organizations themselves. This is an opportunity to involve indigenous peoples and research institutions to gather data for this indicator. Other proposed additional indicators are: "Number of governments legally recognizing customary law, institutions and practices" and "Demographic trends."

The reaction of the WG8(j) to this report is to ask governments, indigenous peoples and research institutions to go into immediate testing and piloting of these indicators before their actual adoption by the parties. When adopted by the Conference of the Parties (COP), the parties will then be obliged to report on these indicators (whereas their only existing obligation under CBD is to formulate National Biodiversity Strategic Action Plans [NBSAPs], plus monitoring). This is a big opportunity for indigenous peoples, whereby partnerships can be forged with governments and other bodies in order to look in a very deep way into the situation of indigenous peoples.

One challenge is that although a lot of multilateral bodies are geared towards collecting data, they are not looking at data

pertinent for indigenous peoples. However, governments have said that it is possible for them to develop methodologies for developing the indicator on "Status and trends in land use patterns in the traditional territories of indigenous and local communities," because abundant data (albeit non-disaggregated) already exist, such as satellite imaging and photographs. Apart from the additional proposed indicators, there is also a section on "Global Core Themes and Issues" where strategic indicators can be developed for indigenous peoples.

It was observed that some of the persons involved in the Consultation-Workshop, with financial support from IFAD, were instrumental in the regional consultations on the development of the indicators: Mirna Cunningham in Latin America, Naomi Kipuri in Africa, Tebtebba in Asia, and the Forest Peoples Programme (FPP) for customary use. There have been discussions with the UN Division on Statistics to develop methodologies on how to gather pertinent data for further development of the proposed indicators.

(xii) Ancestral Land Demarcation and Development: Good and Bad Experiences

In general, ancestral land demarcation and titling has proven to be a complicated, long and expensive process. The government, which has primary responsibility for the demarcation and titling process, lacks the capacity to properly implement the process. Moreover, other branches of the government with low awareness of indigenous peoples' rights resist the demarcation and titling. Complicating the process is the existence of competing interests (extractive industries, mainstream populations, etc.) and conflicts within ancestral lands, where persons involved in the demarcation tend to be killed.

After ancestral land has been demarcated and a title issued, many more issues arise: has the process fostered unity or caused division within the community? Does the title actually ensure control over the land? One of the observations is that issuance of ancestral land titles requires the creation of new institutions and

governance structures within the community. Usually, the new leadership structures that are developed to manage the ancestral land become more accessible to vested interests and vulnerable to corruption. Thus, within ancestral lands autonomy is important because tenure is useless without autonomy or the development of genuinely indigenous institutions of governance.

Perhaps the most important question that needs an answer after ancestral land has been demarcated and a title issued is "What kind of development should take place within ancestral lands?" The subsequent development plan is actually the more important part of the delineation and titling process. At present, there is enormous temptation for the formation of "business partnerships." In making a decision on whether or not to enter into a business partnership, there is a need to know what is at stake and to ensure genuinely free and informed consent. Indigenous peoples need to know about alternatives and how to counter the modernization and developmentalist discourse at the grassroots.

(xiii) Technology

Technology is the driving force of all advanced societies and is something we cannot completely ignore. However, the use of the term technology tends to evoke a sense of inferiority among indigenous peoples. What indigenous peoples have to realize is that the use of technology is not inherently a problem. There is a need to discover how to use technology as a tool that can be liberating and can be used to drive what is important to indigenous peoples.

At present, there is proliferation and growth of private foundations (e.g., Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation) that believe technology is the magic bullet (e.g., biotechnology). Some technology, such as biotechnology, may not in itself be bad, but becomes a problem because of who controls it. There are two approaches to the development of technology, the "Microsoft" approach, which is very controlling, and the "Google" approach, which is collaborative. One question that indigenous peoples need to ask is whether agriculture research can be done as co-

creation between indigenous peoples and those that have tech-
nology. Can we view technology as something that indigenous
peoples and agriculture researchers can produce together as
equal partners?

(xiv) Climate Change, Mitigation and Adaptation

Indigenous peoples are the first ones to suffer from impacts
of climate change. As has been said many times, they are the
canary in the gold mine of climate change or the barometer of
climate change, as the changes they have observed in their terri-
tories are the primary indicators that there is something wrong
with the global climate. This is primarily because indigenous
peoples are peoples of the land and ecosystems. Thus, any change
in the ecosystem adversely impacts their traditional livelihoods,
their indigenous knowledge and their control over the lands,
territories and resources. This is especially true for indigenous
peoples living in the Arctic, small-island states and low-lying
areas, arid and semi-arid areas, high montane areas, as well as
the sub-tropics and tropics. Indigenous peoples have been adapt-
ing to climate change for thousands of years. Their continuing
existence at present is a proof of this resilience. Despite this, the
recognition of this resilience and their adaptation capacities as
well as their contributions to mitigation have not been recog-
nized by the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change
(UNFCCC) or by the international community. They also have
not benefited from adaptation and mitigation funds.

Indigenous peoples have the smallest ecological footprint
but are expected to carry the heavier burden of adjustment. As a
result, their capacity to adapt is highly compromised because of
the magnitude of the problem. They suffer not only from im-
pacts of climate change but also from mitigation measures.

The issues that surround climate change and indigenous
peoples are issues of equity, social justice, ecological
sustainability, environmental justice and human rights. Mitiga-
tion measures, such as emissions trading, carbon sinks, renew-
able energy systems, and alternative fuels, are causing big land

grabs and further exclusion of indigenous peoples. The creation of carbon markets without structural reforms will reinforce old exclusionary mechanisms (e.g., exclusion from forests). Likewise, the expansion of carbon sinks, hydropower dams and lands for biofuel production are leading to massive land grabs and human rights violations against indigenous peoples.

II. Gains achieved by indigenous peoples at global, regional, national levels

On 13 September 2007, after almost twenty-four years of intense lobbying and negotiations, the United Nations General Assembly finally adopted the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The UNDRIP represents the minimum standards that should be observed internationally in relation to indigenous peoples. Even before UNDRIP was adopted, as well as after its adoption, the way indigenous peoples have used it and the way governments have reacted to its use has lent credence to the claim that specific provisions of UNDRIP are fast becoming customary international law.

Active involvement and lobbying of indigenous peoples within the UN system has resulted in creation of several bodies that address indigenous peoples' issues, such as:

- UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (addressing key development issues of indigenous peoples—lands, territories, resources: FPIC, climate change, etc.);
- UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples;
- Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of UN Human Rights Council;
- Increasing use of UN Treaty Bodies (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination, Human Rights Committee, etc.) to raise complaints against States.

Indigenous peoples have expanded lobbying and advocacy

efforts and constructive engagements beyond the UN to other bodies, such as:

- The International Labor Organization, which has adopted the only binding international instrument specifically dealing with indigenous peoples: ILO Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples;
- Multilateral bodies, such as the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, and Asian Development Bank, as well as the UN Development Programme and UN Development Group, which have developed policies, strategies and guidelines on indigenous peoples;
- The work related to the private sector, such as the World Commission on Dams, Extractive Industries Review, Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil, etc.;
- Bodies dealing with the protection of traditional knowledge, traditional cultural expressions, cultural heritage, etc.;
- African Commission on Peoples and Human Rights Working Group on Indigenous Populations.

Lobbying and advocacy at the national level has likewise resulted in important developments for indigenous peoples, such as:

- The enactments of constitutional provisions and national laws recognizing indigenous peoples rights (Latin America, Philippines, etc.);
- Indigenous peoples gaining political power (Bolivia, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Nepal, etc.);
- Indigenous autonomous regional governments (Nicaragua, Panama, Sami Parliaments, Nunavut, Greenland Home Rule, etc.);
- Increasing networking of indigenous peoples at the national, regional, and global levels;
- Gaining better control over lands, territories and resources (ancestral land demarcation, assertion of FPIC, etc.);
- Revival of strong cultural movements and assertion of

identities by indigenous peoples;
- Establishment of indigenous universities, bilingual and intercultural education;
- Good practices on local self-reliant economic development (Bangladesh, Pancur Kasih credit union movement, etc.);
- Development of indicators of indigenous peoples' wellbeing and sustainability.

III. Some key issues raised in the consultation

Our approach to self-determined development or development with identity:

- We have a holistic non-sectoral and embedded approach to our own development;
- We are seeking to build on our collective rights—now recognised in the UNDRIP—notably our right to self-determination;
- Our understanding of culture is that it is a whole way of life and stems from our livelihoods and relations to land and is not a thing in itself (and cannot be reduced to just dance, ritual or language): so we focus on food, production, crafts and a sound resource base, as well as our spiritual life;
- We seek full participation ("we are either at the table or on the menu");
- Based on greater control, autonomy and self-governance
- Built on secure rights to our lands, territories and resources;
- Ensuring Free, Prior and Informed Consent;
- Promoting our difference, our diversity and our resilience;
- Building on tradition with respect for our ancestors but without being backward looking;
- Accepting that with rights come responsibilities and that

some customs too need reform, e.g., with respect to indigenous women and discriminated groups.

Problems with classical agency or State approaches:

- Maximization and homogenization;
- Technology focused;
- Reductionist view of social change and pigeon holing us as poor and in need rather than as resourceful people with our own options and initiatives;
- Project-based approach with predetermined outcome;
- Not linked to rights;
- Donor distance from local realities;
- Top down and little real participation;
- Huge gap between policies and practice;
- Culture seen as high culture not as peoples' everyday lives;
- Negative views of our lifeways: shifting cultivation, forest dwelling, pastoralism, hunting and gathering, etc.;
- Institutionalised discrimination, suspicion, seen as national security risk/terrorists;
- Policies of sedentarisation, resettlement, displacement or restriction;
- Inappropriate laws or non-application of good laws;
- Lack of rights, land rights, self-governance, control;
- Generation of conflicts with State, private sector and within communities: spawning insurgencies;
- Lack of inter-agency coordination.

Major challenges and opportunities:

- While value of cultural and biological diversity now recognized, value of economic diversity less appreciated;
- Must avoid a "one size fits all" approach: only local control can really fit development to local realities;
- Building local capacity, raising awareness and providing information;
- Rebuilding respect, dignity and confidence
- Broad securing of rights and justice;
- Building up our own forms of education—informally, at

schools and at indigenous universities;
- Ensuring fair representation and accountability at all levels;
- Building local business enterprises into local or regional economies;
- Focus on small scale but inclusive initiatives;
- Securing access to reliable markets, start local;
- Constructive engagement with the private sector: building on the gains of standard setting processes like WCD, EIR, RSPO;
- Re-educate the State;
- Develop new relations with States and agencies as self-governing peoples/regions;
- Legal reform, ensuring legal pluralism;
- Recognising the real values of indigenous peoples' economic systems even if GDP contribution not great, other values need better appreciation;
- Health risks especially for "isolated" peoples;
- Securing control of "IPRs"/Indigenous Heritage;
- Adoption of revised indicators of development outcomes;
- Promoting sharing of lessons learned among peoples and continents (costly but vital).

Key dilemmas:

- Urbanization of world and of indigenous peoples too;
- Climate change: direct effects and impacts of "solutions," new carbon market impositions without structural reforms may only reinforce old exclusionary mechanisms;
- How to "upstream" indigenous voices into wider economic policy development and land use planning;
- Dealing with NGOs;
- Impositions of mainstream religions;
- Land loss, new needs, increase in numbers and pressure on land leading to breakdown of once viable resource use systems;

- Identifying how to really change agency behaviour: through changing agency philosophy, policy, personnel, consultants, incentives or governance? What really makes a difference?

Contours or Elements of Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development

From the discussions that took place these were the key points which were identified as elements or contours of self-determined development. It was agreed that the term to use is self-determined development as this captures more aptly the thinking and practice of indigenous peoples.

- Strengthen, protect and enhance distinct cultural institutions, indigenous philosophies and worldviews, customary laws, indigenous political governance and justice systems, and protect and reinforce traditional knowledge;
- Strengthen indigenous beliefs and practices which promote harmony and sustained interaction with their environment, holistic management of territories and natural resources so that these can still be used by the future generations;
- Promote programmes and projects which are holistic and enhance the values of reciprocity, equity, solidarity and interconnectedness;
- Start from the indigenous concepts of economic, social, political, cultural and spiritual wellbeing, and diversity and develop indicators to measure how such wellbeing is promoted;
- Respect and protect right to lands, territories and resources; develop and promote laws and policies which ensure indigenous peoples control, ownership and access to these;
- Respect and operationalize the right to free, prior and informed consent;

- Ensure equality, non-discrimination and right to political participation in all decision-making bodies, programmes and projects brought into their communities;
- Respect and promote cultural rights and right to identity, and revitalize cultural traditions and customs but also revise some aspects which do not promote gender or inter-generational balance;
- As part of the implementation of the right to self-determination, autonomous regional governments or other self-governing structures of indigenous peoples should be developed or enhanced, and the control of these structures over social services such as health and education should be ensured;
- Promote indigenous peoples' participation in political governance, legislative structures from the local to national level and beyond;
- Reinforce traditional livelihoods of indigenous peoples which are ecologically sustainable and ensure equitable sharing of resources and benefits;
- Demand-driven, meaning indigenous peoples are fully involved in identifying, designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating development programmes, policies or projects;
- Promote use of mother tongue, establish bilingual and intercultural education;
- Promote and support integrated local development projects that ensure the leadership role played by indigenous organizations and communities in project conceptualization, participatory planning, decentralized execution and local capacity building;
- Protect indigenous peoples' intellectual, cultural, religious and spiritual property and provide redress for misappropriation;
- Provide adequate social services adapted to the socio-cultural and linguistic characteristics of indigenous peoples;

- Provide options for indigenous peoples to decide which aspects of the subsistence economy, intercultural economy (interface between subsistence and market economies) and market economy to adopt;
- Support the development and use of culturally appropriate and environmentally sustainable technologies;
- Provision of environmental services from indigenous territories should be valued and compensated;
- Reinforce resilience, mitigation and adaptation processes of indigenous peoples especially in the face of climate change.

The diagram below highlights a strategy which indigenous peoples can use, as far as development is concerned. This contains the issues and opportunities faced in the area of traditional livelihoods, the market economy and the inter-cultural economy.

Figure 2. Strategies for ind igenous economic development

Traditional Indigenous economy

Intercultural economy

Market economy

Strengthening territory and Identity
- Regularize ownership
- Food security
- Sustainability of heritage
- Production and delivery of goods and services within the community
- Alternative financing services
- Strengthening governance systems
- Strengthening juridical systems

Capitalizing on comparative advantages and market niches
- Ethno-tourism
- Management of heritage
- Integrated Ecosystems Management
- (NRM, protected areas, agro-biodiversity)
- Arts and handicrafts
- Medicinal plants
- Organic products, etc.
- Environmental services
- Germplam banks
- Intercultural education
- Intercultural health system

Increasing Inclusion
- Labor markets
- Good and services markets
- High Education and training
- Financial and business services
- Strengthening linkages between indigenous governance systems and national systems
- Strengthen interface between indigenous juridical systems and national systems

IV. Work of UN agencies, CGIAR, NGOs Relevant to Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development: Challenges and Opportunities

In the Dialogue portion of the whole process, the representatives of other NGOs, Donors, UN agencies, and some CGIAR representatives participated. The indigenous representatives presented a summary of the two-day consultation which they held, and then posed questions to the new participants. These questions were:

- What are the possibilities for UN Agencies, bodies and programmes and NGOs and funders to adopt the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as their

guiding framework for indigenous peoples' development? Challenges and obstacles?

- What assessment and evaluations have you done on the projects, programmes and policies relevant to indigenous peoples in your institutions, and what lessons have you learned and can share?
- How can indigenous peoples and the UN agencies, CGIAR and NGOs work together to develop and strengthen opportunities for support and implementation of indigenous peoples' self-determined development and strengthen relevant mandates?
- How can UN bodies and NGOs support the demands of indigenous peoples for their land and resource rights versus claims of states and corporations?
- Are you willing to support the capacity-building programs of indigenous peoples to train indigenous youth, women and leaders?

What followed was a very substantial sharing from the representatives of the various UN agencies, NGOs, donors and the CGIAR in terms of what they are doing for and with indigenous peoples, and what they see as challenges and opportunities. The participants included the World Bank, UNESCO, FAO, IFAD, ILO, UNDP, Biodiversity International, CGIAR secretariat, CIAT and from the NGOs were IWGIA, Forest Peoples' Program, IIED, SONIA; and the donor was Christensen Fund.

Summary of Presentations from UN agencies, NGOs, Donors and CGIAR Bodies:

The Christensen Fund – TCF

The Christensen Fund (TCF) is based in California, USA and works on Bio-cultural diversity, giving out about $15M of grants a year, mostly with indigenous peoples. Its grant-making is focused on land, ecology, culture, and music. However, TCF feels that maybe they should attend more to development. In response to the challenges posed from the indigenous peoples' consultation, TCF says they can embrace the substance of UNDRIP and can likewise support capacity building for indigenous peoples.

TCF feels that donors, in general, have been funding on wrong scales: either too high or at the village level—but not at landscape scale which is where it is needed. Also with regard to timescales: donors should try to have longer and across scales, more in accordance with people's timescales.

The multilateral development paradigm is changing: States were only leading actors for a short time. What we see now is actually more normal, wherein development is now shaped by power and money even to the extent of going to war. The situation is similar with modern issues: private interests play a major role, such as in genetically modified organisms (GMOs), carbon trading, intellectual property rights (IPRs), and biofuel production. Big international NGOs—or BINGOs—representing civil society were seen as the good guys, but now even some NGOs are more powerful than States. Thus, choosing who/how we engage with them has become critical.

The same situation is found in the field of philanthropy: private money becoming available is not all bad (e.g., IFIP has 80 members), however some are quite horrifying. The deep trend is that States are losing power and moral authority, and we need to be alert to that, especially considering that States are seen as holders of obligations to deliver rights. But now we need to ad-

dress the same demands to the private sector. One key question that indigenous peoples and support groups need to answer is: How does the Declaration apply to global players: the philanthropic organizations, BINGOs, and others? How do we make them face their human rights obligations?

Another emerging trend is that we are seeing many pressures in unitary and federal states to decentralise, leading to the re-emergence of city states as important actors. Such city-states will have to invest in environmental services and raw materials that they need. Maybe there are opportunities here, such as watershed management agreements and payment for environmental services (PES).

Therefore, how do we influence these processes? A multilateral approach is one way, but this will not be enough. A more effective way is to link to social movements. There is a need to link to environmental and social justice movements in new ways (e.g., Slow Food Movement) and a need to challenge with inspiration not just with power.

Regarding the "failure of the dominant development paradigm"—we need to keep up this message. There is a need to challenge the idea that you can decouple people from nature. Negative feedbacks have been redirected to other places and peoples but this cannot be done forever and is now hitting us all. Hence, there is a need to face up to the human race. Indigenous peoples have the values and resources that are crucial to this.

Regarding the CGIAR bodies and livelihoods: the challenge is to promote diverse agro-ecosystems in broader terms, with more focus on food sovereignty, and addressing concerns about IPRs and technological control of varieties.

A number of viable legal and political strategies have been proposed, but we need to lead with ideas. It is important to engage intellectually with caring scientists who are rethinking western linear science in multiple-cause ways. We need to have a multi-pronged approach.

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs – IWGIA

IWGIA was founded in 1968 and is an independent international membership organization, staffed by specialists and advisers on indigenous affairs. IWGIA holds consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and is an observer to the Arctic Council. It has a Secretariat with 16 staff members in Copenhagen, Denmark and local groups in Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland and France. IWGIA supports indigenous peoples' struggle for human rights, self-determination, right to territory, control of land and resources, cultural integrity, and the right to development.

In IWGIA's view, Indigenous Peoples' Development with Identity:

- happens if communities are in control of the direction and process of development;
- is an expression of self-determination;
- interaction with development agencies and the state means: the principle of FPIC is upheld;
- in order for FPIC to be genuine, communities need to
  - □ know what the intervention implies and what is at stake >> Information;
  - □ know about alternatives, especially: outside the dominant development paradigm >> Alternative paradigm/Counter-discourse;
  - □ have the strength to resist and assert their rights >> Empowerment.

Indigenous peoples' organizations working at the local, national, regional and international level are the key agents in achieving IWGIA's main thrusts of information, discourse and empowerment. In the area of information, IWGIA supports and works in partnership with such organizations through information dissemination with the use of books, journals, website, videos in English and Spanish, and some books. In the area of counter-discourse, IWGIA's activities consist of support to and facilitation of analysis, discussions, exchange and strategizing

and support to indigenous peoples' active involvement in international processes. In the area of empowerment, IWGIA supports projects implemented by indigenous peoples organizations on land rights campaigns and land titling, capacity enhancement (such as community organizers and leaders training), human rights monitoring, and core funding for indigenous peoples' organizations.

International Institute for Environment and Development – IIED

The work of IIED that relates to indigenous peoples falls into the broad areas of Food Sovereignty, Bio-Cultural Diversity and Livelihoods, further broken down as follows:

- Strengthening local organizations
    - Local adaptive management of environment
    - People's access to food and resources
    - Federations, networks and organized policy influence
- Empowering citizens in decision-making
    - Strengthening civil society
    - Methodologies for citizen participation in policy and institutional processes
- Social inclusion and the human right to food
    - Gender inclusion and equity
    - HR to food
- Agrarian reform and property rights
    - Equitable and culturally appropriate property rights
    - Community controlled land and territory
- Transforming knowledge and ways of knowing (Agro-ecology, eco-literacy and resilience)
    - Agro-ecology, eco-literacy and eco-design
    - Science of dynamic complexity and resilience of linked social and economic systems
- Trade, markets and economics (re-governing trade and

rethinking economics)

- ☐ Anticipatory policy research on economically powerful actors
- ☐ Deepening democracy: rethinking economics

IIED works on ideas and is not a funding agency; it does not have much influence over UN system. For IIED, Food Sovereignty includes:

- the right of peoples to define their own food and agriculture policies;
- rights of access and control over land, water, seeds, livestock breeds, territories;
- ecologically sustainable production and harvesting, principally agro-ecological production and artisanal fisheries based on high bio-cultural diversity;
- right to protect and regulate domestic agricultural production and trade (e.g., restrict the dumping of products in local markets.

Forest Peoples Programme – FPP

The main goals of the FPP are the following:

- Promoting forest peoples' rights (forest law and policy is the most exclusionary; the term "forest peoples" is both bigger and smaller than "indigenous peoples");
- Control of forests, lands and livelihoods;
- Promoting peoples' direct representation networks (FPP sees itself as a support organization);
- Challenging top-down development;
- Building support for rights in the environmental justice movement (such as World Rainforest Movement—WRM).

One of the most important programs of FPP at this time is the implementation of the second decade of the world's indigenous peoples, which has been done in the following ways:

Promoting non discrimination in laws, policies and programmes: design, implementation and evaluation	• Inter-American Court and CERD: training ++
	• Successful cases
	  o Moiwana
	  o Saramaka
	• Urgent action: calls for legal reforms
	  o Indonesia
	  o DRC
	  o Suriname
	  o Guyana

Promoting full and effective participation of IPs in decisions that affect them... and FPIC	• Support work / networks
	• CBD
	  o Article 10c: customary use
	• CBD, WCC, CONGOs
	  o PAs policy and practice
	• UNFCCC: REDD, GFA and FPCF
	• FPIC: FSC, CONGOs, EIR, WCD, RSPO, ICMM, etc.

Redefining development policies (inc. private sector)	• WB, IDB and ADB, UNDP, GEF • The Forests Dialogue • High Conservation Value Resource Network • Rights and Resources Initiative
Implementing targeted development programmes	• Field projects with IPs in many countries (Panama, Peru, Guyana, Suriname, Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, Cameroon, CAR, Uganda and Rep. of Congo, DRC, Rwanda, Burundi, Bangladesh, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia) • Support tailored to local demand within our limits of expertise

Developing strong Monitoring and Evaluation and enhancing accountability	• Assessing policy implementation and tracking problems
	  o watchdog role: tracking private banks
	  o tracking and documenting specific MDB projects
	  o Filing complaints (e.g. IFC-Wilmar)
	  o FLEGT and community level monitoring

The main dilemmas FPP faces in its current work include:

- How to promote gender equality and respect self-determination;
- NGOisation of indigenous peoples to handle money and projects and deal with non-IP world;
- Representation: "mandate shopping" and self-governance;
- Private sector engagement: operational level only creates local changes while framework reform is what is really needed;
- Do policies really direct agency development actions (25 years of advocacy but same problems).

Andean Project for Peasant Technologies - PRATEC

We are in the midst of a civilizational change, and this presents both threats and opportunities. We all need to change: indigenous as well as non-indigenous peoples. PRATEC is an indigenous organization, except that it is an NGO, which works on alternatives to the green revolution and, consequently, the enhancement of biodiversity.

World Bank – WB

In the next 5-10 years, humankind will determine how the world is going to look like in the next 100 years. The WB is about a world free of poverty. It has a portfolio of $25B of loans and grants per year and employs 10,000 persons worldwide. WB does not implement projects, but merely monitors and oversees. Approximately 15 percent of the Bank's projects involve indigenous peoples. There are three trends the WB has to contend with in this era: climate change, the millennium development goals (MDGs), and clean energy.

In the area of climate change, WB is involved in carbon trading by facilitating the exchange of carbon credits, whereby enti-

ties from developed countries buy credits from the developing world. One other program it engages in is Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD), which involves paying people not to destroy nature.

The WB espouses the use of clean energy in the form of hydropower, for which there are going to be large investments in Asia and Africa. One other form of "clean energy" presently being promoted is biofuels—and one implication for indigenous peoples is the occurrence of major indigenous land grabs. At present, nuclear power is being touted as clean energy and uranium will be coming from indigenous peoples' lands.

A lot of money is soon going into climate funds, maybe about $3B will be poured into climate change mitigation (i.e., lowering of greenhouse gas emissions). If done wrongly, this program can be disastrous. However, this can also present a real opportunity for indigenous peoples.

On account of the UN System's promotion of the MDGs, more money will be going into programs and projects on health and education as well as infrastructure. All these present both threats and opportunities for indigenous peoples.

One approach that might work for the promotion of indigenous peoples' rights in institutions like WB is constructive engagement or keeping the dialogue going. In this regard, the UNPFII has been a blessing for the WB. Another approach is to conduct research that matches indigenous knowledge (IK) on climate change with western knowledge on climate change. Unfortunately, one of the trends observed is that more of the traditional friends of indigenous peoples in the donor community have been moving their money into government.

Other approaches involve engaging with the responsive part of private sector; the development of a market for sustainable development (e.g., sale of water rights); and corporate social responsibility/demonstration of community benefit.

On the possibility of the Bank adopting the UNDRIP as a framework for dealing with indigenous peoples, a legal review

has been undertaken of the Bank's policy on indigenous peoples to determine consistency with the Declaration. Findings are that only two areas are possibly inconsistent: FPIC and land rights. Because most of the Bank's member countries have voted in favor of UNDRIP, the WB can assist them in implementation.

On the observation that the decision-making process of WB has become undemocratic, this may actually be an opportunity for indigenous peoples. On whether it can support capacity building programs for indigenous peoples, the WB has a grants facility (which has been turned over to IFAD). Unfortunately, implementing human rights is not within the Bank's mandate.

Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research – CGIAR

The mission of CGIAR is to achieve sustainable food security and reduce poverty in developing countries through scientific research and research-related activities in the fields of agriculture, forestry, fisheries, policy, and environment. The center has been working with indigenous peoples but only in an ad hoc manner.

There are **15** international CGIAR centers, all of which exhibit a huge diversity of approaches among CGs, unlike in the era of the green revolution. All the research done by CGIAR is applied research, or research geared towards solving specific problems. The CGIAR is at a crossroads with respect to its strategy, approach and policies, and is in the process of launching a collaborative undertaking among the CGs on climate change. This presents an opportunity to work with indigenous peoples because the work has not started yet. Three main geographical areas have been identified for this undertaking: Western Africa, the Indo-Gangetic plain, and North Africa. There is a need to identify entry points for indigenous peoples, taking into consideration the fact that scientists of CGs are supposed to be working under complete intellectual freedom.

Bioversity International

Vulnerability of traditional plant varieties is increasing with climate change. Thus, the maintenance and use of agricultural biodiversity is the mission of BI. Accordingly, BI recognizes the importance of informal seed systems—a vulnerable but very important system. There is a need for more dynamism in germplasms in light of climate change. A major problem is the compartmentalization of agro-biodiversity work.

Food and Agriculture Organization – FAO

The Declaration of Atitlán recommended that FAO: establish an open-ended working group so that indigenous peoples may consult in the development and implementation of policies that affect food security and food sovereignty of Indigenous peoples; that FAO establish an indigenous peoples' Network; and that FAO designate a focal point on indigenous issues. These recommendations are being taken seriously and implemented by FAO.

FAO's mandate is to raise levels of nutrition, improve agricultural productivity, and to better the levels of rural populations and sustainable NRM. Key activities and areas of FAO are the promotion of agricultural development, improved nutrition, and overarching global food security. FAO works with indigenous peoples and their organizations in many of its regular programme activities.

However, except for some notable exceptions, FAO often works with indigenous peoples as farmers or rural poor without a clear approach and a policy that recognize their distinct feature and needs. Furthermore, FAO independent external evaluation and reform do not mention indigenous peoples. Thus, challenges for FAO include the following:

- To raise awareness among member countries, indigenous peoples' organizations, FAO staff, about the relevance

of indigenous issues for the work of FAO;

- To ensure a real dialogue between indigenous peoples and FAO, and active participation of indigenous peoples in FAO;
- To mainstream people centered approaches in the agenda and technical work of the Organization, considering cultural-biodiversity;
- To elaborate policy and strategic programmes on indigenous issues, to be agreed with indigenous peoples, as part of FAO mandate, and have it endorsed by member countries;
- More active collaboration on indigenous peoples' issues with UNPFII and agencies (IFAD, Bioversity, CGIAR, ILO, IADB, etc.) indigenous peoples' organizations and NGOs.

UNESCO

UNESCO's key functions: laboratory of ideas, standard-setter, clearing house, knowledge and information sharing, and capacity builder.

How can UNESCO's policies and programs reinforce and promote indigenous peoples' development with identity? The UNDRIP provisions on culture echo UNESCO principles of cultural diversity.

The UNDRIP has important implications for UNESCO at the policy level, including the UNESCO Constitution, Medium-Term Strategy (2008 to 2013), and normative instruments to promote cultural diversity, such as the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), and Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) and related implementation guidelines (now principle of community participation).

The UNDRIP also has important implications for UNESCO at the programme level, such as Biennial programme (2008/2009), which includes components such as:

- To build and disseminate knowledge on the connections between UNDRIP and the UNESCO standard-setting instruments on the protection and promotion of cultural diversity for sustainable development/development with identity;
- Training for policy makers and programmers (including UN staff) on using the "UNESCO Cultural Diversity Programming Lens."

Three examples of UNESCO good practice to promote development with identity are its programmes on:

- Cultural Mapping with Indigenous Peoples: a Tool for Community Involvement in Shaping Future Development;
- ICT4ID: Developing Communication Capacity of Indigenous Peoples;
- Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems: Empowering Indigenous Peoples in Resource Governance processes.

Challenges include:

- Build knowledge and capacity in UNESCO and among partners regarding UNDRIP and development with identity, notably how they relate to UNESCO's mandate and normative instruments of promoting education, cultural diversity and freedom of expression for sustainable development;
- disseminate more widely among indigenous peoples information on its various legal instruments related to language, cultural diversity and cultural heritage and enhance the capacities of indigenous peoples to use them
- Use the UNESCO intersectoral platforms, the One UN and UNDAF processes as well as a number of regional and international policy processes to build knowledge

on UNDRIP using also the UNDG Guidelines on Indigenous Issues;

- Seize the occasion of UNESCO's chairmanship of the Interagency Support Group on Indigenous Issues (IASG) from May 2008 to May 2009 to build knowledge and capacity in UNESCO on UNDRIP and "development with identity."

UNDP Regional Programme on Indigenous Peoples – RIPP

UNDP works with indigenous peoples because it is UNDP's mandate to address the development needs of the world's poorest and most vulnerable. In 2001 UNDP adopted its Policy of Engagement with indigenous peoples. The first phase of the programme was from 2004-2007, and its second phase, from 2008-2012.

Components of RIPP's strategy on indigenous peoples include: changing the governance lens from social exclusion to inclusive governance; the creation of a forum for dialogue and cooperation; raise sensitive issues; fostering a trans-border perspective; link the local, national, regional, and global levels; and maintaining a country presence and coordinating role.

UNDP Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Facility – CHTDF

The CHTDF is a UNDP direct execution that has a budget of US$50 million, running from April 2003 - September 2009, and operating in Rangamati, Bandarban and Khagrachari Hill Districts of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh.

The CHTDF works on the following main peace and development issues in the CHT:

- Demand for regional autonomy, local governance, de-centralization;
- Settlement policy and demographic transition as counter-measure;
- Conflict and ethnic violence;
- The CHT Peace Accord;
- Land ownership issues;
- Resident status, representation and elections;
- Control over natural resources;
- Channeling of development resources.

The Purpose of the programme is the improved socio-economic development of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in line with the principles of self-reliance, decentralization and sustained peace. The overall objectives are to:

- Build capacities of CHT communities for self-reliance;
- Build capacities of CHT institutions for development;
- Promote cross-cutting socio-economic opportunities;
- Build confidence for long-term peace.

Activities of the programme include:

- Promoting confidence building to solve long-standing problem critical to ensuring sustainable development in CHT;
- Organizing village communities for empowerment and self-reliance;
- Strengthening capacity and role of CHT institutions and local governance system;
- Economic development through supporting small local enterprise, youth employment and livelihood improvement;
- Increasing access to and improve quality of basic education;
- Quality health care for CHT population;
- Promoting gender equality and women empowerment at all levels;

- Facilitating **20** AusAID scholarships per year for CHT indigenous students;
- Localized disaster response.

International Fund for Agricultural Development - IFAD

IFAD has a long history of working with indigenous peoples because it works with the poorest of the poor in rural areas. It has asked indigenous experts to evaluate some of its work in several countries and this evaluation has identified the good practices and also the challenges and lessons learned from these experiences.

IFAD works extensively with indigenous peoples, thus it has felt the need to develop its own policy of engagement with indigenous peoples. The policy is mandatory but does not include guidelines. The policy is meant to ensure that targets are met and mandates fulfilled.

IFAD also has an indigenous peoples assistance facility (IPAF), which is a small grants facility. The second call for proposals is about to be circulated.

International Labor Organization – ILO

ILO is the only UN agency which has legally binding instruments on indigenous peoples, Convention No. **107** and Convention No. **169**. These have significantly helped indigenous peoples raise their issues before the international community and also to help the cases they filed against nation-states which ratified these.

The main issue that ILO tries to grapple with is how to ensure that CCA-UNDAFs reflect indigenous peoples' issues. There is no simple answer on the global level, so there is a need to go down to the country level. Also, differences at the regional level need to be taken into account. Thus, there is a need to train coun-

try level staff on this, as well as on the implications of UNDRIP and UNDG guidelines. The problem is that within ILO, decision-making has been decentralized to the country level, such that an IP expert is required for country teams. Unfortunately, this has not been happening.

Other issues being faced by ILO are the low number of ratifications of ILO 169, the overlap between indigenous peoples as workers and as indigenous peoples, tripartism requirement in the use of the ILO complaints mechanism, and the harmonization and alignment agenda among donors, whereby there is no mention of indigenous peoples in their policies, making it increasingly difficult to get targeted funds from donors. There is a need to have good country-level legal and policy frameworks.

Slow Food Movement

The Slow Food Movement started as an organization to promote traditional food, but is now also a publishing house and foundation. The movement deals with rights and not just food. One of its major projects at present is called the "Art of Taste" which is a listing of food in danger of extinction. It is through this project that the movement crossed paths with indigenous peoples. Many of the disappearing food on the movement's list are food found among indigenous peoples. The Slow Food Movement is very much interested in linking up with the indigenous peoples' movement, not only on the issue of food but also on the matter of rights.

V. The Ways Forward

In terms of what the group can do to pursue the discussions further, the following were proposed:

- Prepare the draft report of this activity and send to participants for their comments and additions. In the meantime, what has been prepared can be given to the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues so that this document can be included as a conference room paper;
- Organize side-events at the 7th Session of the Permanent Forum where the results of this process will be shared;
- Organize another event at the 14th Session of the Commission on Sustainable Development where a discussion on Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Agriculture will be done;
- Need to do more scoping activities to identify more comprehensively the gains and challenges faced by indigenous peoples in pursuing their self-determined development;
- Need to do research and documentation on good practices from indigenous peoples, governments, UN agencies, CGIAR, NGOs, donors;
- Create an informal network to pursue the discussions and actions around self-determined development and generate resources for these continuing activities.

ANNEX 1.

Participants

	Name	People	Title	Organization
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22	Vanda Altarelli	-	Indepen-dent Consultant	
23	Susanne Schnuttgen	-	Programme Specialist	UNESCO
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	Name	People	Title	Organization
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Indigenous Development or Development with Culture and Identity*

A. Asia Indigenous Development Conferences – Background

In order to provide a venue for indigenous peoples in Asia to come to a common understanding about the concepts, issues and identify different aspects and needs on indigenous development, the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) organized a series of Indigenous Development Conferences from 2005 to 2009. The indigenous development framework conferences were held in Tulongan, Mindanao, Philippines (2005), Toraja, Indonesia (2006), Pokhara, Nepal (2007) and Sabah, Malaysia (2008). AIPP also held a conference dedicated to the theme on indigenous health in Taiwan (2008).

These conferences were attended by representatives from 13 Asian countries namely: Bangladesh, Burma, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Philippines, Taiwan, Timor Leste, Thailand, and Vietnam.

The overall objectives of the Indigenous Development Conferences were to restore the integrity and cohesiveness of indigenous communities in the region; to empower and affirm self-determination of communities in terms of the type of develop-

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* Submitted by the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) Foundation to the 9th Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

ment based on indigenous concepts; to provide a venue for indigenous peoples in Asia to come to a common understanding about the concept, issues and identify different aspects and needs on indigenous development; and to come up with strategies to revitalize the different aspects of indigenous development.

Indigenous development is defined as "the growth or progress of an indigenous community in their originality or within the context of their ethnic identity in a holistic way."

Indigenous identity is based on 10 aspects of indigenous systems which are interrelated, indivisible, and interdependent. These aspects are cultural, social, spiritual, political/institutional, juridical, economic, natural resource management, technology, health and education/ways of learning. The conference provided a platform for indigenous peoples to elaborate on the concepts, principles and practices of indigenous development or development with culture and identity, as well as the challenges and measures related to each aspect.

The adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in September 2007 has provided affirmative support to indigenous peoples' perspective in developing these elements as well as the normative rights framework for indigenous peoples to pursue such development model and inform government of their duties and obligations to change the models of development that have been detrimental.

B. Recommendations

I. Cultural, Social and Spiritual Dimensions

For Indigenous Peoples:
To strengthen efforts to maintain traditional and collective values through the promotion of traditional ways of learning and the transference of indigenous knowledge.

To address gender gaps such as the exclusion from, or inadequate representation of women in decision-making processes and leadership roles, justice mechanisms and ceremonies, and issues of birth prohibitions, bride price and gender-based violence.

To initiate inter-faith dialogues to promote understanding and respect for indigenous spirituality.

For States and UN agencies:

To promote cultural development by respecting indigenous spirituality and refraining from adopting policies that promote a particular religion; and to respect the right of every indigenous person to choose, follow and practice a religion of choice.

To ensure social development and protect social structures, states must recognize indigenous social institutions and values such as sharing and hospitality; and avoid intervention and imposition on indigenous governance systems.

II. Political/Institutional and Juridical

For Indigenous Peoples:

To develop means to resolve conflicts in areas where traditional political system is affected by impositions of modern or state structures, or where hybrid institutions exist. The values of honesty, accountability, transparency and upholding community interest/common good over personal interest must be strengthened.

To find means to increase gender equity, sustain orally-transmitted customary laws, and enhance the capacity of traditional leaders for quality judgments and decisions especially in broader decision making mechanisms.

For States and UN agencies

To respect and recognize the political institutions of indigenous peoples, any initiative to establish other organizations must be based on the full participation and consent of indigenous communities, and such organizations must not be designed to replace indigenous political institutions.

To allow indigenous communities to select their traditional leaders based on their own system, and to freely exercise their juridical rights and pursue their juridical developments within their communities.

To refrain from codifying customary law, but to formalize it through documentation efforts.

To assist in maintaining and promoting traditional juridical systems if more than one legal system exists in the interface between the state and indigenous peoples.

III. Economy, Natural Resources and Technology

For Indigenous Peoples:

To enhance efforts to utilize indigenous technologies over modern technologies and to prioritize the continuance of this knowledge transmission between generations.

To encourage youths to appreciate and pursue traditional occupations, and to be critical of modern technologies and values that have negative impacts on them.

To take concrete measures to combat the disappearance of indigenous knowledge that lead to the erosion of customary law and governance of natural resources.

For States and UN agencies:

To legally recognize the principles of indigenous economic systems based on sustainability and self-reliance, and allow indigenous communities the freedom to practice and apply these

principles. The negative branding of indigenous practices such as on shifting cultivation should be avoided.

To adhere to accepted international human rights standards on promoting and respecting indigenous peoples' rights to their territories, natural resource management and governance.

To increase funds allocated for conservation and natural resource management projects subject to the consent of indigenous communities as a means of revitalizing the use of indigenous knowledge and technologies, and economic systems that are based on collective social responsibility and reciprocity. Indigenous knowledge and technology should be explored as a solution to food security and for adaptation and mitigation to climate change.

To provide technical assistance in renewable energy development and other sustainable and environment friendly technologies in enhancing the self-reliance and comprehensive development of indigenous communities subject to their Free Prior and Informed Consent.

IV. Health and Indigenous Education

For Indigenous Peoples:

To take steps to encourage inter-generational transfers of knowledge and conserve this knowledge to be used in conjunction with programs that target indigenous peoples' health.

To find means to stimulate interest in maintaining indigenous ways of learning within the community based on indigenous peoples' own needs.

For States and UN agencies:

To recognize indigenous health systems and practices, and to protect traditional knowledge and medicines by recognizing their right to intellectual property, and through alternative legislation using customary law to regulate access.

To allow indigenous peoples to participate in the planning, programming, implementation and decision-making of health services for their own communities. Equality and non-discrimination must be ensured particularly in relation to access to health services in remote areas and to ensure that health services are suitably tuned to the needs of indigenous peoples through ongoing data gathering and the monitoring of outcomes using appropriate indicators.

To support indigenous peoples' right to maintain and develop their education systems and institutions, and also to assist in initiatives to develop multilingual and culturally-appropriate curricula within the mainstream education system.

States should support the efforts of indigenous peoples to maintain and develop their own political, economic, social, cultural and education systems and institutions. National law and policy frameworks should be enacted or reformed, and budget allocated to support traditional as well as formal education institutions that are established with the aim of developing and implementing appropriate programmes and activities for and by indigenous peoples.

C. Indigenous Development

I. Culture

Concept and Principles

Culture is of crucial importance to indigenous identity. It is based on the concepts of respect for others, self-humility, and mutual support for one another. The dignity of all peoples and maintenance of cultural integrity are the principles that bind communities together and ensure harmonious relations.

The maintenance and development of indigenous culture also means the protection of resources and traditions, and in par-

ticular the concept of the home and family. The concept of the home, as related to traditional territories, is the sphere in which indigenous peoples practice their culture. In order to maintain and develop indigenous culture, the connection to home, community and territories is therefore important even for those who have migrated for work and education.

Activity and practice to maintain cultural integrity

Cultural integrity cannot exist without people practicing their customs and traditions. As access to traditional territories and resources diminishes, new meanings, forms and activities may be necessary to revitalize cultural practices which are no longer applied. New realities have given rise to new challenges and there must be conscious efforts to maintain traditional values and instill cultural strength, pride and dignity. In this endeavor, the family needs to take a major role, as the cohesiveness of many communities is on the decline. Part of these conscious efforts may be in the form of traditional ways of learning to transfer indigenous knowledge, culture, and traditions to future generations. For example through oral traditions, stories could be told to children to make them proud of their identity and culture. Alternative modern means and use of technologies can also be employed to preserve and promote culture.

Value of collectivity

In many communities, the value of collectivity and the tradition of working and spending time together are fast eroding and being rendered irrelevant. For example, in most modern farming systems, communal participation is not necessary and is being taken over by wage laborers or technology intensive systems. Conscious efforts by elders and youths are thus needed to maintain collectivity. The value of collectivity is also weakened by superimposed administrative structures by the state. In the past, most of the indigenous communities had councils of elders dealing with the affairs of the community. However, many of these affairs are now administered by the government officials and bodies where communities have limited say.

This value of collective support system and bonding is also threatened by the introduction of money and gradual monetization of society. The practice of payment in cash for work or selling of labor as a commodity has become part and parcel of many indigenous communities. Collectivity is closely linked to the respect for integrity of the community and elders and the unity of our ancestors and spirits.

Dynamism of cultures

Music, literature, performing, visual and other arts, in particular, have or are undergoing numerous changes. Many of these changes are also being introduced to attract and draw the attention of the youths. However, the introduction of changes requires careful moderation to ensure that it is adaptive and not disruptive. Change is a natural course, but it should be through an adaptive process and organic in nature to maintain the essence of indigenous cultures. When the practice of cultural activities is disrupted or restricted, for example, due to loss of land or control over natural resources, the dynamic process of adaptation would be severely hindered or in some worse cases, come to a complete halt. Under such circumstances, culture stops being dynamic and gets frozen in time. What remain of a culture can only be the static traditions.

Spirituality and mainstream religions

Mainstream religions can be a threat to cultural development, particularly if governments adopt policies to promote one or more mainstream religions and prohibit or discriminate against indigenous spiritual values and practices. There is a need, therefore, to make a distinction between culture and indigenous spirituality.

Language

Language is an essential part of culture as language embodies many indigenous values and concepts. Unfortunately, there are numerous concerns regarding the loss of indigenous languages due to its non-recognition and the introduction of mainstream language as the national or official language(s), and as the medium of instruction and interaction in governmental education systems. Hence, measures against such marginalization, and proactive policies and programmes for the promotion of indigenous languages are therefore central to cultural development, especially by the governments.

References in the UNDRIP

A number of references are made in the UNDRIP on indigenous peoples' cultural rights and the duty of states to fulfill such rights. Preambular Paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 11 affirm that while indigenous peoples are equal to all other peoples, they also have the right to consider themselves to be different. This contributes to the diversity and richness of cultures and civilization but also to sustainable and equitable development.

Articles 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 31, 33 and 34 of the UNDRIP further elaborate on different aspects of indigenous cultural rights, and measures that states should take to ensure its effective protection and promotion, as well as mechanisms to prevent, or provide redress for, forced assimilation, prejudice and discrimination.

II. Social

Concept, Principles and Practices

The core concept of indigenous social system is that every individual member of an indigenous society is an integral part of that society with specific norms of social behavior that is based on their own collective indigenous economic, socio-cultural and political systems. It is the principle of collectivity over individu-

alism that sets apart the social practices of indigenous peoples as to sustain their distinct and collective cohesion and survival and as well as harmonious relations to each other.

Social Structures, Institutions/Organizations

Indigenous peoples have unique social structures and institutions that have developed over time. These structures often have the family as a primary unit, which then expands to larger communal and societal institutions. Even villages are spatially structured to strengthen integrity within families and extended families. Children follow the example of their parents, and thus parental leadership is the greatest leadership that exists.

The close relationship among members of an indigenous community is one of its key characteristics though the relationships among members may vary. In Malaysia and Indonesia, the pattern of relationship is generally governed by the *adat* (custom), from birth to death, which is peculiar to each ethnic group. Indigenous communities are predominantly egalitarian in their social organization.

Traditional ceremonies and practices reinforce the solidarity within these social structures and networks. These practices depend on the surrounding environment, and an indigenous social system cannot exist in isolation from its ancestral lands and territories.

The close and symbiotic relationship among members of the indigenous community is maintained and strengthened by active participation in gatherings, rituals or ceremonies and festivals. The sharing of labor, which is a common practice among indigenous communities not only lightens the burden of work, but also fosters a sense of social responsibility and solidarity.

Social life guided by indigenous concepts

Many indigenous societies have developed elaborate social systems based on various concepts that uphold collective survival/security and prosperity, and mutual responsibility and accountability. These notions and concepts that guide indigenous peoples' way of life and behavior include the concept of reciprocity, communal harmony and integrity, respect for elders, shared-labor, respect for the environment, and concepts relating to taboos and prohibitions, etc. Issues are dealt with on a communal basis by the community councils or a council of elders with the aim of restoring or maintaining the harmony in the community.

Challenges

Nevertheless, some gender gaps still exist within the indigenous social systems such as the exclusion from, or inadequate representation of women in decision-making processes and leadership roles (traditional and state), and administrative justice mechanisms. Other gender inequalities may be seen in certain ceremonies, and practices related to birth prohibitions and bride price. Gender-based violence has also been reported.

Other challenges in maintaining indigenous juridical systems include the non-acceptance of legal pluralism, and administrative and financial support by states; the increasing lack of opportunities for, and customary knowledge of, traditional leaders to enable them to update customary laws; as well as the lack of respect for indigenous juridical system by other legal systems (civil or syariah).

Indigenous peoples' access to justice in both formal and informal indigenous justice system is also limited. If such access to customary justice systems continues to be denied to indigenous societies, more and more community members may turn to, and in many cases have already turned to, state institutions for justice. This would disrupt indigenous peoples' societal unity and integrity.

In order to ensure social development as well as to protect and maintain indigenous social structures, it is necessary to gain recognition of indigenous social values and systems. Intervention without due respect or imposition on indigenous political/ institutional and juridical systems by the state systems is often the main cause of the weakening and declining of indigenous social systems and institutions. In some instances, the cause of erosion or disintegration of indigenous value systems is due to abject poverty. Abject poverty in a community can challenge traditional values of sharing and hospitality and encourage individualism.

References in the UNDRIP

Article 3 of the UNDRIP states the pursuit for social development by indigenous peoples as important aspects of right to self-determination. Preambular paragraph 7, and Articles 20 and 23 underscore the importance of maintaining traditional social structures or institutions in exercising the right to development. Articles 21 and 32 outline the responsibility of states to effectively improve indigenous peoples' social conditions and to provide effective mechanisms for just and fair redress when external development brings adverse social and other impacts to indigenous peoples.

III. Spirituality

Concept, Principles and Practices

The concept of indigenous spirituality is the application of respect for the "Creator" that has given life to all creations; and these creations shall maintain harmony as interdependent elements. The concept of life and "supreme being" is not merely in the physical world but also in meta-physical forms that are important in maintaining harmony between and amongst living beings and those in nature.

Often, belief in the creator and the existence of the next world provides hope and a basis to respect all natural phenomena. The respect of the natural environment including trees, rocks, water bodies and wild animals, are an intrinsic part of indigenous spirituality. Natural sites are used as places of worship or for holding rituals and ceremonies. Indigenous spiritualities are inclusive of children, elders, men and women participating in spiritual activities. They may include formalistic rituals and seemingly informal and casual, but nevertheless regarded with high esteem and reverence. It is a democratic spirituality and learning is natural.

Among the important elements of indigenous spirituality are maintaining connections with their ancestors and spirits or deities, and maintaining social relations and respect for nature. Holding rituals, ceremonies, as well as applying positive and respectful values as part of social practices, are also components of indigenous spirituality. Efforts are also taken to ensure that these elements are transferred between generations.

Indigenous spirituality is also closely linked to other indigenous systems of the society, i.e., health, natural resource management and culture. Spiritual leaders mediate between ancestral spirits/souls and members of the community by evoking ancestral spirits to bless the community. Ancestral spirits/souls also protect nature by providing guidance to community members on how to relate with nature.

Challenges in maintaining indigenous spirituality

Indigenous spirituality practices pluralism as one can belong to many different faiths. Non-indigenous peoples often lack information and knowledge about indigenous beliefs and spirituality, and may lack respect for indigenous beliefs. Many regard mainstream religions to be superior and constantly attempt to or force indigenous peoples to convert.

Many spiritual leaders have been forced to denounce their beliefs and practices, leaving a huge spiritual gap among the new generation. It is a difficult task to fill the understanding and

knowledge needed to conduct rituals, ceremonies and other concepts of indigenous spirituality and belief systems as they have already been lost.

The participants of the conference found that maintaining indigenous spirituality and belief systems was the least known system. This may indicate the extent of its erosion. It was also the most controversial topic as many indigenous participants have already embraced mainstream religions.

Spiritual development depends upon the political system of society. Individual or community faith and/or beliefs flourish only in democratic political systems, because true democracy recognizes and respects pluralistic cultural systems. Spirituality cannot flourish under autocratic or authoritarian regimes.

References in the UNDRIP

Article 12 of the UNDRIP states that indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practice, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; as well as the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites. The state has an obligation to provide redress through effective mechanisms, including restitution, when religious and spiritual property are taken without indigenous peoples' free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs; or as in Article 32, when external development brings adverse spiritual impacts.

IV. Political/Institutional

Concept and Principles

The traditional political institutions embody democratic principles and are manifested in power-sharing and co-responsibility among its members. Personal integrity, reliability, honesty and far-sightedness are principles applied in selecting representatives from the community, apart from their legal knowledge, wisdom and sense of justice. Traditional institutions are made

up of a council of elders who administer all matters as the highest arbiter in order to maintain peace, harmony and well-being in a community.

Traditionally, indigenous political institutions were generally localized, usually restricted at the village level. However, modern communication systems have allowed its administrative sphere to expand to clusters of villages or even to the whole of a community of a particular indigenous group.

Selection of members of a traditional institution or council takes different forms, but it is guided by the criteria of who is considered to be a good and a wise leader. The position of some members of the traditional council may be hereditary but upholds democratic principles by means of having adequate representation and consultations in governing a community. Thus the ills of money-oriented electioneering may be averted, while providing nuanced custom-based pressure on the hereditary or quasi-hereditary leaders to adhere to and respect community wishes.

Roles and Functions

The village chief or elder is often tasked with the overall administration of the village. He/she presides over community meetings and hearings and ensures that customary laws and rituals are followed. He/she also ensures security, peace and stability in the community.

The role of other council members is to advise the village chief or elders in important matters concerning the administration of the village. They take co-responsibility in the administration of the village, and help in other matters such as social relations and settlement of conflicts.

Some communities have priests/priestesses whose role is to advice the council on spiritual matters. This involves all aspects of life such as birth, marriage, death as well as farming, war, hunting and fishing. The influence of the priest/priestess depends on his/her integrity, knowledge and skill.

Decision-making process

Decision-making process is generally by consensus and is inclusive and participatory in character. This applies to setting standards for the community and includes guidelines for the management of resources and judicial matters. In major issues that dramatically affect the survival of the community, such as in the case of war, a unanimous decision is required from all council members and the community as a whole.

Many traditional institutions have evolved over time, but the decision-making process is basically maintained and in some cases, has involved wider sections of the community and also all sectors, especially women and youth. Improvement in communication technologies within indigenous societies has also made information sharing easier.

Challenges and measures

The interface between indigenous political institutions with the State has brought about numerous problems. One of the key issues is the appointment of traditional leaders by the government. Another issue is, in the changing times and situations, there is a requirement of resolving system conflicts caused by modern or state impositions over the traditional, or as is often the case, where a hybrid system exists. In such cases, the traditional institutions are often undermined by the state or hybrid systems. Therefore, there is a need for a re-definition of the relationship between indigenous peoples and the State through effective negotiation processes.

At the same time, customary law is also seen as being dominated by men and therefore seen to be reluctant to support changes to norms that are unfair to women. Thus, this clearly represents another area of challenge.

The other major challenge to the indigenous political systems is the building of the capacity of these institutions to address more effectively the more complex present-day realities and situation of indigenous peoples.

Likewise, the changing patterns of land tenure, including selling of lands to outsiders, the emergence of new types of leaders that are not accountable to the indigenous communities, the influx of non-indigenous migrants among others are complex issues that indigenous political systems have to address. These developments are directly impacting on the capacity of traditional political systems to maintain cohesion, unity and cooperation of the members of indigenous communities, while at the same time ensuring and upholding the interest of the community members and the recognition of their rights and welfare.

In 1991, an Expert meeting organized in Nuuk, Greenland, outlined the following as characterization of indigenous self-government in an attempt to establish measures to recognize indigenous governance/institutions:

- he exercise of adequate powers and self-government within the traditional territories of indigenous peoples as a prerequisite for the development and maintenance of traditional indigenous cultures and for the survival of indigenous peoples;
- redefinition of the relationship between indigenous peoples and the States in which they now live, in particular through the negotiation process;
- Self-government as a means of promoting better knowledge about indigenous peoples vis-a-vis the wider society;
- The assumption that the exercise of self-government presupposes indigenous jurisdiction, that is, the right of indigenous peoples to establish their own institutions and determine their functions in fields such as lands, resources, economic, cultural and spiritual affairs;
- The possibility to establish relations with other ethnically similar peoples living in a different region or State;
- The establishment of mechanisms for joint control by an indigenous autonomous institution and the central government;

- The necessity to delimit clearly areas of competence in order to avoid conflict; and
- The establishment of conflict resolution mechanisms.

References to the UNDRIP

Preambular Paragraph 16 and Article 4 of the UNDRIP provide for indigenous peoples' right to establish autonomous areas or self-government as a means of self-determination, among others, while Articles 5 and 20 (1) affirm the right to maintain and revitalize political institutions. These are further elaborated in Articles 34 and 36 which recognize indigenous peoples' right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures, networks and their distinctive customs.

Article 11 stresses on the duty of States to consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples, while Article 18 provides for the right to participate in decision-making through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them.

V. Juridical

Concept and Principles

Indigenous juridical systems include judicial, legislative and procedural aspects. The judicial aspects would include rulings of courts by indigenous chiefs, headmen, elders, councilors etc. when administering customary law and resolving disputes. The concept of indigenous juridical system is to maintain harmony among members of the community, and is based on the principles of collective indemnity and communal solidarity. Fines and compensations are meted out to provide wrongdoers an opportunity to ask forgiveness from the aggrieved party and the whole community and to redress part of the injury suffered by the aggrieved party.

Indigenous justice systems are seldom adversarial, unlike some mainstream systems, wherein the adjudicators are meant to act as neutral umpires in a dispute between two protagonists and decide which of the two is at fault. In contrast, indigenous systems seek not so much to identify the defaulter and punish him or her (unless where deemed necessary), but to reconcile the disputing parties with each other and with the rest of society. Various elements of indigenous justice resolution mechanisms may be found in mainstream practices of arbitration and alternative dispute resolution mechanisms.

Juridical Aspect and Customary Law

Customary law has two components: personal law and territorial law. Personal law includes the social, cultural, language, spiritual, indigenous, traditional economy, property aspects. Territorial law refers to lands, natural resources, soil, and sub-soil. However, territorial law has a social dimension as well. Customary law applies to persons as individuals, as well as to persons in a community.

Leadership and Decision-making

Indigenous juridical systems are also linked to indigenous political administrative structures that are based on leadership and decision-making by consensus. Decision-making is effective and participatory, allowing equal opportunity through two modes: firstly, through a general meeting that includes all levels of the community, and secondly, through a process involving just the leaders.

Codification versus Documentation

An important issue regarding indigenous juridical systems is whether customary law should be codified or documented. Documentation is most favored as it promotes flexibility and relevance over time. This could be a listing of indigenous principles to keep customary laws that would allow communities to

easily access information on the contents of the laws and to accommodate progressive change through direct democratic methods of consultation and consensus. This way, customary law could be written and preserved without formal codification. Formal codification has the risk of *freezing* dynamic development of law, and promoting uniform modes that do not fit different socio-cultural contexts (which oral customs can generally accommodate). Codification normally also involves endorsement by a formal legislative body in which indigenous representation is all too often absent or marginal.

Challenges

Often, more than one legal system exists in the interface between the state and indigenous institutions (e.g., syariah and statutes of the state). In all cases, indigenous peoples face enormous problems in the maintenance of traditional juridical systems. Some of the challenges include the non-acceptance of legal pluralism, and lack of administrative and financial support by states; the increasing lack of opportunities for, and customary knowledge of, traditional leaders to enable them to update customary laws; as well as the lack of respect for indigenous juridical systems by other legal systems.

Indigenous people also face significant challenges in freely exercising their juridical rights and pursuing juridical developments within their communities. A high degree of juridical autonomy is recognised by state legislations in a few countries only, such as in Northeast India, Sabah-Sarawak, Malaysia, Northwest Pakistan and Southeast Bangladesh. Here too, the major challenge is in implementing these constitutionally protected rights. In most countries of Asia, indigenous communities face problems in obtaining formal state recognition of their customary laws and justice systems.

Other challenges include finding means to increase gender equity, sustaining orally-transmitted customary laws, and resolving tensions in the interface between indigenous authorities and state authorities.

References to the UNDRIP

There are several references in the UNDRIP on indigenous juridical systems, in particular Article 34 stating the recognition of indigenous peoples' right to promote, develop and maintain their own distinct procedures, practices and, in the cases where they exist, juridical systems or customs.

Articles 27 and 40 stress on States' duty to establish and implement, in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned, a fair, independent, impartial, open and transparent process, giving due recognition to indigenous peoples' laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems, to recognize and adjudicate the rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to their lands, territories and resources, including those which were traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used.

VI. Economy

Concept, Principles and Practices

Indigenous peoples' concept of economic development underlines the specific relationship of indigenous peoples to the land. This concept of development is part of the various interrelated and long-standing systems that govern the way life of indigenous communities. The concept ensures that as the community develops, exploitation among members and of the environment may be avoided. This perhaps explains why there has traditionally been a narrow gap between members of a community in terms of living standards.

The political economy of indigenous peoples may be described as one that spreads horizontally, in contrast to the conventional vertical relationship which is the result of domination of one group over the other. This involves a highly-localized system in which both production and consumption occur locally; where trade happens between two relatively equal parties and leads to a transaction that does not impoverish either party.

Indigenous peoples' economic practices recognize that human beings are not merely consumers of energy and necessities and seek to create a condition where members of the community may individually and collectively realize their human potentials and exercise them. Indeed, the focus is on providing a place for each individual to play meaningful roles in personal and social life.

This concept stems from underlying principles of sustainable utilization of resources, simplicity, social responsibility and maintaining a harmonious relationship through cooperation and reciprocity. Indeed, indigenous economic systems differ starkly from the market economy since in principle, it seeks to maintain an adaptive and harmonious spiritual relationship with the environment.

Some examples of existing traditional indigenous occupations are shifting cultivation, handicraft-making, fishing, hunting, agricultural production, animal husbandry, liquor and beer making, and salt making. The modes of payment are through barter system, sharing of goods and cash. The agricultural implements that are used are designed to avoid over exploitation of resources and serve the collective needs of the community.

Aside from providing economic and biological sustenance, these practices also contribute to social cohesion through the inter-generational transference of knowledge that occurs when traditional occupational knowledge is passed down from the elders to the youths.

Issues and Challenges

Indigenous peoples in Asia face numerous challenges with respect to their economic practices which are often subsumed under the prevailing culture of consumerism and economic globalization. The major challenge is in getting the government to respect the concepts and principles of indigenous economic systems and to legally recognize the traditional occupations and economic activities of indigenous communities for their continuity and free propagation.

Non-recognition and negative branding of traditional occupations of indigenous peoples such as on shifting cultivation also poses threats to its continuity as it has already been wiped out in many parts of the world. Another issue is the declining numbers of youths pursuing the traditional occupations due to lack of appreciation and ignorance of their worth, as well as the influence of modern technology and values.

References to the UNDRIP

The UNDRIP sets out several provisions for indigenous communities to practice and apply the principles of their traditional economic systems. Preambular paragraphs 4, 6 and 11 provide the right to indigenous peoples to be free from discrimination in the exercise of their traditional economic practices. Articles 2, 13, 20, 27, 31 and 32 further reiterate the right of indigenous communities to maintain, protect and practice all elements related to their conception of economic development. State parties are called upon to take effective measures to legally recognize and protect these rights.

References to the ILO No. 169

Article 23 (1) requires state parties to recognize the importance of community-based subsistence economies and traditional activities such as hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering, in maintaining indigenous economic self-sufficiency and development. State parties are to ensure that these activities are strengthened and promoted.

VII. Natural Resource Management

Concept, Principles & Practices

The indigenous peoples' concept of natural resource management is rooted in the overall conception of their spiritual relationship with Mother Earth and the respectful dependence that they have on land. Resources are thus harvested only in as much as the needs of the community, using tools that purposefully do not destroy the environment.

The principles of reciprocity and social responsibility guide indigenous communities in their management of natural resources. Their approach is driven by a strong sense of sharing and kinship, ensuring that the basic needs of the community are met.

In order to guarantee the sustainable use of natural resources, indigenous peoples continuously develop and institutionalize various resource management practices, including the zoning of land for different uses, rotational cultivation and the non-wastage of resources.

Indigenous communities also maintain simple lifestyles and utilize available local materials for crafts, weaving and tools. Regulatory mechanisms are additionally put in place to ensure resource sustainability. These regulatory mechanisms become part of customary law and are enforced by the village chief along with the council of elders. Such regulatory mechanism or customary law is made to be understood from a young age in the community.

Challenges

The traditional institutions of resource management effectively regulate the sustainable use of natural resources. However, indigenous peoples face enormous challenges and difficulties that are posed or created by external forces that compel indigenous peoples to over exploit natural resources. The diminishing and disappearance of indigenous knowledge have

also led to the erosion of customary law and effective governance of natural resources.

In many cases, indigenous peoples' method of cultivation and livelihood systems are accused of causing damage to the environment. Indeed, many indigenous peoples have lost their lands to more favorable land uses such as loan schemes and contract farming schemes. Exploitative forms of development and extraction of resources has also encroached widely into indigenous lands through large scale plantations, logging and mining, and even the resettlement of non-indigenous communities.

Indigenous peoples are addressing this issue by widening their support network and alliances in efforts to change national or state resource management laws and policies. They are utilizing international instruments such as the CERD, UNDRIP, the CBD and the ILO No. 169 to identify gaps in natural resource management laws and policies in order to affect change on national laws and policies.

Demonstrations are often conducted against large-scale development that has eroded their resource management traditions. Ultimately however, long term goals of sustainability are achieved only when indigenous communities are in control of their resources and are able to deal with issues affecting them in their own terms.

References to the UNDRIP

There are several UNDRIP provisions related to indigenous peoples and their right to natural resource management. Preambular paragraph 11 and articles 25, 26, 27, 29 and 32 all accord the right for indigenous communities to use, develop and conserve their lands and the natural resources thereof, according to their needs and traditions.

References to other instruments

Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 (resulting from the Rio Earth Summit) guarantees the right of indigenous peoples to actively participate in the shaping of national laws and policies in the management of their natural resources. The Biodiversity Convention in article 8 (j) and the ILO Convention No. 169 in Article 15 (1) both provide for the right of indigenous peoples to use, manage and conserve natural resources associated with their lands and to participate in decisions affecting their use and management.

VIII. Technology

Concept, Principles and Practices

The concept of indigenous technology and techniques is rooted in indigenous communities' tradition of ensuring the sustainability of resources and being sensitive to community needs. The principles behind indigenous technology and techniques can be described as "do no harm" (conservation), "take only what you need" (conservation), "harvest only certain species" (selective), "let nature decide" (in harmony with nature), and "food security first" (well-being of community).

Indigenous technology and techniques can be categorized into: resource collection, agriculture production, food storage and processing system, transportation, communication, beliefs and rituals, home industries and exchange/trading. Examples of the different categories listed above can be seen in practices such as construction of waterways and irrigation systems, different systems of weights and measures, calendars and time systems, modes of transportation, as well as weaving and basketry.

Despite the enormous diversity and variety of technologies and techniques that indigenous people utilize and practice, a common denominator behind these technologies and techniques is to cater to the economic needs and wellbeing of the community, a sustainable management and a harmonious relationship

with nature.

Indigenous agricultural implements do not destroy the environment and are used by men, women and even children. For example, farm implements like ploughs, levelers and hoes can be used with minimal instruction and are not designed to over exploit resources unlike modern tractors and chainsaws.

Challenges

With the rapid globalization of market economy, indigenous societies have been penetrated too. This has impacted on traditional technologies in several ways. The increasing influence from consumerism and demand for cash is driving many communities to move from a subsistence form of production to intensive commercial form of production. As a consequence, indigenous technologies are getting marginalized in favor of modern technologies for higher production or higher yielding varieties at the cost of the environment and community wellbeing.

Indigenous peoples face the challenge of how to continue developing their technologies, techniques and economic systems in the midst of these adversarial situations. It is only when these concepts and systems are properly understood and valued can they actually be considered as alternatives. Nevertheless, some encouragement can be drawn from the success stories where protest against the construction of mega-dams led to the state or other agencies like World Bank withdrawing from the projects. The increasing appreciation for small-scale technologies as a solution to such mega-projects is a positive sign that one can count on. More of such resistance on the ground, lobbying and direct intervention in the policy-making processes are of immense value in this regard.

The increasing demand for organic products and the uptrend towards funding conservation and natural resource projects may provide indigenous peoples with opportunities to revitalize indigenous technologies and economic systems. Further, exchange of experiences and "know-how" among indigenous communi-

ties can offer a lot of potential solutions to many of the problems faced by them.

References to the UNDRIP and the ILO 169

Article 8 and 11 of the UNDRIP provide for the right of indigenous people to maintain, protect and develop their traditional technologies. Further provisions include the right not to be subjected to programmes that lead to the destruction of their culture. Article 14 (1) of the ILO 169 specifically draws attention to indigenous peoples and their practice of shifting cultivation that should be respected and taken into consideration.

IX. Health

Concept, Principles and Practices

Indigenous peoples see maintenance of the health of their community members as an integral part of their life and spirituality. Their conception of health revolves around respect for the environment and people. Other concerns involve taking care of how we relate to the spirits, plants and animals; and even our behavior with others in the community. It is believed that when disrespect occurs, the environment and spiritual imbalance will lead to ill-health and even death. Spiritual healers, herbalists and other health practitioners are called upon to remedy ill-health and restore balance.

The principles of indigenous peoples' health, like all other indigenous concepts are based on the philosophy of being a part of the environment, and of being sensitive to practicing good stewardship with our bodies and our actions that affect our surroundings. The principle of prevention is a large part of the indigenous approach to health.

Indigenous peoples uphold the principle of prevention through practices such as avoiding certain foods and environments. If a member of the community falls ill, the practices to cure ailments involve the restoration of balance through rituals,

using traditional medicines (herb or animal-based etc.) and massages, as well as eating the right foods and steering clear of particular environments.

Challenges

Indigenous peoples' health systems are hardly recognized by the state, and hence, they lack meaningful participation in the formal health care systems. Indigenous peoples must have the right to establish their own health institutions. Indigenous health systems must be recognized and traditional health institutions should be established and supported. Further, indigenous peoples should be allowed to freely share their knowledge and participate in the planning, programming, implementing and decision-making of health services for their own communities.

Equality and non-discrimination must be ensured for all indigenous peoples, including the recognition of indigenous health practitioners. Indigenous health practices involving midwives, herbalists, shamans and masseurs must be recognized and not be discriminated against. Based on mutual agreement, traditional health practices and practitioners should be incorporated into the formal (state) health system. Traditional knowledge and medicines must be protected from exploitation and the Intellectual Property Rights system and their right to intellectual property recognized and regulation of its use and access through customary laws.

States should be accountable to and supportive of indigenous peoples by ensuring quality health services with the full and effective participation of the concerned communities. Ongoing data gathering and the monitoring of outcomes using appropriate indicators could also be used for ensuring that the health services provided are suitably tuned to the needs of indigenous peoples.

As inter-generational transfers of knowledge are dwindling and indigenous peoples are losing knowledge on traditional health systems, urgent steps must be taken to conserve this

knowledge and to use it in conjunction with programs that target indigenous peoples' health.

References to the UNDRIP

Articles 23, 24, 29 (3) and 31 guarantee the right for indigenous peoples to maintain their health practices and traditional medicines. Articles 24 and 21 (2) specifically provide for indigenous peoples to have full access to all health services without discrimination.

X. Indigenous Education: Ways of Learning[1]

Concept

Traditional education can be described as a lifelong pedagogical process and an intergenerational transfer of knowledge aimed at maintaining a flourishing and harmonious society or community. Children from a young age receive guidance on various aspects of indigenous development from older members of the community to prepare them for life and their responsibilities towards their community. Intergenerational transfer of knowledge ensures that community members enjoy adequate economic security in an environment of socio-cultural and political stability. For this to be realized, states should enable indigenous peoples to maintain and develop their political, economic, social systems and institutions.

Principles and Practices

Traditional education is achieved through the principles of participatory learning, holistic growth, nurturance and mutual trust. Participatory learning requires community members to be fully engaged in the learning process through exposure, observation, practice or dialogue. Except for certain specialized knowledge and skills, children are exposed from an early age to different types of life-skill activities in the community. Through

the examples taught by adults around them, children learn indigenous ways of life. Children also learn customary laws, expressed through prohibitions and limitations of what one can do in a community.

Holistic growth involves education on the community's ideals, knowledge and perspectives in developing its own cultural, social, spiritual, economic, political, juridical, natural resources, health and technological systems. Learning is conducted in a participatory way that encourages nurturance and mutual trust between learners and teachers, with the active giving and sharing of knowledge. As it is based on the concept of lifelong education, there are no barriers such as time frames, grading or age limits.

Holistic traditional education includes imparting knowledge on sustainable use and management of resources and the importance of their relationship with their lands and territories. Further, ensuring the continuity of this relationship and access to their land territories and resources is a prerequisite for the transfer of fundamental elements of traditional knowledge. Traditional skills and knowledge may be transmitted through apprenticeship, repetitive practice and instruction and direct observation. Transmission of spiritual knowledge may come in other forms, such as dreams or as gifts. In most indigenous societies, learning is mainly conducted through oral tradition, making the maintenance of language a vital part of education.

Specific traditional occupations that require a high degree of discipline, technical and spiritual understanding, such as healing, carpentry and blacksmithing are learned through apprenticeship. Repetition and application are central to learning the oral tradition. These techniques are employed in transmitting knowledge related to healing (such as knowledge of plants and animals), cultures (languages, songs, dances, weaving), economic and resource management (such as farming or water management), governance (customary laws and political institutions), and social relationships (kinship, behavioural norms and so on). Direct observation through active involvement in activities encourages reflection, with prompting from elders, children learn

what is necessary to prepare them to be an adult and an effective member of the community.

Challenges

Issues and challenges in maintaining indigenous ways of learning are mainly due to the non-recognition of and therefore, the difficulty in getting support in establishing and controlling traditional education and institutions.

Efforts to introduce indigenous perspectives in mainstream education system are hampered by the lack of understanding by the government and the poor interface between traditional and mainstream education systems and institutions. The problems pertain particularly to teaching of indigenous languages, certification of teachers, discrimination and poor accessibility especially for women and girls, inadequate public spending, lack of shared governance and creating appropriate curriculum, and gaps in educational quality and measurements for indigenous students. The institutionalization (and therefore the standardization) of educational services also pose a problem as it does not consider the special needs in indigenous areas.

References to the UNDRIP and other instruments

Article 14 of the UNDRIP acknowledges that indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning. This reaffirms existing international human rights law, including Article 29 (2) of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Article 27 (3) of ILO Convention 169. The right of indigenous peoples to establish and control their education systems and institutions applies to traditional as well as formal education systems and institutions.

Numerous other provisions of the UNDRIP (Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 8 (1), 8 (2), 12, 13, 14 (2) (3), 17 (2), 31, 44) either reaffirm and apply the essence of already existing human rights treaty obli-

gations on the right to education, or are inseparably linked to provision on the right to education of the UNDRIP, applicable to both traditional and mainstream education.

D. Indicators of Indigenous Development

The Asia Indigenous Peoples Development Conferences elaborated on the 10 elements of indigenous systems and also developed a set of indicators for the goals and aspirations of indigenous peoples, as outlined in the following paragraphs related to Cultural Integrity and Empowerment (Social, Cultural, Spiritual and Education Development), Technical Integrity and Environmental Sustainability (Technology, Natural Resource Management development), Wellbeing (Economic, Health development) and Governance (Political and Juridical development)

- Collective values and identity are maintained;
- Indigenous perspectives and values are actively promoted;
- Traditional land use and ownership systems are alive;
- Traditional social and political institutions exist and customary laws are enforced to regulate indigenous way of life;
- Indigenous skills and knowledge system on social, cultural, spiritual practices and education are intact and actively promoted;
- Indigenous languages are widely used in the community and taught in schools;
- Transparent and good systems of resource distribution exist;
- Traditional belief system (e.g., rituals, ceremonies) is freely practiced;
- Shamans, ritualists are free to practice rituals and ceremonies;

- Venue of community gatherings exist;
- Indigenous knowledge systems are intact and actively promoted, in particular indigenous natural resources management and indigenous technology;
- Modern technology does not take over indigenous technology;
- Promotion and development of indigenous skills and knowledge on natural resources management and indigenous technology;
- Environmental integrity of indigenous peoples' territory
- Traditional institutions actively enforce sustainable use of natural resources;
- Customary laws are in place to regulate technology and resource use;
- Indigenous peoples own and control their lands and natural resources, and collective rights over lands and resources are recognized by government and non-indigenous people;
- Active lobbying against globalization that negatively impacts on the lives of indigenous peoples;
- Indigenous production systems are encouraged, practiced and maintained;
- Subsistence economy is recognized and thriving;
- Indigenous knowledge systems are intact and actively promoted within indigenous economic and health systems;
- Indigenous healing is practiced and recognized, and indigenous healers are free to use and promote their knowledge;
- Protection of traditional medicines—both resources and knowledge by setting up laws, community protocols;
- Participation in development processes and in decision-making;
- Active lobbying to change laws and policies affecting indigenous peoples negatively;
- Traditional defense and security system exist, including the freedom to develop own defense and protection

mechanism;

- Indigenous knowledge systems on governance and juridical knowledge are intact and practiced;
- Community organizations exist to ensure that community issues are addressed;
- Human rights and fundamental rights of indigenous peoples are recognized and guaranteed by governments
- Traditional institutions are gender sensitive;
- Full and effective participation of women and youth;
- Indigenous peoples are guaranteed citizenship;
- Genuine autonomy is achieved or being advocated;
- Strong foundation of traditional leadership, e.g., based on responsibility and accountability.

Parameters

Parameters to measure the extent to which indigenous perspective of development should interface or relate with external or non-indigenous development models and the extent to which indigenous development can be promoted independently.

- Enactment of laws that ensure protection of indigenous peoples in defending their lands;
- The full-implementation of FPIC as a basis for interfacing with outside interventions and all development programs of the government;
- National governments ratify/implement international instruments/standards that protect indigenous peoples rights such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, ILO Convention 169, CBD Akwé: Kon Voluntary Guidelines, etc.;
- National government legitimizes and provides legal and political recognition to customary governance;
- Aspirations for genuine autonomy are seriously considered by national governments;
- Multilingual education is approved as a government

policy and implemented state-wide;

- Establish indigenous peoples' defense systems to secure peace and security over traditional territory;
- Use cultural impact assessment (cultural accounting and inventory) to evaluate outside development intervention over traditional territory; and
- Establish legal support groups to advocate for the protection of indigenous rights in government policies and laws.

Endnote

[1] See A/HRC/12/33, pp. 41-50.

AUTHORS' PROFILES

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Jeannette Armstrong, an Okanagan Indian, was born in 1948 and grew up on the Penticton Indian Reserve in British Columbia, Canada. Ms Armstrong is the first Native woman novelist from Canada. In 1978, she received her Bachelor of Fine Arts degree from the University of Victoria and a Diploma of Fine Arts from Okanagan College. In this year, Ms Armstrong began working as a writer and researcher at the En'owkin Center, a

cultural and educational center operated exclusively by the Okanagan Nation. She also helps aid in the empowerment of all Native peoples by teaching them writing skills. In 1989, she became the director of the En'owkin School of International Writing where she teaches writing classes. Armstrong is also concerned about the preservation of Indian land. As an indigenous civil rights activist, Armstrong fights for the right of Native peoples to keep land that legally belongs to them. She is a passionate writer who deals with such important issues as education and indigenous rights of Native people in her books. Today, Ms Armstrong is a writer, teacher, artist, sculptor, and activist for indigenous rights.

John Bamba is the Executive Director of Institut Dayakologi (ID), an NGO struggling for the revitalization and restitution of Dayak cultural heritage based in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. ID is part of a larger network called Segerak-Pancur Kasih movement which was established in 1981. John Bamba joined the Pancur Kasih movement in 1985. He is a Jalai Dayak and was awarded the indigenous title of "Urang Kayaq" by the Jalai Dayak community in 1996, and the title "Cendago" by Pesaguan Dayak Community in 2006. ID carries out various empowerment and advocacy programs for the Dayak peoples such as the Credit Union movement, Community Radio, Village Library, Community-Based Management of Natural Resources, among others. ID also publishes books on Dayak culture, the *Kalimantan Review Magazine* and a Journal called *Dayakology*. ID is the Country Winner of the 2004 Asia-Pacific NGO Best Performance Award given by The Resource Alliance-UK and The Citi Group.

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Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, an indigenous activist belonging to the Kankana-ey Igorot peoples of the Cordillera region in the Philippines, is the Chairperson of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. She is the Founder and Executive Director of Tebtebba (Indigenous Peoples' International Centre for Policy Research and Education), based in Baguio City, Philippines. Ms Tauli-Corpuz is also the Convenor of the Asian Indigenous Women's Network and the co-President of the International Forum on Globalization, as well as the Indigenous and Gender Adviser of the Third World Network. Some of the other positions which she held were the following: member of the World Commission on the Social Dimensions of Globalization, Chairperson of the UN Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Populations, member of Advisory Panel of the 2nd Millennium Development Goals Report of the UN-Economic and Social Council of Asia-Pacific, member of the Advisory Panel of the UN Development Programme Human Development Report 2004 on Cultural Liberty and Diversity, member of the Board of Trustees of the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT), commissioner of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, and chair of the World Summit on Sustainable Development Indigenous Peoples Caucus. A prolific wrtier, she has authored, co-authored and co-edited several publications including *Reclaiming Balance* (2004), *Beyond the Silencing of the Guns*

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Mirna Cunningham, a Miskita Indian from Nicaragua, is a medical surgeon. She is chair of the Center for Indigenous People's Autonomy and Development and founder of Casa Museo, a museum and multicultural center dedicated to indigenous and Afro-Nicaraguan art and history. She previously served as the minister of health, governor of the North Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua and Chancellor of the University of the Autonomous Regions of the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua. In 2002, she received the Pan American Health Organization's Public Health Heroine of the Americas Award.

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Jorge Ishizawa, a systems engineer, has devoted his professional career to diverse aspects of socioeconomic planning both in the Peruvian public administration and in international organisations. Since 1996, he has been a member of the Proyecto Andino de Tecnologias Campesinas (PRATEC), a nongovernmental organisation whose mission is the cultural affirmation of the Andean Amazonian communities based on their own knowledge and traditions. Currently he is also a member of the newly founded Complex Thought Institute of Ricardo Palma University. He is based in Lima, Peru.

Zenón Gomel Apaza, a Peruvian agricultural engineer in the Andes, returned to his homeland in 1994 to help farmers with his modern knowledge. He soon realized, however, that the cultural traditions and harsh conditions of the region called for more traditional skills and knowledge of his ancestors' rich agricultural techniques. Gomel Apaza now works to revive traditional Andean agriculture, documenting farmers' traditional know-how and encouraging biodiversity to ensure food security and diversity of species. He has established a network of exchange and knowledge-sharing between local communities which he hopes to expand in order to preserve the rich agricultural heritage of the region.

Tirso A. Gonzales is a Peruvian of Aymara descent. He currently works at the Indigenous Studies program, University of British Columbia, Okanagan, Canada. He is an educator and scholar, international consultant and activist who works closely with indigenous peoples throughout the Americas. Gonzales was formerly a post-doctoral fellow at the University of California, Davis and Berkeley. In the recent past, he worked as a member of the Peruvian National Commission of Indigenous Andean, Amazonian and Afro Peruvian People. In his recent work, he explores the use of local and indigenous research methodologies and techniques on issues central to indigenous self-determined development, community development, agriculture, strategic visions, and the local sustainable management of natural resources. He is committed to supporting the agenda of indigenous peoples, as well as processes related to indigenous/local ecological knowledge, food and seed security/sovereignty, cultural affirmation and decolonization.

Taworn Kampolkul, a Karen whose indigenous name is *Liv poov, is* an active supporter of rotational farmers in Thailand. He has also conducted researches and wrote books on rotational farming in Thai using his author name as "Bu Hpau." He is currently working in the Chiang Mai Diocese Social Action Center (DISAC).

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Marcela Machaca Mendieta was born in Quispillaccta, a Quechua community in the district Chuschi, Peru. She graduated as an agronomist at the University of San Cristóbal of Huamanga and is co-founder of the community-based NGO, Asociación Bartolomé Aripaylla (ABA). ABA assists Andean communities in a process of cultural affirmation. Her current work involves strengthening the local knowledge of the diversity of crops that are cultivated in the farmers' small, dispersed plots. This knowledge is based on the Quechua people's cosmovision.

Jelena Porsanger is a Saami researcher who grew up on the Russian side of Sápmi, in the heart of the traditional Kildin Saami area. Her family roots are, however, in the Skolt Saami area, close to the border between Russia and Finland. In 2006 she defended her doctoral dissertation at the University of Tromsø, Norway. Her doctoral thesis, originally written in Saami, deals with evaluation of source material for the study of indigenous religion of the Eastern Saami, within the framework of indigenous methodologies. Her research interests include decolonization of research, design of indigenous methodologies, research ethics, Saami research history, and history and spiritual culture of the Eastern Saami. Ms. Porsanger is a member of a coordinating committee of the Saami Documentation and Revitalization Network, with a special responsibility for indigenous approaches to research.

Albertus Hadi Pramono is a PhD candidate at the Department of Geography, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, USA. He was a biologist, but later became a human geographer. After finishing his first degree, he spent eight years in the environmental movement in Indonesia. These activities led him to engage in community-based natural resource management. He studied at the University of Hawaii in 1998 and took political ecology. His thesis was on the counter-mapping movement in Indonesia, which is currently his main interest. For his PhD studies, he took cultural geography as his major, with special interest in applying post-colonial approaches in his research. While doing his dissertation research, he found himself actively engaged in the indigenous movement. He is currently assisting AMAN (Indonesia's indigenous peoples' alliance) in developing research on tenurial claims. He is a member of the Steering Committee of the Indigenous Peoples' Knowledges and Rights Commission of the International Geographical Union, and the Strategic Committee of the Indonesian Community Mapping Network. His research interests include: the interactions between different knowledge systems, counter-mapping movement, indigenous movements, and history of cartography.

Carol Sørensen worked with natural resource issues in Tanzania and Zambia for several years. She has an MSc from Bangor, Wales and has been involved with forest, fisheries and pastoralist issues. In Tanzania, she was a research fellow at the Institute for Resource Assessment (UDSM), and later, was senior adviser to the Ereto Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project. Ms Sorensen has worked with communities, community-based organizations, government, national CSOs, and international NGOs. Her most recent experience as policy advocacy adviser to the Zambia Land Alliance, a national alliance of CSOs advocating for pro-poor land polices, strengthened her conviction in the value of networks.

Melakou Tegegn is an Ethiopian who has lived, worked and studied in The Netherlands. Dr Tegegn completed an MA in Development Studies: Politics of Alternative Development Strategies at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague and a PhD in Sociology concentrating on development, freedom and democracy in Ethiopia, at the University of South Africa, Pretoria. He has worked as a Development Consultant and coordinator for many country and regional development programmes with regional NGOs. His areas of expertise include civil society, gender, indigenous and pastoral peoples' issues and development media. From 2001-2005, he lectured part time at the University of Addis Ababa and at the Institute of Gender Studies on issues including civil society, globalization, gender and development and advocacy. He has co-authored many publications which include: *Power Politics: Kinijit in the 2005 Elections*, *Ethiopia: Ethiopian Millennium Special Publication* (SAGE, New Delhi, forthcoming), and *The Ethiopia-Eritrea Conflict: A Critical Observation* (Institute of Global Dialogue, Occasional Paper No. 54, Johannesburg, 2007).

Prasert Trakansuphakorn, a Karen, took his PhD studies at the Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development, Chiang Mai University, Thailand. Prasert is currently the Regional Director of the Thailand-based Indigenous Knowledge and Peoples in Mainland South East Asia (IKAP-MMSEA). Prior to this work, he was the Director of Inter Mountain Peoples Education and Culture in Thailand Association (IMPECT) and has also worked in the Justice and Peace Commission, Chiang Mai Diocese Social Action Center (DISACCM) in Bangkok, Thailand.

Indigenous peoples are knowledge producers, and their wisdoms, knowledges and skills learned from more than 10,000 years of living sustainably with Mother Earth should be valued and used to help solve the multiple global economic, ecological and food crises confronting the world.

- Victoria Tauli-Corpuz