

IFAD's Work in Support of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples

Challenges & Ways Forward

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Introduction

Mainstream development has acquired a bad name for indigenous peoples and tribals in many parts of the world. After colonization, the development enterprise played a key role in denigrating and destroying indigenous economic, cultural, political and social systems. Newly independent nation-states regarded indigenous peoples and their systems as the representations of backwardness and primitiveness. The mission, therefore, was to release them from backwardness towards modernity through the development enterprise. Their assimilation or integration into the dominant society and to mainstream development was the policy option taken by many governments. This has led to the violation of their basic rights to their ancestral lands and resources. This is why some indigenous peoples refer to mainstream development as "development aggression." Their cynical attitude with regards development, in general, and the Millennium Development Goals, in particular, comes from such negative experiences.

Fortunately, not everything is dark and gloomy. Within the past two decades there have been positive examples of development projects or programmes which have been implemented in their communities. This came about mainly as a result of the sustained efforts of indigenous and tribal peoples to question the kind of development being pushed by nation-states, the international community and the market. IFAD is one of the few intergovernmental organizations which at its inception opted to address the issue of poverty among indigenous and tribal peoples. To be true to its mandate which is to "enable the rural poor to overcome their poverty" it has provided substantial funding and a wide-range of assistance to them. Most indigenous and tribal peoples are the poorest of the poor in rural areas.

This paper will look into some of the projects of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) which were implemented among indigenous and tribal peoples. It will highlight the lessons learned from these and how these projects or aspects of these, reinforced or integrated indigenous and tribal peoples' perspectives on self-determined development. There is a lot to learn from IFAD's experiences which should be shared more widely with the development community. This overview paper is mainly based on desk reviews of reports and publications of IFAD. Field work is being done in a few project areas which we have identified as cases which can demonstrate good practice. These case studies will be presented in the 4th Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) in May 2005.

Policy Changes within the International Decade of Indigenous Peoples

In the 80s and 90s, multilateral development banks, who are the main bearers of the mainstream development paradigm, acknowledged the problems with their model. The Asian Development Bank Policy Paper on Indigenous Peoples says *"... in mainstream-oriented economic development policies, indigenous peoples communities may bear a disproportionate burden of the negative social, economic, and environmental effects that such development projects may bring, without realizing commensurate benefits."*¹ In recognition of the adverse social and environmental impacts of projects they fund and in the face of the struggles waged by indigenous and tribal peoples against these, the World Bank had to evolve social and environmental safeguard policies² for indigenous peoples and the environment. The World Bank (WB), the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) undertook poverty studies among indigenous peoples in Latin America and Asia. The Latin American studies concluded that poverty maps coincided with territories occupied by indigenous peoples.³ The ADB study on *"Indigenous Peoples, Ethnic Minorities and Poverty Reduction"* also came up with similar conclusions. These findings can be considered as indictments on the failures of development.

In the past two and a half decades, indigenous and tribal peoples stepped up their engagement with governments and intergovernmental bodies at the local, national, regional and global levels. This engagement ranges from influencing how development projects should be implemented, protesting against mega-development projects and policies which have adverse impacts on them, participating in standard-setting and policy making processes, and asserting their right to pursue their own model of self-determined development. There has been a growing relationship between indigenous peoples and tribals with the United Nations and its agencies, funds and programs, multilateral development banks, the European Commission and other donor bodies.

In the face of the obvious failures of development and with the constant challenges posed by indigenous peoples and tribals, some governments, intergovernmental bodies and donor agencies undertook policy reforms and created new policies. Within the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1994-2004), policy papers on indigenous peoples⁴ were made and national laws⁵ on recognizing indigenous peoples' rights emerged. Changes in the priorities, approaches and frameworks of development agencies and funds in terms of how they are dealing with indigenous peoples and tribals

have been done. So far, the multilateral development banks like the World Bank, the IADB and the ABD are the ones which have written strategic frameworks for indigenous peoples' development. It is worthwhile noting that the IADB for instance has looked more in depth into its practices and policies and it came up with an insight which should be stressed.⁶



The challenge for our institution is not just to increase the number of small scale initiatives that are a direct response to a specific indigenous need however, important this may be, but also to routinely include indigenous concerns in the operations that constitute the very core of the Bank's work; the large scale national or regional projects in education, health, rural development, basic infrastructure, development of micro and small enterprise, environmental management, state reform, administrative decentralization and others. In practice this is difficult to do and requires a systematic effort to sensitize and prepare Bank officials as well as government institutions in borrower countries.

Indigenous peoples have moved beyond criticizing mainstream development towards strengthening further their own indigenous systems and elaborating what and how development should be pursued in their territories. There are various terms and concepts which they evolved to differentiate their paradigm of development from the mainstream model. The ones currently being used are self-determined development, life projects⁷, development with identity,⁸ autonomous development and ethno-development. This paper chose to use the concept self-determined development. The key elements of indigenous self-determined development will be discussed in the final section of this paper as the realization of this remains the key challenge for the development community.

IFAD and its Support for Indigenous and Tribal Peoples

We now take a look at some of the experiences of IFAD. Since its creation in 1978 a significant proportion of IFAD funds have been channeled for the support of indigenous peoples. Loan funds disbursed to support indigenous peoples in Latin America and Asia between 1979-2002 has reached USD 736 million which is around 26 per cent of total loan funds released.⁹ In 2003, it allotted USD 138.1 million loans to six projects which will benefit more than half a million indigenous and minority nationality families in China, Ecuador, India, Indonesia and Laos.¹⁰ USD1.3 million for five grants went directly to indigenous organizations and support groups in the Amazon Basin, Brazil, Guatemala, India and the Philippines in this same year. This speaks of the importance IFAD gives to indigenous peoples and tribals. It does not mean, however, that IFAD started in the right track in its support for indigenous peoples. Just like many development agencies, in the beginning, the participation of indigenous peoples in deciding projects was absent. It was only after evaluating past projects that it realized the need to be more sensitive to indigenous peoples and to endeavour to involve them in decision-making.

This increasing sensitivity is manifested in the identification of vital issues which need to be addressed if the target beneficiaries are indigenous peoples, tribals and their communities. (see Box 1) Some important efforts were initiated to consolidate the lessons learned by IFAD from the projects supported by its loans and grants and to raise the awareness within IFAD and the general public on indigenous issues. One was through the

formulation of a discussion paper¹¹ which was distributed during the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) of 2002 in Johannesburg, South Africa. Another was a Roundtable Discussion on "Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development" which was held during the Twenty Fifth Anniversary Session of IFAD's Governing Council in February 2003. A discussion paper¹² for this was also prepared and distributed widely. A parallel workshop was organized during this same period with civil society organizations which dealt on "Facilitating access to natural resources by marginalized groups: sharing experiences and ways forward." There was a presentation here on the struggle of the Adivasis in Andhra Pradesh to recover their tribal lands.

To further contribute in making indigenous identity and raising intercultural awareness more visible, it supported the production of a documentary about the Garo people in Northeastern India. This is called *Still, the Children are Here*. It was produced by Mira Nair, a famous producer from India, and directed by Dinaz Stafford. This was shown during the 3rd Session of the U.N. Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in New York and was selected by the prestigious Locarno Film Festival in Switzerland.¹³

The development of the two discussion papers in IFAD indicates a positive way forward in further systematizing the way it is addressing indigenous peoples' issues. **It is high time, however, for IFAD to go beyond the preparation of discussion papers and move towards developing a Comprehensive Framework and Strategy Paper on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. We believe this can be done with confidence by IFAD because of its long years of experience in supporting indigenous peoples.**

The key lessons highlighted in the discussion paper done for the WSSD are the following;

1. **Duration, nature of support and adaptive planning:** Support to indigenous peoples must be calibrated to the pace of the changes and transformations taking place within each specific context. It takes a long time to enable institutional strengthening and self-empowerment. Evidence shows that process-oriented, demand-driven, participatory approaches, emphasizing self-empowerment and self-development of beneficiaries take at least ten years for sustainable impacts. Programme, rather than project support, is better suited for indigenous peoples.
2. **Security and a holistic approach:** Programmes for indigenous peoples need to have an holistic view of their livelihood systems in which culture, identity and tradition are integral aspects. Changes brought forth should be compatible with indigenous cosmogony and cultures. Support to bilingual education is essential in strengthening identity. Intercultural sensitivity training for non-indigenous populations is crucial.
3. **Strengthening traditional institutions and governance structures as a medium for empowerment.** There is a need to promote dialogue and awareness campaigns to ensure gender and intergenerational representation in decision-making bodies.
4. **Indigenous peoples as main actors in the project cycle:** Treating them as partners instead as beneficiaries and ensuring their representation in design teams ensures ownership of programmes or projects. Recruiting indigenous professionals as consultants and project directors have positive impacts.

5. **Rights-based approach to development planning:** This may be required in implementing programmes with indigenous peoples. There are many existing international and national frameworks to underpin this approach.
6. **Legal training and the establishment of legal defence funds:** Training indigenous peoples on their rights increases their awareness of their claims and enhances their participation in policy and political processes. Legal defence funds support them in asserting their rights and claims.
7. **Strengthening managerial capacity of indigenous peoples**
8. **Central role of rights to land and resources:** Central to the issue of sustainable livelihoods for indigenous peoples is the need to secure their rights to land and resources. Funds can be allotted to provide technical and financial assistance to support negotiations in securing land right, doing land delineation, and developing land management plans.
9. **Participatory mapping to demarcate ancestral lands:** This exercise provides powerful visual instruments for discussing and reflecting concerns on gender, inclusiveness and intergenerational equity. These are also useful tools for making community land management plans, workplans and budgets.
10. **Capacity building for collective action:** Collective action brings more results in negotiations and assertions of claims.
11. **Judicious and effective use of funding mechanisms through increased grant facilities:** Grant facilities are necessary complements to loans but there is a need to increase these through new funding mechanisms.
12. **Enhancement of indigenous women's capabilities to contribute towards social transformation, agricultural and economic development and peace-building:** The need to address structural obstacles to the realization women's rights are vital for their empowerment.

Box 1: Vital issues addressed by second and third generation IFAD Projects

- Secure access to, and titling of, traditional lands and territories;
- Enabling self-empowerment;
- Participatory design and implementation;
- Sensitivity to cultural issues;
- Assistance in promoting intercultural awareness and bilingual education;
- Revitalizing indigenous knowledge;
- Fostering indigenous identity and self-esteem;
- Enhancing 'agency' of women;
- Institutional strengthening;
- Promoting apex organizations as a first step towards building coalitions of the poor.

Source: Valuing Diversity in Sustainable Development, IFAD. (2002).

It is encouraging to see that in most Country Strategic Opportunities Papers (COSOP), the lessons learned from previous experiences are integrated. The India COSOP of 2001 contained lessons learned. (See Box 2) It is worthwhile looking into whether these lessons effectively informed the implementation of new projects.

Box 2: Lessons from IFAD's ongoing experience in India

- (i) Because rain-fed areas are diverse, the availability of location-specific technological solutions is crucial. Thus more emphasis is required on both research and extension in dryland agriculture.
- (ii) For the poor and other deprived groups, economic development is fundamental. More attention ought to be given, however, to empowering them through a "coalition of the poor."
- (iii) Communities have demonstrated an encouraging responsiveness to the projects. This is especially true among women. With their empowerment, substantial gains can be made in building social capital.
- (iv) Generation of self-employment has been accented, but given widespread landlessness, illiteracy and the lack of entrepreneurial abilities among target groups, the possibility of creating wage employment still needs to be explored.
- (v) While it is true that institutions and policies may not always enable transfer of titles or usufruct rights over land on a wide scale, certain changes in the ownership and usage patterns can be introduced locally.
- (vi) The lack of access to financial resources for productive investment and to absorb shocks often constitutes a major obstacle to the development of the target groups. The standard terms and conditions of FFIs and high transaction costs usually act as deterrents.
- (vii) Proper skills can alter attitudes of dependency ingrained by past welfare approaches to tribal development and the absence of a culture of savings and financial management.
- (viii) Food-security strategies that seek to replace the traditional subsistence economy with cash-crop production diminish the role of women. They may even worsen the household's food-security situation.
- (ix) The implementation capacities available and prevailing public-sector attitudes are not always conducive to a participatory approach; change will require long-term efforts.
- (x) When allowed to lead the process of capacity-building in their sectors, strong NGOs can contribute significantly. Their involvement in project implementation requires a careful analysis of approach, experience and ability to expand capacity in a short period of time.
- (xi) Building the capacity of community-based organizations (CBOs) requires effort. But it also generates greater long-term benefits. Thus the Government's recent devolution of authority to local government institutions presents an opportunity to build local capacity while ensuring the relevance of development assistance and the sustainability of benefits.

Source: Republic of India COSOP, EB 2001/74/R.11, 7 Nov. 2001.

To be able to appreciate better how IFAD projects fared in terms of addressing indigenous and tribal peoples, we will look at how these have addressed the following:

- Securing territorial, land and resource rights;
- Strengthening indigenous and tribal peoples' organizations and governance systems, inclusion of women and youth, and capacity-enhancement;
- Revitalizing indigenous natural resource management practices, enhancing sustainable livelihoods, and creating more peaceful and stable communities;
- Strengthening cultural identities and bilingual education.

For the purposes of this overview paper, we looked at a few projects from India, Nepal and Latin America.¹⁴ The projects where field work is being done are the North Eastern Region Community Resource Management for Upland Areas in India, PRAIA in particular the Ticuna Educational Project in Brazil, and MARENASS and CORREDOR in Peru.

Imperative of securing indigenous and tribal peoples' territorial, land, and resource rights

Ensuring that the right to territories, lands and resources is respected is the basic foundation of self-determined development for indigenous people and tribal peoples. IFAD recognizes that many still do not have the legal right to live on the lands they occupied since time immemorial nor are they able to use the resources they managed sustainably for thousands of years.¹⁵ This is why it considers securing land and resource rights as a vital issue for the second and third generation IFAD projects. The land issue is very sensitive, however, so there are not many projects which explicitly state their objective as securing land and resource rights. The projects which clearly define this as their objectives are those which are done in partnership with the International Land Coalition (ILC).¹⁶ The collaboration of IFAD with the ILC and other partners made it possible to expand its programmes to assist national governments to develop policies which will recognize indigenous peoples land and resource rights.

One of the very first IFAD projects which addressed land and resource rights is the Orissa Tribal Development Project in India. (See Box 3)

In Latin America where the indigenous peoples' movements are relatively older and stronger than the tribal movements in India, the IFAD projects are more forthright in identifying the protection of indigenous land and resource rights. One such project is the *Sustainable Rural Development Project for the Ngobe-Bugle Territory and Adjoining Districts - Panama*. (See Box 4) PRAIA, which is one of the longest running programmes supported by IFAD had a focus on working for territorial recognition at its First Phase. (See Box 5) .Another one is the Alto Mayo Rural Development Project in Peru. IFAD ensured that a condition for disbursing the loan for this project is the requirement for the titling of lands of the Aguarunas. This led to the titling of 60,000 hectares of land.

Other activities undertaken by IFAD projects which help to secure land and resource rights are:

Box 3: Land and resource rights in the OTPDP

In India, one of the first projects which dealt with securing land and resource rights was the Orissa Tribal Development Project (OTPD 1987-98). It had a component for land surveying which regularized titling of lands with slopes above 10 degrees. Land settlement schemes led to the distribution of 17,175 *dongar* (hill) lands to the 6,837 tribals. Titles were provided to spouses and these were registered under the names of the wife and husband. Their collective rights over community and forest land were also recognized. This was done even before the passage of the Panchayati Raj (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act [PESA] in 1996. This Act gives the rights of ownership of minor forest products to the respective Gram Sabhas and is inclusive of all the reserved forest areas since it is applicable to all scheduled areas (Section 4(m) (ii)).

Source: India Completion Evaluation of Orissa Development Project: Seven Lessons Learned :1998.

- policy dialogues towards policy formulation;
- the provision of legal funds to support legal cases which are related to land claims;
- Adoption and operationalization of rights-based approach to development.

Since land and resource issues are issues of rights, there should be more support for the operationalization of the human-rights based approach to development. IFAD supported a project in Nepal, the Western Upland Poverty Alleviation Project (WUPAP),

Box 4: Sustainable Rural Development Project for the Ngobe-Bugle Territory And Adjoining Districts: Panama

IFAD supported a process that ended the historic land exploitation by the non-indigenous farmers and settlers with the adoption of a set of laws that established the borders of the territory and restored the rights of indigenous communities. Through the project, IFAD provided economic and logistical support to the Intergovernmental Commission of the Ministry of the Interior and Justice and to the indigenous leaders involved in negotiation of the laws. To ensure informed participation in the process, IFAD also supported the dissemination of the laws and financed various general and regional congresses. According to the constitutional chart of the Comarca, which establishes communal ownership of the territory, traditional authorities are responsible for equal utilization of the land by its inhabitants. To strengthen community leaders' capacity to carry out this task, the project provided training in planning and administration. A new phase of the project has been signed. It will focus on natural resource management, taking traditional practices into account, and has expanded the project area outside the Comarca in order to stimulate intercultural relations and access to markets.

Source: Evaluation Report (2001) quoted from "Valuing Diversity In Sustainable Development, IFAD (2002).

Box 5: Regional Programme in Support of Indigenous Peoples in the Amazon Basin (PRAIA)

The first phase of the programme focused on territorial recognition – the main concern of indigenous peoples at the beginning of the 1990s, when indigenous organizations were struggling for territorial recognition, for their right to be considered citizens on an equal basis, and for the right to preserve a different cultural identity. During that phase, the programme supported political dialogue, legal reforms, territorial recognition, bilingual education programmes and a number of productive projects. Now, ten years later, most of the Amazonian countries have adopted constitutional reforms and legislation that recognize the rights of indigenous peoples located on approximately 100 million ha of land.

Source: Report and Recommendations of the President to the Executive Board for PRAIA Phase 111, April 2003.

which states that it will “..focus on poverty alleviation through a rights-based approach, by promoting the formation of grassroots organizations to empower the participants to mobilize their natural, physical, and financial resources to harness external resources and obtain social justice.”⁴⁷ While the description of the activity (See Box 6) does not refer to land and resource rights, the fact that it wants to adopt the rights-based approach in itself is laudable. There is a lot of talk about the human-rights based approach to development but much remains to be seen in terms of its implementation.

Another activity which will help further secure land and resource rights is the participatory mapping of territorial boundaries. The Philippines is a country where there is an Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act (IPRA) which recognizes the rights of indigenous

Box 6: Adoption of Rights-Based Approach – Nepal

The Western Uplands Poverty Alleviation Project (Nepal) was the first IFAD project to adopt a rights-based approach. Its aim is to reduce the high level of discrimination towards ethnic minorities and women by:

- (i) sensitizing communities and civil servants on human-rights issues;
- (ii) offering financial incentives to communities that meet specific social objectives;
- (iii) raising awareness of constitutional rights through studies and information campaigns;
- (iv) furthering policy dialogue by reporting human-rights violations, training people on rights issues, and funding policy reviews and measures promoting dialogue with community organizations; and,
- (v) establishing a legal fund to defray the costs of legal action.

Source: IFAD Formulation and Appraisal Reports (1999, 2001), quoted from Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development: Discussion Paper, 2003.

Box 7: Self-Delineation of Ancestral Domains –The Philippines

The IFAD-funded Cordillera Highland Agricultural Resource Management Project (CHARM) has supported a process of participatory mapping that includes three-dimensional mapping by the people, ground surveys and delineation of ancestral domains. The mapping activities follow the principle of 'self-delineation' as mandated by law. Both traditional and state of the art technology, including the Global Positioning System, are used to ensure accuracy of the data gathered and to minimize costs.

Source: Philippines Association for Intercultural Development, IFAD/NGO ECP Grant Proposal (1998-2001) quoted from Valuing Diversity for Sustainable Development.

peoples to their ancestral domain. There are defined processes in the Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) of this law and one of these is mapping of the ancestral lands. IFAD has supported some of the mapping activities in the Philippines. (See Box 7)

There are other projects which has land delineation as a component. These include the Regional Programme in Support of Indigenous Peoples in the Amazon Basin (PRAIA). The North Eastern Region Community Resource Management Project for Upland Areas (NERCRMP) also initiated training workshops on *Participatory Community Mapping and Land Use Planning through 3D-modelling*. These included hands-on training and field testing which were conducted in the village of Sasatgre in West Garo Hills in the State of Meghalaya, Community mapping experts from the Philippines were also involved in ancestral land mapping projects in the country were hired to do this workshop. Positive feedback emerged from this experience. (See Box 8)

Box 8: Evaluation and Feedback from the Participatory Community Mapping and Land use Planning through 3D-modelling

- Now that we have completed this 3D model, we can see the boundaries of our Akhing land which we have never seen before;
- We can see clearly which part of the Akhing land has the forest, and which part is used for jhumming;
- I believe this the most useful learning for our community as a whole. We can identify very easily how many streams and water sources there are in the Akhing land and easily identify areas to source drinking water;
- When we plan for jhumming next year, we don't need to go to the actual sites to portion the homesteads. We will come to the 3D and sit around it to decide which part of the Akhing land we will use for jhumming;
- We can tell our children what the boundary of the Akhing land is, teach them what areas for orchards and apal and other uses, so that they will know how to preserve the streams and the forest.

Source: Workshop Report: May 2003.

Lessons Learned

Many lessons can be learned from the efforts of IFAD to ensure that the right of indigenous peoples to their territories and resources is at the center of development efforts undertaken with them. The Discussion Paper "Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development" which came out during the 25th Anniversary of IFAD summarized some of the lessons learned. (See Box 9) We will add some more points to these.

Additional insights and lessons learned are the following:

- The human-rights based approach to development is a very appropriate tool to further secure the rights of indigenous peoples to their territories and resources. This is a framework which has yet to be fully operationalized and implemented by development agencies, funds and governments;
- IFAD can play a very positive role in fostering dialogue between indigenous peoples and governments and encouraging and supporting governments to adopt and implement the human-rights based approach to development;
- It is important to sustain awareness-raising and training workshop seminars among indigenous peoples on what their rights are in national and international law so they will be able to use these tools more effectively. Not many indigenous peoples in the Philippines know about the existence and substance of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, for example. In India, this may also be the case

Box 9: Lessons Learned in Securing Indigenous Peoples' Land Rights

- It is essential to initiate a dialogue on indigenous rights with governments and to exploit any treaties that governments may already have ratified. These include the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169, Convention 107, Convention on Biological Diversity, Convention on the Rights of the Child, etc.;
- Participatory mapping of territorial boundaries is consonant with the principle of self-determination, which in turn is a precondition for building ownership and hence sustainability;
- Legal recognition of demarcated lands lays the groundwork for participatory preparation, implementation of land management plans which incorporate indigenous knowledge systems;
- Indigenous women often do not own lands and production resources even if they are key in forest management, agricultural production and other livelihood projects. Significant awareness-raising is needed to change this situation in a culturally sensitive way;
- The struggle to assert land rights changes mindsets and enhances the confidence and capacities of formerly submissive men and women. Appropriate support must be provided for unplanned initiatives even if these are not directly related to production.

Source: Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development: Discussion Paper, IFAD, 2003.

with the Panchayats Raj (Extension to Scheduled Tribes). More funding support should be provided for awareness-raising activities.

Strengthening indigenous and tribal peoples' organizations and governance systems, inclusion of women and youth, and capacity-enhancement

Integral to the empowerment process of indigenous peoples is the recognition and respect of their right to use and strengthen their own socio-political systems. Colonization and modernization have undermined these systems but there are still many indigenous communities which managed to sustain their traditional systems of governance. Many traditional leaders gain their status not by money or influence but because of their wisdom and consistency in living by indigenous values and sustaining community solidarity. Some IFAD projects provided support for the revitalization of these systems. In addition to this, IFAD projects also helped to strengthen the democratic content of these systems by infusing the aspects of gender and intergenerational equality and implementing demand-driven participatory methodologies and participatory decision-making processes.

Participation is a key issue for most indigenous and tribal peoples as their history has been a history of exclusion from decision-making in development activities and from governance bodies. Their consent to many of the projects brought into their communities has not been sought by governments nor by the development agencies. What IFAD has

Box 10: The Role of the State in Participatory Processes

The evaluation recognizes that the state, too, has a crucial and concurrent role to play in participatory processes, in particular by promoting a favourable environment that can lead to the erosion of the 'dependency culture' that is deeply rooted in tribal societies, which are accustomed to receiving services and resources from the 'top.' This 'dependency' not only suggests the need to develop self-reliant tribal communities that take charge of their own decisions and their own resource allocation, but also refers to the 'dependency' that has arisen in the Government apparatus and among Government officers supporting tribal development, that is, the project officers, ITDA staff and others whose performance is largely assessed on the basis of the 'results achieved' in tribal development. Therefore, project-related staff often focus on targets and output achievements. Consequently, their approaches do not necessarily favour more open and lasting participatory development, which, by the nature of the concept, requires a longer term investment and is a more laborious process, since the necessary incentives and motivations are lacking. It is therefore important to build a culture in which people are not so much accountable for the 'results achieved,' since results are not exclusively in the hands of a single person or institution, but are accountable for their ability to 'manage in order to achieve results.' In sum, overcoming the dependency culture requires a paradigm shift whereby needs are addressed from both angles.

Source: Completion Evaluation of APTDP, EC 2002/30/W.P.4, 31 Jan. 2002.

done is to ensure that meaningful participation of indigenous and tribal peoples becomes a key component in all the phases of development work. In the past, social mobilization and community participation were merely seen as a mechanism to prepare the people for the delivery of services. Most of the state agencies and the personnel involved in implementing the projects still possess the paternalistic mindset and attitude that it should be the state which will be centrally involved in development activities. Even the labels used for indigenous and tribal peoples have an effect on how the state deals with them. In India tribals are officially labeled as primitive tribal groups (PTGs). This immediately conjures an image that these people could only be wards of the state and be objects of development, not subjects of their own development.



It is without any doubt that IFAD's insistence on the centrality of participation in projects it supports played a key role in reshaping the attitudes of those in the government bureaucracies and even NGOs who got involved with these projects. Since the state plays a key role in either creating dependency or empowering indigenous and tribal peoples, the evaluation point on the role of the state in the APTDP is worth highlighting. (See Box 10)

IFAD's projects helped in setting the norm of participation into the tribal development scene. Thus, it is not enough to be limited to the objective of increasing employment through labour-intensive programs. Now, we can speak of direct involvement of indigenous and tribal peoples in shaping programme and project management which are community-initiated, executed and monitored. They can now reclaim their self-determining status to be the primary actors in managing their natural resource base and creating sustainable livelihoods for themselves.

The recommendations from the Completion Evaluation of the Andhra Pradesh Tribal Development Project reflects the changes which have emerged from out of the experiences in doing participatory processes. (See Box 11)

The shift from supply-driven approach to demand-driven service provision has remarkably contributed in making indigenous peoples the key decision-makers in their communities. The experiences in Peru with the IFAD project called MARENASS (Management of Natural Resources in the Southern Highlands Project) and the Puno-Cusco Corridor Project (CORREDOR) attests to this. (See Box 12)

In the evaluation of many IFAD projects, one outstanding practice is the organization of village-level organizations, which come under different names (Village Development Committees, Village Tribal Development Associations, etc.) and self-help groups (SHGs). The Village Development Committees which were created in the project areas of the North Eastern Region Community Resource Management for Upland Areas (NERCRMP) in India is one of its most innovative features. These committees are composed of the poorest members of the villages and include women and the youth. (See Box 13)

The author had a discussion with an evaluator for this specific project and asked her what was the single most impressive aspect she found out -- her reply was the vibrancy

Box 11: Recommendations on Participation

- Participation should not be confined only to specific activities. Instead, it is necessary to devote attention to local-level institutional development in order to promote grass-roots participation and empowerment following the 'development ladder approach.' This could consist of the institutionalization of SHGs, village development committees and cluster-level (apex) organizations of village development committees, which should all be organically linked, nurtured and facilitated. In this way, participation will not be merely a process determined from the top into which those below are involved.
- Participation as a means of empowerment does not involve only the delegation of the powers of project functionaries. It includes the entrustment of functions, funds and control to participatory groups at the local level. The building of groups and the development of institutions that are nurtured over a period of time result in a successful empowerment process.
- Participatory processes can be better sustained beyond the project period if they are institutionalized within existing structures and programmes. This lesson was established during the IFAD Country Programme Review and Evaluation in Vietnam (2000).
- Training and capability development for social mobilization should be an integral and regular aspect of project design and implementation. They should not be a one-time affair or training modules implemented in an ad-hoc manner. Given the limited quality of the training institutions (specific to tribal scenarios) in Andhra Pradesh, adequate investments for the development of resource persons, resource materials and training methodologies must be provided on a long-term basis. The institutionalization of the expertise and training skills generated needs to be given careful attention so that the capabilities that are developed become sustained.
- The project design should make provision for the involvement of competent NGOs in activities such as the social mobilization at the grass roots, awareness-building and the training of tribal people, as well as in service provision in selected areas depending on the comparative advantage of the NGO. It is recommended that NGOs be identified and selected during the project design process, so that different project partners are aware of each others roles and responsibilities. Selected NGOs should become part of the design process, following a thorough capacity assessment of each institution.
- Supervision missions have played an important role in changing administrative behaviour and in providing implementation support. It is extremely important that the composition of supervision missions is based on specific project requirements and that adequate financial resources are available for this activity.

Source: Completion Evaluation Andhra Pradesh Tribal Development Project, 2002

Box 12: MARENASS and CORREDOR

The fundamental change in the approach to rural development in the poor Southern Highlands has involved the shift from traditional, supply-driven state extension and related services to the empowerment of farmers by meeting their demands for investments and services of their own choosing. The change has strengthened peasant communities and women's organizations as the driving force of development. It has helped to empower communities by making them directly responsible for the management of financial, natural and social resources and by strengthening community organizations. Poor marginalized communities are now involved in civil society and the formal economy. The strategy of transferring decision-making power and authority over resources to the communities and families has had a positive impact by increasing their revenues and assets and helping strengthen the legitimacy of community responsibility for planning and administration of collective resources. The transfer of decision-making capacity to poor peasant communities has resulted in the acquisition by these communities of rights and abilities as 'persons and citizens' and has enabled them to become active economic and social protagonists who exercise their rights as citizens. In turn, this has reinforced the self-esteem of poor populations.

Source: Case Study: Scaling up Innovative Project Strategy Approaches for Poverty Reduction in the Southern Highlands of Peru. March 2004.

Box 13: North Eastern Region Community Resource Management for Upland Areas

This project has a component called "Capacity-Building of Communities and Participating Agencies" and the defined objectives are the following:

- Establish viable, equitable and sustainable village institutions;
- Promote community self-reliance;
- Integrate women into community-decision making processes;
- Reorient the local power structure so that it reflects the interests of the marginalized groups in the community;
- Contribute to change towards a bottom-up and people-centred planning process.

The strategy to meet these is the establishment of Village Development Committees (VDCs) which will manage and monitor the implementation of the project and this comprise representatives of the Village Councils, women, youth, resource poor households and other community-based organizations.

Source: Appraisal Report: 1997.

of the Village Development Committees. She said that this has really shifted the power dynamics in many communities as with these VDCs, the very poor members of the community were involved as well as the women and youth. I asked her how these VDCs converge with the traditional leadership structures which are still strong in many of the project areas. A representative of the traditional Village Council sits in as a member of the VDC so the tensions between the new and old formations are not very distinct. The work in this area might have benefited from the lessons learned in the experiences of the Andhra Pradesh Tribal Development Project.

The APTDP lacked a coherent strategy to ensure the convergence of community institutions with the traditional power structures. On top of these, there were also tensions with the existing government structures. This has weakened the bargaining power of the community with the existing power structures. One recommendation which emerged from this experience is that there should be a more systematic investigation of the nature of traditional authorities. Necessary links between the new and old institutions should be recognized and established.

The observation of the evaluator of the NERCRMP was affirmed by the findings of the 2002 External Review of IFAD. This concluded that one of the most significant impacts of IFAD is its creation of social capital and people empowerment. (See Box 14)

Promoting Gender and Intergenerational Equity

Ensuring participation of indigenous and tribal women and youth in IFAD-supported projects has been a conscious policy from the outset. This cuts across all the various projects which were reviewed. The activities used to increase women's agency range from:

Box 14: Impact on Social Capital and "People Empowerment"

The ERT (External Review Team) found some of the most impressive innovations – and impact – in the creation of social capital and people empowerment. True, there has been a general recognition that the more decision-making is performed by people affected by a development activity, the greater their sense of ownership and the better the prospects for an effective use of resources. The project activities reviewed provide strong evidence that IFAD has taken advantage of numerous opportunities to build social capital; indeed, rural people's organizations have been encouraged in a majority of the projects reviewed. IFAD has made commendable efforts towards increasing the self-help capacity of local communities, while also seeking to decentralize traditional government services so as to bring decision-making close to the people in the project area. However, the varying degrees of progress made in this area in the different countries reviewed clearly indicate that cultural traditions and current government policies are critical determinants in the effectiveness and speed with which IFAD is able to reproduce more participatory approaches in project formulation and implementation.

Source: External Review of the Results and Impacts of IFAD Operations, 2002.

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- raising their awareness of their rights as indigenous peoples and as women;
 - economic empowerment through improved access to credit for productive activities;
 - literacy trainings;
 - increased participation in project implementation units and political-administrative entities;
 - capacity-enhancement and women's leadership trainings.

It has been proven that by involving them in one or more of these activities, women end up playing leadership roles in mixed formations not only in the community level organizations but even in apex bodies.

There is a wealth of experience in building self-help groups, with women being the main members. Most of the projects in India have SHGs as integral components of the projects. In a recent women's leadership training we held in Northeast India in October 2004 where tribal women from the seven States participated, they said that the self-help groups - which IFAD projects have initiated - are still very active even if the IFAD-funded projects have ended. The tribal women are now managing their own self-help groups and these are not only sources of credit but spaces for leadership development of women. This is one example of how community institutions built through projects did not only exist for service delivery or acceptance purposes but became platforms for community participation and empowerment. The APTDP and the Tamil Nadu Women's Development and Empowerment Project show these gender impacts:¹⁸

In the Tamil Nadu women's SHGs there was an increase in women's mobility, interaction with officials, increase in women's intra-household decision-making powers, more prominently in the areas of children's health, and the use of household assets. Women's groups have also been tackling issues of domestic violence and alcoholism among men. Young widows were reported to overcome restrictive social norms by insisting on continuing to wear decorative accessories.

In the APTDP the women's SHGs even took up contracts for constructing minor irrigation works and school buildings. Where these SHGs formed clusters as in the still continuing APTDP and Maharashtra, the cluster level organizations also began to take on the functions of NGOs facilitating the development of new groups. On the other hand, the promotion of wet rice cultivation in terraces led to an increase in men's control over household income, as rice is seen as the 'male' crop, while swidden crops are 'female.'

MARENASS has a rich experience in involving women in the various components of the project. An assessment of the impact on the women can be seen in Box 15.

Revitalizing indigenous natural resource management practices, enhancing sustainable livelihoods, and creating more secure and stable communities

IFAD correctly analysed the relationship between natural resource management, sustainable livelihoods, cultural and indigenous and tribal peoples' concept of self-determined development.¹⁹

The close interdependence of most indigenous livelihood systems with the natural environment, reflected in their ethical, cultural and spiritual values, means that indigenous peoples can offer many lessons not only for survival but also achieving a better quality of life and managing the environment sustainably. In fact, indigenous peoples' notions of development are holistic and hence different from mainstream development practice. They aspire to protect and enhance their identity and cultural integrity, together with their land and their right to self-determination. In this context, it is even more important that development initiatives are culturally sensitive and take into account the needs and aspirations of indigenous peoples.

IFAD's development thinking, undoubtedly, is being reshaped through its long years of engagement with indigenous and tribal peoples. This is very much evident around the thinking on natural resource management, indigenous knowledge systems and sustainable development. The summed-up experiences of IFAD in working with indigenous and tribal peoples would show that the holistic development approach which is undergirded by human rights is the model which will have the highest possibility of success. An excellent example of these various linkages is illustrated clearly in the experiences in India. (See Box 16).

Some NRM projects implemented by indigenous peoples assume unique characteristics because these are usually infused with the traditional natural management practices. One example of such a project is MARENASS (Management of Natural Resources in the Southern Highlands Project - Peru). This is a special project of the Ministry of Agriculture of Peru launched in 1998 in response to the grim situation of poverty and the deteriorating condition of natural resources in the Southern Highlands. It is complemented by the Puno-Cusco Corridor Project (CORREDOR). MARENASS focuses on natural resource

Box 15: MARENASS: Women as Key Decision-Makers

Women's groups were entrusted with the administration of small funds providing small amounts of credit for the development of micro businesses such as agricultural production and livestock breeding and fattening. Some groups are also working to preserve biodiversity through the recovery of seeds of native species and the development of small nurseries. The fund has been successful: average capitalization is around 50 percent. Ideas about social and family equity disseminated through gender and other types of training, combined with the increased empowerment of villagers, have led to a fairer distribution of benefits among the poorest. Women especially, now enjoy improved status due to training and their increased ability to manage funds. The greater visibility and prestige of women – of their productive and reproductive roles and contribution to the family – have also led a more equitable sharing of responsibility within families, further enhancing women's status and position. Women and children have more free time to spend on improving their living conditions and concentrating on education. Women will need to have access to further training in managing microcredit and micro businesses as continued support for their roles as key decision-makers

Source: Tales of the 21st Century, IFAD, August 2000; Giving people a chance: the value of Opportunity, IFAD 2002.

management while CORREDOR strengthens the organizations and households and facilitates the linkages between the community and the market. This region is the homeland of most of the indigenous peoples in the country. It is the poorest region in the country with a poverty index of 2.6 per cent compared to the national average of 2.0 per cent. By its very title, it is clearly focused on natural resource management. The challenge for these projects is how to alleviate poverty in this region through the sustainable use of its natural resources. The other challenge is how to bring about physical and economic benefits without losing their identities and cultures as indigenous peoples.

As pointed in the earlier sections, MARENASS is one of the IFAD projects which benefited from the shift towards demand-driven service management away from supply-driven state extension services. This has made possible the empowerment of indigenous peasant organizations and women's organizations as these are now the ones directly managing the financial, social and natural resources in their territories. They are now the ones who will decide what kind of technical services and technologies they need and who they will hire to provide these technologies. These two projects have devised a system whereby the communities assume the role of policy-making, regulation, guidance and

Box 16: Land Rights: An Incentive to Manage Natural Resources

The IFAD-supported Orissa Tribal Development Project in India provided titles to land above 10 degrees in slope to tribal groups for the first time in Orissa. Land occupied by tribals became transferable to women in the form of inheritable land titles (dongo pattas) in perpetuity. Project supervision missions pointed out that such land titling led to major improvements in natural resource management (NRM), with the incentives derived from clear property rights. Comparisons between project areas where land titles had been granted, and adjacent open access areas, illustrated dramatic differences in land quality. The positive impact of the project on NRM has been a central feature of the policy dialogue with the government prior to the second phase of the project, during which the entire state will hopefully be covered.

The Andhra Pradesh Tribal Development Project (APTDP) has also contributed to a major shift in NRM policy. By building community NRM institutions and supporting a village-based NRM extension training programme (where villagers act as animators in resource planning at the local level), the project demonstrated that tribal groups successfully managed natural resources at the community level. The experience was central to the decision by the Government of Andhra Pradesh to support a virtual surrender of sovereignty of land to tribal groups.

Both these projects in India have attempted to foster community involvement in developing the natural resource base with the micro-watershed as the planning unit. This approach usually cannot be realized without secure (individual and community) land rights and without community participation in planning.

Source: UNOPs Supervision Reports of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh Tribal Development Projects, June 1996. Quoted from Assessment of Rural Poverty: Asia and the Pacific, IFAD, 2002.

facilitation, while economic activities are left to the families and households. In this way the indigenous world views and practices are used as guideposts in shaping the way the communities work out their development. They have devised and used planning tools and incentives which conform to their indigenous worldviews and ways of life. (See Box 17 and 18)

Because of the conscious process of devolving the management of the project to the communities there is a strong sense of ownership over this. *"The families and communities participating in MARENASS have taken ownership of the project and, with it, of something that they feel was theirs already: the terraces, the houses, the water, the pastures, a technology with a high labour content that produces high returns with little or no external input. But above all, they have taken ownership of a "friendly" project that has offered technologies that are within their reach and rooted in their culture and ancestral practices. The project's sustainability depends largely on this concept of "regaining own-*

Box 17: Talking Maps as Planning Tools

Indigenous households, organizations and communities establish goals and plans of action with the use of talking maps. This is a collective way of representing the past, visioning the future and planning the present through the use of symbols as seen in their crafts and birth to death rituals. The process of putting the talking map together strengthens the collective "dreaming" effort of the community, a process which is part of the collective decision-making processes.

Source: Valuing Diversity in Sustainable Development, IFAD. (2002)

Box 18: *Pacha Mama Raymi* "Festival of Mother Earth"

This is a methodology that draws upon the cultural, mythological and religious traditions of the local It is a methodology that draws upon the cultural, mythological, and religious traditions of the local Andean communities that relate to the cultivation of 'Mother Earth' and which allow for the management of productive natural resources whilst respecting the vision and needs of local farmers. *Pacha Mama Raymi* uses competitions to promote new technological practices amongst villagers to improve natural resource management, agricultural production and living conditions. The families or communities who best apply the advice provided by technical staff and who achieve the top results earn a cash prize presented at a Mother Earth festival. The competitions are a catalyst, an efficient and effective means of sharing, disseminating and replicating local technological innovation throughout the entire project area.²⁰ This is an innovation on the collective sharing of ideas and experiences that happen usually at the village level. The maximization of the festivals and the addition of a competitive element "which utilizes the natural competitiveness of these inhabitants of the Andes"²¹ has been an effective tool in information and technology dissemination.

ership" and on acceptance of the idea, oft-repeatedly by the community members: "We are MARENASS."²²

In terms of strengthening the community organizations and empowering the women, the MARENASS experience also has something to show.

Because of their work with MARENASS, "*community councils have been re-established or strengthened through the official designation and recognition of the communities, training of community leaders, selection and planning of joint activities (community plans) for the capitalization of social goods or community assets or the regulation of their use. Community leadership has been strengthened as a result of greater recognition and appreciation of the functions of the community councils.*"²³ Community organizations have been legitimized and strengthened with the development and transfer of responsibilities – planning, managing funds and overseeing family and community natural resource management processes, regulating grazing in communal areas, participating in competitions between communities.

Traditionally, women have been responsible for feeding and herding animals and for small-scale sales of small species and agricultural products. With MARENASS they now have assumed additional roles. Groups of organized women (OGW) are now themselves operating microenterprises from agricultural production and livestock breeding and fattening to micromarketing and microcredit operations. Others have started their native seed recovery efforts and management of small nurseries as part of biodiversity preservation. The economic benefits from the project by families have been most felt by women, most especially those which related directly to the home, like animal husbandry and crop production.

In terms of building more peaceful and stable communities some IFAD projects also contributed to this. The APTDP (Andhra Pradesh Tribal Development Project) helped reduce the intensity of conflicts in Andhra Pradesh. The role of IFAD as a peace builder was seen through this project. (See Box 19)

IFAD also played a role in raising the awareness among Government and civil servants that the way to deal with the protest movement is to understand the root causes of the conflict and to address these. The lack of access to land and the non-recognition of the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples to their ancestral lands is one of these root causes of many armed conflicts. This is true in Andhra Pradesh, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Guatemala, among others. In the case of Andhra Pradesh, the advocacy role of the APTDP led the government to distribute land to tribal peoples in Bhadarachalam and other Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA). The APTDP also instituted participatory contract procedures for the construction of irrigation, soil conservation works and other related activities. Outside contractors were subsequently banned from the tribal areas and all public works are executed by the village-level self-help groups.

Operations of money-lenders, traders, middle-persons, etc. were regulated so that the tribals will not be cheated and mercilessly exploited. Aside from all these it helped build and strengthen peoples' participation and their exercise of self-determination through the community coordination teams, village tribal development associations (VTDA), SHGs, village development committees, among others.

Many indigenous and tribal communities have been and are still sites of armed conflicts. The situation described earlier in Andhra Pradesh is not unique. In indigenous territories which are post-conflict areas there is a lot to be desired in terms of how the state is addressing the roots of the conflict. So even after the conflict has been resolved there is still a lot of insecurity because of this. According to IFAD:²⁴

A critical step in post-conflict situations is to help the rural poor to 're-establish' themselves as independent producers. It is essential to recognize that time is needed to rebuild trust among stakeholders. A strong gender focus is also necessary not only because the number of woman-headed households usually increases during and after periods of strife, but also because women can act as effective peace brokers. Finally, reconciliation at the community level is best fostered by enabling a genuine decentralization process that helps grass-roots organizations to undertake fully transparent and demand-driven community development actions. IFAD has found that allowing the communities themselves to control how their living conditions will be improved can foster a powerful process for consolidating peace.

Guatemala is one of the countries which has the longest and most violent armed conflict in Latin America. The majority of around 200,000 people who were killed are indigenous peoples. After the peace negotiations up to the present the situation has not really significantly improved for the indigenous peoples. IFAD supports two projects which are aimed to help reconstruct the communities social structures and restore confidence in the local authorities. (See Box 20)

Box 19: IFAD as a Peace Builder

The APTDP offers an unusual, possibly unique opportunity to examine the role IFAD can play in conflict resolution, in particular since, because of it, one can assess the relationship between a radical protest movement, Naxalism, and the operation of a participatory development project in tribal areas. During the 1970s and 1980s, the project area witnessed a campaign of varying intensity mounted by the Peoples War Group (PWG), which in its early stages at least appears to have been motivated by a genuine desire to end the exploitation of tribal peoples and to achieve for them a measure of social justice in terms of land, resources and opportunities. At that time, the PWG served to highlight the problems of the tribal people and the urgent need for measures to protect them, in particular by putting an end to the alienation of their tribal lands and their exploitation by unscrupulous moneylenders and middlemen.

What made the APTDP different from other interventions aimed at the advancement of tribal people? Primarily, one must record that the APTDP was the first project exclusively devoted to the development of tribal people that was supported by an international organization in Andhra Pradesh. The mere involvement of IFAD in such a sensitive area was seen as a serious effort by the Government to respond to tribal disaffection and exploitation. IFAD provided a silent bridging leadership, playing the role of a facilitator that could be trusted and was committed to furthering the interests of the tribal communities.

Source: Completion Evaluation Andhra Pradesh Tribal Development Project, 2002.

Strengthening cultural identities and bilingual education and revitalizing indigenous knowledge systems

It has not been a usual practice among development agencies to include culture in their programs. It was only very recently that the cultures and knowledge systems of indigenous and tribal peoples were regarded in a different light. The right to practice one's culture, speak your own language and maintain a distinct identity is one of the key demands of indigenous and tribal peoples. The misrepresentation of indigenous and tribal peoples cultures and histories is one of the injustices done to them. Written histories of nation-states rendered them invisible even if they played major roles in independence struggles. IFAD realizes that *"there is a growing awareness that the recognition and strengthening of local cultures not only preserves cultural diversity, but also enhances a sense of identity and social cohesion. This is particularly true with indigenous peoples. Culturally sensitive approaches to addressing the specific needs of indigenous peoples have shown that strengthening cultural identity and promoting sustainable socio-economic development are mutually reinforcing, rather than mutually exclusive, objectives."*²⁵

Supporting bilingual education is a culturally-sensitive approach which is crucial for the perpetuation of indigenous language, culture and values. A very interesting project which is a component of PRAIA is the Ticuna Educational Project. (Box 21) The Ticuna is an indigenous people who live in the vast frontier region of the Amazon between Brazil, Peru and Colombia. This project has trained 212 Ticuna teachers in 1997 who are qualified to teach and more are undergoing training. They organized themselves into the General Organization of the Ticuna Bilingual Professors (OGPTB) to ensure that they can

Box 20: Peace and Reconciliation Programme for Rural Development and Reconstruction in the Quiche Department (PRODERQUI) and the Rural Development Programme for Las Verapaces – Guatemala

Both programme areas were hit by institutional violence in the early 80s and also had the weakest socio-economic indicators. Both programmes were executed by the National Peace Fund (FONAPAZ), the Government entity responsible for coordinating the implementation of the Peace Agreement. In both, a flexible, phase-by-phase approach is being applied to ensure the building of confidence among the more vulnerable populations. The focus is on strengthening grass-roots and community organizations in their planning and implementation capacity. Programme management is decentralized into municipal offices, channeling most of the service delivery activities through local NGOs to strengthen relations between the public sector and civil society.

The International Land Coalition is also providing a grant to the Verapaz Union of Community Organizations (UVOC) to strengthen the negotiating capacity of their members in resolving conflicts related to land disputes.

Source: Appraisal and President's Reports, 1997-1999: quoted from Valuing Diversity in Sustainable Development.

sustain their autonomy in their educational process. Upscaling and replicating this project should be considered by IFAD in its future work.

The revitalization of indigenous knowledge systems has also been a priority for IFAD. They have observed that the livelihoods of indigenous and tribal peoples can be safeguarded through this. Projects which blend indigenous knowledge with modern technology are also supported. Some project activities around this concern are the following:

- Revitalizing traditional soil and water conservation methods and cropping systems in project areas;
- Revival of traditional, low-cost and efficient technologies like percolation ponds, pitcher irrigation;
- Traditional water harvesting projects;
- Revitalization and documentation of traditional health systems;
- Technology blending.

Challenges Ahead

This overview did not cover the whole breadth of IFAD's work with indigenous and tribal peoples. From what is written here, though, we can already see that two and a half decades of work with indigenous and tribal peoples has already resulted into positive results. No doubt, there are also weaknesses, but this was not the focus of this paper.

Box 21: Ticuna Educational Project

The general purpose of the Project is to give the indigenous teachers the conditions to plan and manage their formal education - strengthening the pedagogical and administrative autonomy of the schools – understanding the school as a space for creation, reflection and political action, compatible with the expectations and needs of the communities, with their self-determination projects. Most specifically, the project's objectives are to implement a differentiated quality school, giving value to the mother tongue and traditional knowledge, stimulating the maintenance of art and culture and its diffusion in and out of the country, promoting health, defending the land and its natural resources, and also to defend the Indigenous people's rights and that of the citizenship.

The main activity is the training of the Ticuna teachers, though since 2002 other ethnic groups such as the Kocama and Kaixana were admitted for the teacher's Program. But there are also other programs, which activities maintain a close relation with the educational process that will better the life of the population. They are programs focusing on health, environment, art and culture, linguistics, production of didactic materials, school-library, structuring of the curriculum's proposal, pedagogical follow up, management of the school, rights of the indigenous people and the citizenship

Source: Vanessa Mara, Ticuna Educational Project: Case study of a successful experience in the Brazilian Amazon, 2005, unpublished paper.

This additional effort to do a scoping exercise of where IFAD is, with regards its support to indigenous and tribal peoples, is still skimming the surface. As mentioned earlier, there are ongoing field studies in a few selected places. The results of these will be presented in a side event during the 4th Session of the U.N. Permanent Forum. So this is still a work in progress.



What we are hoping is that with this effort, IFAD will be able to have a better appreciation of its strengths and build upon these further. From this modest study alone we can say that IFAD is contributing significantly in achieving the Millenium Development Goals, especially in relation to indigenous and tribal peoples. IFAD should enter into more dialogues with indigenous and tribal peoples so that joint recommendations can be made on what are the next steps.

During the panel at the Permanent Forum, time can be set aside to discuss this in more detail. The U.N. Permanent Forum will provide the space for more dialogues with IFAD.

To help IFAD think further ahead, I will append a last section (See Annex, next page) which is a brief overview of the concept of indigenous self-determined development. This is also a work in progress and it is just an attempt to spin off more discussions.

On behalf of Tebtebba, and also on behalf of the Permanent Forum, I would like to thank wholeheartedly IFAD for supporting this endeavour and for the genuine partnership it has been extending to indigenous peoples. We will be looking forward to more collaborative endeavours and exciting challenges in this partnership.

Annex

Self-determined Development

The point stressed by indigenous peoples and tribals many times over is that the paternalistic and assimilation oriented policies designed and implemented by nation-states for decades failed to bring meaningful and tangible benefits to them. At worst, their autonomous and self-governing communities, poor they maybe, were destroyed. Development projects, whether brought in by the state, the private sector, or non-government organizations, succeeded in weakening or destroying indigenous cultural, social, political and economic systems. The strategy of *indigenismo*, in the 50s to 60s, defined how Latin American states structured their relationship with indigenous peoples. It was unilaterally designed by the state and its only goal was to integrate the indigenous peoples into the nation-state. Indigenous peoples were asked to forget about their distinct identities, cultures, languages and autonomous ways of life and help constitute one national identity, shift their subsistence production towards intensive agriculture and commercial manufacturing, and speak Spanish. As Demetrio Cojti Cuxil, a leader of the Maya peoples in Guatemala, said "*..according to the liberals, in order to lift the indigenous peoples out of poverty, one first had to lift them out of their culture and language: "the Indian has to be killed to be saved"; to put it another way, one had to take the Indian out of the Indian...*"²⁶ Fortunately, this strategy has changed in the 80s and 90s due to the strength of indigenous peoples' movements. Presently, *indigenismo* has become more consultative and seeks to involve multistakeholders and more diverse in its goals.

Self-determined development is a concept that represents indigenous peoples' aspirations and visions. This concept starts from the recognition that the appalling situations of poverty, discrimination, and inequality amongst indigenous peoples has deep historical and structural causes. It also recognizes the potential of indigenous peoples' rich cultural heritage and social assets. The shifts in thinking within the past two decades especially in terms of development and nation-building provide a solid basis to pursue this. The demolition of the idea that the creation of a national identity through cultural homogeneity is a crucial shift. This has led to amendments in many constitutions of countries in Latin America to acknowledge the multicultural and multi-ethnic nature of their societies is a very important step. This is the first step towards eradicating assimilationist, exclusionary, and discriminatory policies and the recognition and respect of cultural diversity. Diversity is an asset for any nation and not a liability. The implications of this shift in terms of reinventing development and the nation-state are profound. If this is truly internalized by the nation-state it has to radically reform many of its existing laws, policies and programs. For starters governments have to enter into serious and meaningful dialogues with indigenous peoples.

Self-determined development has several important components. The first is respect for the collective, individual and intergenerational rights of indigenous peoples. These rights, include among others, the right to self-determination and the right to territories and resources. Being self-determining means to be able to freely determine one's political status and pursue one's economic, cultural and social development. This is a right

accorded to all peoples, including indigenous peoples. While there are still ongoing debates within the United Nations whether indigenous peoples only have the right to internal self-determination but not external self-determination, this has not hampered indigenous peoples from practicing and asserting this right. Indigenous peoples have been self-governing communities even before the nation-state was created.

The second component is autonomy. Autonomy is the most popular form of self-determination contrary to what some governments believe.²⁷ Autonomous arrangements require a new division of authority and roles among the various institutions of the nation-state (villages, municipalities, districts, regions, states, federal state) to ensure the participation of indigenous peoples in all decision-making processes. There are different forms of autonomy depending on the particular situation where this will be developed. The essential point is the acceptance that the nation-state needs to be reformed and de-bureaucratized and that resources and authority need to be transferred to the communities. Participatory approaches, democratization and good governance are crucial aspects of autonomy. They are given the freedom to design their path to development and the resources they need to do this are made available. It also means they will strengthen traditional governance and economic systems and customary laws which are underpinned by the values of reciprocity, redistribution, community solidarity, a serious relationship with nature, and a deep sense of responsibility towards changes.

The third component is territory. Being autonomous means that there should be a physical space where this will be exercised and developed. This is the fundamental basis and guarantee for autonomous or self-determined development. The assertion of the right to territory does not mean infringing on the sovereignty of the nation-state. It just means indigenous peoples will be able to have control and influence over how this physical space will be used for their own development. This is the space where they will continue to practice their values and norms, their traditions and cultures and their ways of organizing and governing themselves. This is where they will manage their relationships between themselves and their neighbours and between them and their natural resources. This is the space for economic production and cultural renewal. Laws and policies should be reformed to acknowledge and respect the right of indigenous peoples to their territories and resources and to develop programs which will help secure this right. In cases where indigenous peoples already lost their territories and they are living with others different arrangements will have to be created.

The fourth component is revenue sharing. The situation of many indigenous peoples is that they live in territories which are rich with natural resources but they remain the poorest of the poor. This again is an evidence of the failure of development. Self-determined development means development with justice and equity. Just and equitable distribution of the national revenue and development aid has to be instituted. Indigenous peoples should be able to establish direct relationships with sources of funding and not be obstructed by bureaucratic and institutional barriers set up by governments and even by NGOs. This implies, however, that there should also be a high level of accountability of indigenous organizations to their members and partners.

Essentially, self-determined development means that indigenous peoples are main players in designing, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating their own eco-

conomic, social and cultural development. The emergence of the concepts of human development and the human-rights based approach to development resonate with the indigenous concept of self-determined development. The human rights based approach to development if applied to indigenous peoples is basically what self-determined development is all about.

Endnotes

¹ ADB Policy on Indigenous Peoples, http://www.adb.org/Documents/Policies/Indigenous_Peoples/ipp-003.asp downloaded 7 Feb. 2005.

² World Bank Policy on Indigenous Peoples: Operational Directive 4.20 now revised to WB Operational Directive 4.10.

³ See Harry Anthony Patrinos and Pschacharopolous, George, eds. 1994, *Indigenous Peoples and Poverty in Latin America: An Empirical Analysis*. Washington D.C. The World Bank.

⁴ Some of these include the following; WB Operational Directive 4.10 (2004, revision of OD4.20), UNDP Policy of Engagement with Indigenous Peoples (2001), Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) Strategic Orientations for Implementation of the Health of the Indigenous Peoples' Initiative (1997); World Commission on Dams; Dams and Development (2000), European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD); Mandate on Ethnic Minorities. 1993; 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; German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development: Concept for development co-operation with the indigenous peoples of Latin America. 1996; Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation: Swiss Action for Indigenous Peoples, 1998. Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECI): Spanish Strategy for Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples, 1997. Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Indigenous Peoples in the Netherlands Foreign Policy and Development Cooperation. 1993.

⁵ Constitutions of 13 countries in Latin America recognize the rights of indigenous peoples and 17 out of 19 countries with indigenous peoples recognize customary law. The Philippines passed the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act in 1997.

⁶ Strategic Framework for Indigenous Development (GN-2295), Inter-American Development Bank, Indigenous Peoples and Community Development Unit, March 11, 2004.

⁷ Some indigenous peoples would rather use the term life projects, self-development, ethno-development, or 'development with identity', to distinguish their paradigm from mainstream development. Life projects capture the indigenous cosmovisions and views and proposals of getting to the future which is distinct from the mainstream development projects carried out by the state and the global market.

⁸ The IADB defines 'development with identity' as a "concept that recognizes the conditions of material poverty, inequality and exclusion of indigenous peoples, as well as the potential of their cultural, natural and social assets, with a view to increasing their access, with gender equity, to the opportunities for socio-economic development, at the same time as strengthening their identity, culture, territoriality, natural resources and social organization, under the premise that sustainable development requires the initiative and empowerment of the beneficiaries, respect for their individual and collective rights, and the recognition that indigenous peoples' development significantly benefits society as a whole." (quoted from the Profile: Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples, Feb.13, 2004).

⁹ See "Valuing Diversity in Sustainable Development: IFAD Experience with Indigenous Peoples in Latin America and Asia", Draft for Discussion. 2002. IFAD. Rome. p.2.

¹⁰ IFAD press release on the International Day of the World's Indigenous People. www.ifad.org/media/events/2004/ip.htm downloaded 11 Feb. 2005.

¹¹ See "Valuing Diversity in Sustainable Development." 2002.

¹² See "Indigenous and Sustainable Development: Discussion Paper." 2004. IFAD. Rome.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ India: North Eastern Region Community Resource Management Project for Upland Areas (NERCRMP: 1997-2004), Andra Pradesh Tribal Development Project (APTDP: 1991-1999), Jharkhand-Chattisgarh Tribal Development Programme (JCTPDP 2001-2009); Orissa Tribal Development Project (OTDP 1987-98); Nepal: Western Uplands Poverty Alleviation Project (WUPAP) Latin America: Peru-Management of Natural Resources in the Southern Highlands (MARENASS 1995-2003); Puno-Cusco Corridor Project (CORREDOR 1997-2004); Brazil – Regional Programme in Support of Indigenous Peoples in the Amazon Basin (PRAIA) Ticuna Educational Project; Panama: Sustainable Rural Development Project for Ngobe-Bugle Territory and Adjoining Districts.

¹⁵ Press release on Indigenous Peoples.

¹⁶ The International Land Coalition is a global alliance of intergovernmental, governmental and civil society organizations working together with the rural poor to secure access to natural resources, especially land, and to enable them to influence decisions which will affect them. Some of the projects supported by the ILC are the following: "Protecting Indigenous Peoples' Land and Resource Rights in the Upper Mazaruni River Basin of Guyana" and "Mapping the Ancestral Domains in the Philippines."

¹⁷ Western Upland Poverty Alleviation Project, Supervision Report, 2004. p.1.

¹⁸ Review of Results and Impact, India, 10 July 2002, IFAD.

¹⁹ *Valuing Diversity in Sustainable Development, IFAD Experience with Indigenous Peoples in Latin America and Asia*, 2002. IFAD.

²⁰ "Marenass is our project," http://www.ifad.org/evaluation/public_html/eksyst/doc/profile/pl/pe.pdf.

²¹ Informe 1316-PE, p. lvi.

²² Informe 1316-PE, p. lxxxvi.

²³ Informe 1316-PE, p. lxxxv.

²⁴ *Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development*. IFAD, 2003.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.8.

²⁶ See Demetrio Cojti Cuxil, The Theory and Practice of Indigenous Development, in D.Iturralde and E. Krotz, eds. "Indigenous Development: Poverty, Democracy and Sustainability," 1996. IDB, Washington, D.C. p.48.

²⁷ Some nation-state members of the U.N. find the right to self-determination difficult to acknowledge and recognize as they associate this with secession. In reality, however, there are just a few indigenous organizations putting this as their demand. The majority still opt for autonomous arrangements within the nation-state.