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Indigenous communities

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> Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right to belong to an indigenous community or nation, in accordance with the traditions and customs of the community or nation concerned....
>
> Indigenous peoples have the right to participate fully . . . at all levels of decision-making in matters which may affect their rights, lives and destinies through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own proce-dures, as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous decision-making institutions.
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> *UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Articles 9 and 19.*

1. Introduction

The objective in this paper is to locate and analyzing parameters within indigenous communities, as well as within the larger framework of the surrounding nation state and the global system, that interact and together structure and determine the ability of these peoples to being drawn into a participatory planning and decision-making process. An important aim is to identify and discuss factors and conditions that are important for creating and sustaining an "enabling environment" for participatory development for indigenous peoples.

Throughout, an emphasis on the cultural aspects of indigenous communities (their *raison d'être*, so to speak), will be balanced with political aspects (the ways and means of strengthening their participation). The former will dominate initially (i.e. in the definition of indigenous peoples, as well as spelling out the characteristics of the lowest level of community), and the latter will dominate during the rest of the paper.[1]

The Terms of Reference asks for ways and means of integrating and strengthening the participation of indigenous communities (cf. the Appendix).[2] The emphasis on "integration," followed by "participation," is complicated.

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[1] The word "peoples" in the term "indigenous peoples" is here used in the sense of the plural form of "a people." In other words, "peoples" refer to two or more separate cultural or ethnic entities. An individual member of any indigenous people will be referred to as an "indigenous person." The term "peoples" as used in this sense – instead of as the plural form of "person" or as synonomous with "populations" – has important legal implications that will not be touched upon here (cf. e.g. Alfredsson 1993a; Lam 1992; Nanda 1992; Turpel 1992).

[2] I am aware of the possibility that I have misunderstood as well as possibly misrepresented the intention of the Terms of Reference. In this case, the following serves as a necessary clarification of our common point of view.

To my mind this could imply preconceived ideas about (i) the basic rationale for the whole exercise that the Bank is involved in – modernization with the aim of integration (and possibly assimilation), and (ii) based on this, the Terms of Reference would seem to ask for concrete advice on how to go about achieving this goal. From my perspective, the starting point should be a different one. I am concerned not so much with the idea of development (or modernization), as with its point of departure, means, and eventual outcome. Starting out with what comes across as integration as a premise, is not acceptable. As an alternative, the term "involvement" is more neutral. Furthermore, I find it too simplifying to try and present a list of ways to go about effecting this involvement, actually, I find it next to impossible to present such a list.[3] Alternatively, I will present a number of micro- and macro-level, general, inter-cultural positions, arguments, or points of departure, that together contribute to constructing a framework for a structured interaction as well as a more equal negotiation situation between indigenous peoples and outsiders.[4] The framework must present indigenous peoples with the opportunity to enter into relationships and negotiations with the outside world on as equal terms as possible. While we cannot do away with political, cultural, and economical disparities and differences per se, we can see to it that all parties to a negotiation have access to each other's weak and strong sides, particulars, and peculiarities, etc. In other words, the arguments presented below apply to all parties; they are interactive so to speak. Of course, in the event of a gross difference between the indigenous party and other parties (which admittedly will be the case most of the time), the burden of adjustment and preparation should be on the other parties.

This paper is one of five background papers which address the topic: "Towards an enabling environment: The role of local communities." Of these five papers, three are especially closely related, namely "Ethnicity as a development issue" (Hettne 1994), the present paper, and "Indigenous organization" (Talle 1994). The paper on ethnicity presents a wider political argument, and interfaces with this paper mainly in the extent to which its ethnodevelopment argument parallels the concept of community development as argued in this paper.

The relationship between the paper on "Indigenous organization" and the present paper presents more of a challenge in terms of circumscribing and limiting the arguments. Both papers elaborate on features that are typical for indigenous communities, but these features are presented in different contexts. Both papers also discuss the vertical relationships in which indigenous peoples take part (willingly or

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[3] Moreover, this would seem to parallel rather closely the intentions with the chapter on "Indigenous Peoples" in the Participation Handbook.

[4] This framework also includes the features operating on the village level, as discussed in the paper on "Indigenous Organization" (cf. Table 1).

not). The paper "Indigenous Organization" discusses and analyses indigenous forms of organization within the nation-state. The present paper builds upon this argument and takes it one step further through a discussion of the vertical relations between indigenous communities and the international supranational arenas in which indigenous peoples operate today more and more. The relationships between the present paper and the paper "Indigenous organization," as well as an overview of the major parts and arguments in this paper, are presented below (see Table 1).

Table 1: Analytical levels and indigenous communities

Analytical levels	Community levels	Focus and content
Macro level (relative factors)	6. World 5. Region 4. Territory (3. Nation-state)	Focuses on the vertical relations between the village and the community levels above it. Deals mostly with politics.
Middle level (features)	(3. Nation-state) 2. Indigenous people 1. Village	Focuses primarily on the relations within villages, and between villages and the nation-state. There is a cultural dimension to the argument. This is treated primarily in Talle (1994).
Micro level (absolute factors)		Focuses on the basis for the existence and functioning of the community, understood as the village, but by implication covering all types of communities.

Notes: (1) The concept "Community" is discussed here in Part 3.2-3. Relative Factors, Features, and Absolute Factors are discussed in Parts 4.2, 3.4, and 4.1, respectively, (2) The community level "nation-state" is, by virtue of its special attributes, difficult to place, and it belongs on both the Macro and the Middle analytical levels, and (3) The regional level discussed in this table (i.e. community level no. 5), corresponds to the sub-regional level as presented in Appendix 2.

The paper "Indigenous Organization" focuses on a middle level of description and analysis, while the present paper adds description and analysis of low and high levels as well. The following three levels of analysis are introduced in relation to the traditional community level (the village):

First, the Macro Level: On this level various higher levels of community, including the nation-state, territory, region, and the world are found. This level corresponds to the term "relative factors" (cf. para 4.1). Second, there is the Middle Level: Here, the focus is on the village – internally, and as it interacts with the nation-state. This analytical level is largely covered in Talle (1994) (but cf. para 3.4). Third and finally, there is the Micro Level: This analytical level operates on the level of the village, and has environment and culture as its two main foci. This level corresponds to the term "absolute factors" (cf. para 4.1). The causality involved between these three levels, and correspondingly between the two papers in question,

are as follows: The micro level is the basis for the middle level – it causes it so to speak, while the middle level is the foundation, and point of reference, for the macro level.

Part 2 of the paper discusses the term "indigenous." Part 3 discusses the term "community" with reference to social science and development literature, as well as connected with indigenous peoples. A typology of communities is presented. Part 4 presents and discusses various structural and processual factors, labeled as absolute and relative factors. Finally, Part 5 contains the conclusions and recommendations.

This paper argues implicitly and explicitly for a more processual approach to involving indigenous peoples in participatory work. The paper itself is in fact a result of a process, where earlier arguments are scrutinized and challenged by ideas introduced later into the argument. I decided to leave the marks of this development. Nowhere is this more visible than when it comes to grappling with who indigenous peoples are, and what is meant by the term.

2. The indigenous

The paper focuses on indigenous peoples generally, irrespective of their subsistence pattern, their degree and form of integration in the nation state, and their geographic location. Before defining this term, it might be helpful to look at what the term does not cover.

Indigenous peoples and "minority." The term minority is so vague as to have virtually no clear and objective meaning whatsoever. Indigenous peoples are certainly minorities in one sense or another in any country, but this does not say much. In the case of Bolivia, for example, indigenous peoples are in the political and economical minority while they are in the demographic majority.[5]

Indigenous peoples and "traditional." It is necessary to make a distinction between the term "traditional," as used in for example "traditional knowledge" and "traditional culture," and the term "indigenous." Although the concept and idea of the "indigenous" might appear almost impossible to grasp and delineate, it would seem that little purpose is served by generalizing it and making it synonymous with "traditional." [6]

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[5]   Indigenous peoples constitute around 70 percent of the total population in Bolivia, and in a few other countries indigenous peoples are a major part of the total population (cf. Durning 1993: 82).

[6]   The conference "Traditional knowledge and sustainable development" organized by the World Bank in September 1993 might serve as a case in point (World Bank 1994). This conference was organized in connection with the 1993 UN International Year of the World's Indigenous People. The reason that "indigenous" did not appear in the title of the conference, might partly be due to the fact that indigenous issues internally in the Bank are sensitive, especially if connected with human rights. But a possibly more important reason is that the conference focused primarily on Africa, where the idea and concept of the indigenous is especially complicated (see below for more on this). In this situation, rather than confront a sensitive topic, and risk confusing politics with a search for local knowledge that can aid sustainable development, a choice was apparently made to adopt the more

Indigenous peoples and "ethnic group." The former emphasizes the subjective criteria of indigenous people themselves deciding that they are indigenous (see below for more on this). The latter term denotes the objective and "scientific" location and determination of groups of peoples that qualify as indigenous. That is, the universe of ethnic groups denotes the potential universe of indigenous peoples.[7] Another reason for making this distinction lies in the fact that it is still unclear what the term "indigenous peoples" covers, and what is its analytical and operational logic or rationale.

After having expanded upon what the term "indigenous peoples" does not cover, it is time to be more specific about what the term means, or what representative sources claims that it means. A first problem is that the term itself is contested. Although this term has gained wide acceptance on the international level, primarily through its use within the United Nations, several other terms are in use.[8] Second, there is no accepted definition of "indigenous peoples." The multifaceted reality of people living from the Amazon to Papua New Guinea, and from Tierra del Fuego to James Bay is simply daunting. When the term "indigenous people" first attained some semblance of official recognition, things were simpler. The crucial criterion in the Americas was always the preexistence of the Indians, and thus the so-called Cobo-report could put forward a definition that emphasized exactly that aspect (United Nations 1986). This definition was however never accepted as an official definition by the United Nations. The legal aspect of the present situation of indigenous peoples is diverse and complex, and has important implications for how the "indigenous" are defined, specifically in relation to the nation-state. A review of this body of work and its accomplishments does not fall within the framework of this paper.[9] As the indigenous world gradually became more visible in the West and to the outside world more generally, the increasing complexity of the indigenous reality called for new efforts at synthesizing and understanding it. The International Labour Organisation Convention No. 107 from 1957 was revised in the late 1980s, and the new Convention No. 169 was adopted in 1989 (International Labour Organisation 1989). Convention No. 169 puts forward a definition where the situation in which the affected groups live, rather than the fact of historical precedence, determines whether

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neutral term "traditional." On the other hand, this can be seen to follow more or less naturally from the Bank's policy on indigenous peoples, where the main definitional emphasis is placed on lingustics, culture, and subsistence practices, to the virtual exclusion of political and economic factors (World Bank 1991).

[7] Ethnicity and indigenous peoples is given some treatment in Hettne (1994).

[8] The list of alternative terms that have currency in particular parts of the world, or in special languages, include: Aboriginal, fourth world, native people, tribal minority, first nation people, "Urvoelker" (German), and "autochtones" (French).

[9] Possibly the most crucial, as well as complex, legal issue concerns the conflict between the Western individually based property rights and the indigenous collective based rights (cf. e.g. Stavenhagen 1992). Other important and recent contributions in this legal body of work on the relation between indigenous peoples and the nation-state include: Alfredsson and de Zayas (1993), Alfredsson (1993a, 1993b, 1993c), Cycon (1991), Kingsbury (1992), Lam (1992), Muntarbhorn (1989), Nanda (1992), Plant (1992), Roach (1987), and Turpel (1992).

they are covered by the Convention.[10] This definition also adds a new element, and one that has proven very important, in stating that ". . . Self identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply" (International Labour Organisation 1989, cf. also Swepston 1989). Since it is so difficult to define this category, a different approach would seem warranted. In lieu of a definition, a set of criteria can be constructed that, taken together, summarize the essential content of the indigenous. One such set of core elements has been suggested that in all its simplicity seems to grasp much of the indigenous reality (Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues 1987: 6).[11] The core terms are:

(a) Pre-existence (i.e. the population is descendent of those inhabiting an area prior to the arrival of another population);
(b) Non-dominance;
(c) Cultural difference; and
(d) Self-identification as indigenous.[12]

It has been argued that it is not really a problem that we do not have a clear-cut definition of "indigenous peoples," since in the majority of the cases it is not a problem ascertaining who is indigenous – and who is not. I still believe this to be basically true and correct. At this point in time however it would seem correct to advise some caution. As has been observed by many lately, we see today more and more a situation where the indigenous peoples themselves, or at least some of them, are pushing vigorously for acceptance. This is clearly seen at both national and international levels, where indigenous representatives are working hard for increased legal recognition, while for example the social sciences, especially social anthropology, are showing signs of an increasingly critical attitude to the term and reluctance to use it (Hastrup 1993). The developments on the international indigenous scene are picking up pace. What is going on at the United Nations

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[10] Starting around the same time as the ILO Convention No. 169 was being worked out, in many cases inspired by it, there are several efforts to define or delimit the subject matter, geographically and racially, of the category indigenous peoples. Within the category of indigenous peoples themselves, and supported by Western support-NGOs, one strain of this efforts at definition developed that emphasized egality, equality and harmony with the environment. The following definition (actually presented as a set of generalizations) provide an interesting example of this (Beauclerk and Narby 1988: 3-6): (i) Sustainable use of resources, (ii) Land held in common, (iii) Wealth shared equally, (iv) Societies rooted in kinship, and (v) Vulnerability. Another definition emphasizes group-consciousness (United Nations 1986: Ch. V, p. 5; cf. Burger 1987: 8).

[11] An important appeal to applying such a set of core elements, lies in the fact that this opens up the possibility of applying these core elements selectively and with different relatively emphasis, depending on the concrete issue at hand. This might be one avenue to follow in the search for a model of the indigenous that, albeit more complex, is truer to the reality. For another, similarly constructed definition, albeit more complex and with a slightly different emphasis, cf. Burger (1987: 9).

[12] The criterion of self-identification emphasizes the individual, bottom-up approach to defining a belonging to a group, while the ethnicity can be understood as a macro-level, collective phenomenon of group creation and maintenance. Ethnicity thus understood, emphasizes the cultural construction of identity, or self-identification, and has been defined as ". . . the inherent capacity of any human society to create symbolic, linguistic and social codes to bind its members together. It is a system of codes that give meaning, identity and a sense of belongting, creating boundaries that distinguish one group from another . . . ." (Arizpe 1992:6; cf. also Hettne 1994). The two processes are complimentary, they can maybe even be seen as one and the same process operating on different levels: On the macro-level it is a question of construction, integration, and recreation, and on the micro-level the prevalent processes are socialization and recreation.

provide an interesting example. A couple of years back at the annual session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, a story was circulating that representatives of a well-known large ethnic minority group in southern Europe contemplated attending the sessions in the future, eventually to claim status as indigenous. Consider as well the possibility of defining the whole black population on the African continent as indigenous.[13] In the Americas, the situation today also is not any more as clear-cut as it was thought to be. The case of the Chicanos in the US is instructive. For a recent case, consider the uprising in Chiapas where three different and competing indigenous groups: Indians, mestizo (Indian/Spanish) and Spanish / Mexicans, have claims to legitimacy and power over the issues impacting the area.

Whatever strong symbolic sentiments and values the indigenous peoples themselves attach to being indigenous, the indigenous agenda has a strong political motivation. The indigenous cause basically centers on rights to natural resources and some form of internal or local self-management. The hope is that the United Nations Universal Declaration of Indigenous Rights, once adopted, will be a strong instrument that will safeguard the rights and lives of indigenous peoples, and that it accordingly will have important political and economic implications. For the Bank, and for other aid organizations, the label indigenous carries with it a notion of special treatment and consideration for a disadvantaged category. With the Bank's current emphasis on poverty alleviation, especially as combined with sustainable development, the institution has a primary interest in a working definition of indigenous peoples that is (i) clear-cut and operational, and (ii) not as wide and encompassing as to loose its content.

The present map of worldwide ethnic conflict is appalling, and indigenous peoples are involved in several of these conflicts. It would seem that, at least as seen from one angle, the pervasive nature and popularity of the indigenous category so far has not been of much help in safeguarding indigenous peoples or preventing ethnic strife and conflict. The term indigenous is obviously a very contentious issue, and this will likely continue. Why is this so? I propose that the major reason for this is that the concept and idea of the indigenous is a colonial invention. Created in the meeting between European colonial regimes and the peoples encountered down yonder, this and related terms (in Africa, for example, it was the term "tribe") served the purpose of dividing up humanity for whatever purpose was at hand, be it economic, political, cultural, or legal. The decolonization period did not put an end

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[13] For some years, the black population in South Africa has been considered indigenous by at least one European NGO that follows these developments, namely the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA). The American NGO Cultural Survival would seem to imply that at least a substantial part of Africa's population are to be considered as indigenous (cf. Cultural Survival 1993). According to Hitchcock (1994) there are 2,000 indigenous peoples in Africa totalling 50 million persons (cf. Table 2).

to this. The emerging nation-states in most cases continued the same approach and process of human categorization, in some cases under the guise of internal colonization.[14/] Today, the conflicting role and existence of the nation-state in the Third World perpetrates the notion of the indigenous in a top-down approach, and it has become part and parcel of the whole idea of nation-building.[15/]

The question we have to ask ourselves is whether this search for definition of what the indigenous is, and who the indigenous peoples are, makes sense? Are we doing this simply because we do not see any other line of approach that makes more sense? Could it be that a more radical approach would be to jump off this bandwagon, and accept that "indigenous" is dynamic and forever changing? A preliminary conclusion would have to be that the term "indigenous" in this paper will be used in a relatively vague and general sense. The emphasis will be less on defining indigenous peoples than on identifying them. I will return to this issue in the concluding part of the paper.

Based on this less stringent use of the term, it would at this point seem appropriate to provide some figures on the number of indigenous peoples worldwide. I have on an earlier occasion tried to outline a number of indigenous regions, basically for purposes of demographic analysis (Soeftestad 1988: 165). These data, suitably updated and revised, are presented elsewhere (see Appendix 2). According to these somewhat conservative estimates, there are around 260 million indigenous persons globally. Of more immediate interest maybe, is the number of indigenous persons in the various regions recognized by the Bank (see Table 2). This table shows a total of more than 230 million indigenous persons, of which more than 60 percent lives in EAP/SAS regions, around 20 percent in countries in the MNA/ECA regions, around 15 percent in the LAC region, and less than 5 percent in the AFR region.[16/]

[14/] I am forever grateful to C. Patrick Morris, fellow comrade in the international indigenous advocacy trenches for years, for sharing this argument with me.

[15/] The uneasy relationship, in some cases indeed an inherent contradiction, between the levels of indigenous peoples and the nation-state thus becomes clear. As an example, it has been argued that a phenomenon like nationalism, so much a core characteristic of the Western ethos and a conceptualization of the nation-state - itself a Western "invention," is not possible in certain indigenous social systems, such as foraging cultures. The reason for this is that their system of internal organization prohibits the division of labor that would be necessary for the formation of a specialized state (Gellner 1983).

[16/] The figure for LAC is consistent with that given in Psacharopolous and Patrinos (1994). This is the only effort by the Bank so far at researching the demography of indigenous peoples in the Bank's various regions of operation. In the case of AFR (which does not include northern and western Africa), I am leaning toward a narrow definition (cf. footnote 13).

Table 2: Number of indigenous persons
in the World Bank's regions of operation

Region	Population
AFR	9
EAP	93
MNA	14
LAC	34
ECA	32
SAS	51

Source: Appendix 2.

Notes: (1) population figures are given in millions.
Several of the figures are conservative estimates,
and (2) The number of indigenous persons reported
here is obviously lower than the total number of
indigenous persons in the world, since the World
Bank's regions of operation does not cover the
whole world.

3. The indigenous and the community

Some of the questions asked in this part are: (i) what is a "community" and what is an "indigenous community?" (ii) what separates an indigenous community from other communities? and (iii) why should we focus on the level of the community?

An intuitive, but by no means uncomplicated, understanding of "community" is that it is the same as a "village." There are basically four ways of conceptualizing such village communities. These approaches are closely related and even complementary. Each of them emphasize different factors, relationships, and processes, and this have important implications for our understanding of the community in question, and for how we approach the issue of participatory development as well as its costs and benefits.

The four approaches are: (i) Ecology – which ecosystem(s) is utilized, including for example upland, lowland, and coastal, (ii) Livelihood – the prevalent subsistence orientation, including for example swidden cultivation, pastoralism, hunting and gathering, farming, and fishing (cf. para 4.1.b), (iii) Community ethos – the approach to the outside, including basically whether it is closed or open.[17] This is not a question of either-or, but of a more or less critical attitude to the outside and to outsiders, and having a more or less clear idea about what they want – and not want,[18] and (iv) Socio-political organization – including for example band, tribe, chieftainship, and caste occupation.

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[17] The Latin American closed, corporate community argument may provide an example of the former approach. This model, as put forward notably by Robert Redfield and George H. Foster, focused on peasant and indigenous peoples. However, the model is criticized for being an "ideal typical construct" in the sense that it does not take into consideration integration and relations to other existing societal levels and spheres, and in this sense does not really exist.

[18] This is further discussed in para 3.4 below (cf. also the discussion in para 3.3 of the nation-state as a level of community).

I have chosen not to try and analyze the term community along the three former lines (beyond discussing them in general terms a few places). In the case of the livelihood approach, this is used as a second order causal argument (cf. para 4.1). The community ethos argument is used in the discussion of community features (cf. para 3.4). There is so much variation as well as intricate and synergetic relationships between even two basic variables like for example culture and subsistence pattern, that it would seem almost impossible to come up with some kind of typology or model that have even the faintest resemblance to reality, and thus some powers of predictability. Alternatively, I have decided to expand upon the socio-political organization approach, and focus primarily on political aspects and relationships, as traditionally given and as presently molded in interaction with surrounding majority cultures, as the world's indigenous cultures gradually become incorporated in and engulfed by the internationalization of the capitalist system. This fourth approach has however been given a special twist and interpretation.

The paper will present and discuss a typology of communities. Separating out and discussing a community apart from its natural and social environment amounts to a gross distortion of the reality. No type of community is wholly separate from other communities, and furthermore exists in itself and for itself.

3.1 The concept "community"

The questions to be answered here are: What is a community? How is it understood in the literature?[19] I will give a general, cross-cultural view of the community, various types of communities will be discussed (see paras 3.2-3). The focus will be on the concept's relevance for development planning more generally, and for planning, implementing and sustaining participatory development more specifically.

The assumption underlying this discussion is that the term "community" refers to people, locality, a way of life, a belief system, and a relationship with the land and ecological systems within which an indigenous group lives. Such an understanding of "community" acknowledges the holistic reality of political, social, economic, and ecological lives of people who have close ties with the land/environment where they live.

As a first approximation, community can be understood as ". . . the means by which people live together" (Moore 1989: 352). More generally speaking, "Community is where community happens" (Buber 1965, as quoted in Moore 1989:

19/   Much of the literature on the community is Western based and oriented. It reflects the need for searching for alternatives in the face of dissolving families and kinship structures and a gradual breaking-up of the nation-state as points of reference. The emphasis is often on creating – or recreating – community-based approaches to living together. This literature is thus not necessarily very useful toward analyzing and understanding communities in a typical rural Third World setting.

352). This points to the essential need for persons to live together: namely sharing work, responsibilities, and the daily chores of making a living.

Following the above, some emphasis will be given to the practical reasons for, as well as the concrete advantages of, living together. This means emphasizing culture and economy, pointing toward a voluntaristic aspect of why individuals decide to form such groups, as well as maintain them.[20] Of lesser importance are political and religious aspects. This approach to communities fits with the aims of understanding the participatory aspects of development initiatives involving indigenous peoples (as well as other local populations to be affected by project activities).

Channeled by cultural constraints and incentives, members of a community exploit a given set of natural resources, often in a cooperative way. The products of their labor are often shared between members. A common language facilitates communication, and culturally-based intellectual, moral and social values give purpose to the quest for survival, and furthermore establish and maintain a group identity, define roles, and create links of solidarity. Community members agree on some permanent membership status, understand and accept the social boundaries within which the can operate, and agree on mechanisms for solving conflicts.

The above implies that community and community-membership is a two-way relation. That is, it is a relation between the individual on the one hand, and a group or collective on the other hand. The individual gives commitment to the collective, while the community provides belonging, recognition and acceptance to the individual. These relationships are reciprocal and mutually reinforcing. Communal membership is manifest on several levels, including both emotional and physical investment and returns. According to Moore, "Community is the context in which the person is viewed as complete" (1991: 353).

The above understanding of what a community is may make a lot of sense. This does however not go to say that it is not controversial. For example, let us look at the concept "village." For most of us, there is probably a very high correlation between "community" and "village," irrespective of culture and location. The reason for this is most likely to be found in the fact that the English word "village" (and identical terms in some other European languages), express the continental European indigenous community – typified in the popular medieval image of a number of farmhouses huddled together under the local castle. The colonial powers "exported," as it were, their conceptualization of a typical rural community, and they gave it a name.

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[20] This is not to deny the obvious fact that individuals are born and socialized into a culture, and the obvious implications of this for channeling and determining later choice behavior.

There are two major flaws with this approach. First, the belief that communities are characterized by a number of persons living close together in space (the general model is one were a number of families would live in the center of land they control or have access to and work the surrounding fields), and second, as a consequence, it was very clear who was a member of the community – and who was not. The typical Third World village community became imbued with Western notions about how it was demarcated, constituted, and structured; together with criteria for membership (basically inclusion vs. exclusion). As a result, traditional indigenous communities were divided or coalesced according to imposed values and rules.

This geographic as well as closed spatial emphasis on what constitutes a village / community was made with reference to traditional agricultural modes of production. This argument is flawed for these types of collectives. It is outright wrong in the case of other non-Western modes of production, including for example slash and burn, hunting and gathering, and pastoralism. "Village" is a very narrow culturally specific approach to what a community is; it can in fact be termed an ethnocentric concept.

In order to make the concept "community" more cross-culturally relevant, it is advisable to replace the criteria of geography and physical space, and instead emphasize social relations. "Community" is basically an exercise in human social relations, whereas "village" implies first a spatial, geographical phenomenon, and second, if at all, a social agenda.

Historically speaking, the decolonization period provided a major impetus for focusing on the local community in the emerging Third World nation-states. The goal was to try and understand the relation between the local micro-level and the new nation-state macro-level.[21] The interest in studying the relations between the micro level and the macro level is that decisions in most cases are made at the macro level while implementation is done at lower levels. When decisions made on the top filters down to the micro level, basically two different things can happen. Either the micro level alters the decision from the top, or the decision is implemented as it is.

Following Fallers (1974), it is possible to distinguish two separate lines of development towards a position for understanding the working of the nation-state. Within the comparative macro-sociological tradition there was an early emphasis on understanding the so-called "great transformation" of the Western societies. This large-scale synthetic work came together in the works of Durkheim, Pareto, and Weber, and centered on the problem of understanding how custom and tradition

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[21] The following argument is partly based on my paper "Anthropology of the nation-state: The case of Bangladesh," written at Dept. of Anthropology at University of California Los Angeles (UCLA in 1980.

could remain in cultures where secularization and a loosening of the bonds of custom and tradition seemingly had destroyed the order of things that existed previously. The parallel development within anthropology took another turn, partly because anthropology was concerned with a different reality that required different means and methods for understanding it. Thus, " . . . while comparative macro sociologists were achieving a new synthesis for the conceptualization of contemporary national societies, anthropologists were busy inventing, codifying, and institutionalizing the fieldworker's craft" (Fallers 1974: 16).

The theoretical understanding of the nation-state in the third World within political science and sociology are largely based on developments within comparative macro sociology. This is basically the view from the top, with an emphasis on structure, and the building of systems from aggregates of small groups.

The anthropological point of view is different. It focuses on the micro-level, on individuals and the communities in which they live, and it stresses strategy and process instead of structure. There is nonetheless and increasing understanding that also the macro sociological point of view is relevant, that in fact a complementary and dialectical relationship between them is necessary in order to make any progress in understanding the Third World communities as well as the nation-state in which they are embedded.

Within this context, Geertz (1963) analyzed Third World nation-states, whether originating in colonialist societies, decaying states or tribal societies, as being built upon specific primordial sentiments and civil ties. These two types of cultural relationships are found on the micro level and the macro level respectively. Fallers argued that "The several microcosms inhabited by a person together make up his round of everyday life and provide the background against which he acts, or is acted upon, as a citizen of the nation-state" (1974: 13). Following Weber, whom he regarded as providing the conceptual tools and theories for integrating the comparative macro sociological perspective and the anthropological perspective, Fallers proposed that the difference between primordial sentiments and civil ties corresponds to the difference between traditional and rational basis for authority. Milton Singer and Robert Redfield developed a general model for analyzing the relationship between "great traditions" and "little traditions," and Marriott (1955) applied this to India.

While focusing on the local community as a means toward understanding the workings of the Third World nation-state, these theorists nonetheless greatly advanced our understanding of the characteristics and complexity of organizational forms on this local level. Recent experiences suggest however that the integrative force of the Third World nation-state is by far as strong as they assumed. The

increasing degrees of freedom experienced by the micro level may or may not bode well for the implementation of participatory strategies within a development context.

Now to come to views on the entity community more specifically, first within social science and then within the community development tradition. The term "community" has many different meanings in social science literature. A 1955 survey of usages of the term by social scientists came up with 94 varied definitions, and presumably a number have emerged since (Hillery 1955). This paper will not attempt to catalog the subtle nuances which slightly differentiate one social science interpretation of community from another. Rather, the focus here is on general distinctions made between notions of community, and on the relevance of these different concepts to the creation of an enabling environment for indigenous communities which are involved in development initiatives.

Treatises on community discuss the variability of structures of types of communities such as extended family, political or professional communities, and of multiple functions of communities such as economic, government, social support, and disciplinary. Generally, definitions of community differ according to whether the term is meant to denote a social unit (a type of collectivity), a sentiment (a type of social relationship), or a locality (a venue of social organization).

The following definition incorporates elements of the community as locality, social unit and sentiment. In contrast to its surroundings, a community is distinguished as ". . . a subgroup occupying a territory, less self-sufficient than a society, with closer associations and with deeper sympathy" (Reading 1978: 41). Further definitions provide for the presence of one, two or all of these elements (cf. Peterson and Peterson 1986: 167; Borgatta and Borgatta 1992). Moore's (1991) conceptual definition of community as ". . . the means by which people live together" has been mentioned earlier. This definition highlights functions of community as it enables people to protect themselves, and to acquire resources (intellectual, social, economic, political) that provide for their needs and ensure their survival. According to this definition, members of a community share an identity, a common language, agreed upon role definitions, common values, membership status and an understanding of social boundaries.

Several lines of argument have been used in social science literature to draw out distinctions between notions of community. One distinguishes between communities which are territorially-based and those which are not. It is argued, however, that as communications become more accessible locality is not a necessary element of community. Distinctions are also made between formal organizations (such as professional associations) which have specific goals and communal organizations which have diffuse goals. In communal organizations, the variety and

number of roles that people play is increased, and more flexible group boundaries are required; a community is said to fit into this category (as do families, ethnic groups, neighborhoods) (Kuper and Kuper 1989).

In the context of indigenous peoples who face development projects which take place within the nation-state in which they reside, community as sentiment – the social relationship that is based on their being recognized as indigenous peoples distinct from other citizens of the same nation-state – may be precisely the binding tie which would elicit participation as a group in development initiatives.

The literature on community development provides definitions of community as well. The crucial relationship between the community and the nation-state, led Smith to differ between primary (strong and primitive) communities and secondary communities. The nation-state, as the secondary community, is a ". . . superstructure of ideas and ideals, of common aspirations . . . which binds the primary community into a larger national community. The symbols of the secondary community are crude and highly simplified summaries of those of the primary communities, for the life of the primary community is concrete while that of the secondary community is abstract; it is from the primary communities that the secondary communities draw their life and meaning" (1989: 28). Reviewing the literature, Christenson and Robinson suggest four main components for defining the concept of community: (i) a community involves people, (ii) place or territory (some authors argue that place is gradually being replaced by networks), (iii) social interaction (points to the potential for community action), and (iv) psychological identification (1989: 6-8; cf. Hillery 1955, Willis 1977). They define community as ". . . people that live within a geographically bounded area that are involved in social interaction and have one or more psychological ties with each other and with the place that they live" (1989: 9). In this context, community development is understood to be " . . . a group of people in a locality initiating a social action process (i.e. planned intervention) to change their economic, social, cultural, and/or environmental situation" (1989: 14).

Finally, regardless of whether community is understood as a functioning entity which changes over time, as a combination of sentiment, locality and social unit, or as a conceptual process, it is important to dispel connotations of total harmony and unanimity of communities. Relationships of dominance and dependence exist in communities as they do in all human organizations. These relationships need be understood by development planners (Burkey 1993).

In the following, this understanding of what a community is will be developed along a micro-macro axis. As will be clear, "community" as presented above is identical with the lowest level in the model to be proposed.

3.2 On "indigenous community"

In this and the following part, a typology of various types of indigenous communities will be presented. Initially (i.e. in the present para 3.2), an indigenous community will be understood as referring to both a geographically identifiable unit where people live, as well as a culture. "Community" will accordingly be understood as a concrete and real micro-level entity (i.e. a village), as well as an abstract, macro-level entity (i.e. a culture or an indigenous people – also called "nation") (see Figure 1).[22]

Both "culture" and village are closely interrelated, specifically from the point of view of a position inside the culture in question. However, for analytical purposes they can be viewed as separate.

The village level. The basis for the distinction of the lowest level of community, the village, will be culture. An indigenous village can partly be viewed as a group of residences located in relatively close proximity to each other, on a seasonal or a more permanent basis.[23] Irrespective of whether the village is permanent or only has a seasonal existence, the defining features on the "village-level" are not to be found in space, but in the quality and quantity of interaction between the persons living within this community. We should accordingly not so much look for a village's physical characteristics or manifestations, but what the inhabitants themselves conceptualize as a village (cf. para 3.1). As will be apparent, on this level the form of subsistence-orientation is relevant for participatory work.

The proposed typology of indigenous communities focuses on communities segregated along a <u>vertical</u> axis, beginning with the indigenous village. Ecological literature stresses the vertical interdependence between levels of a biophysical system. Ecological writing within anthropology has expanded these vertical relationships to also include social, economic, and political sub-systems – paralleling the present effort. Furthermore, the <u>horizontal</u> integration between sub-systems on the same levels, specifically the village-level, is explored.[24]

The indigenous people level. This level is already described (see para 2). The totality of villages populated by members of one indigenous culture, constitute this as an indigenous people (as will be apparent, the sum is more than the parts). Various

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[22]   For lack of a better term (and possibly in contradiction to my earlier argument), the term "village" will be used to characterize the lowest community level.

[23]   As argued above, the term "village" has clear limitations, in that it implies a more or less sedentary agricultural mode of production. In the case of modes of production that throughout the annual cycle is dependent upon erratic or regular movements through a larger territory, "the village," conceptualized primarily as a spacial phenomenon, has limited usefulness. Furthermore, some peoples considered to be indigenous by themselves or others, never live together in "villages," or do so only a short period each year.

[24]   In the same scientific tradition are found efforts to understand indigenous rationality in their relation with their environment, a first step toward understanding and recognizing the legitimacy of indigenous knowledge (Butz, Lonergan and Smit 1991: 153). A further and crucial step is indigenous peoples themselves exploring and asserting their rights to their own cultural knowledge (Greaves 1994).

forms of subsistence-orientation are found also on this level, and constitute also here an important variable for participatory work.

So far I have dealt with the traditional understanding of what the indigenous constitute. The above two levels present the traditional understanding of "indigenous community," and can to some extent be labeled an emic – or inside – perspective. The situation today is more complex, and the model has to be extended vertically upwards as presented and argued in the following part. Depending on the indigenous culture in question, the typology presented below will be more or less clearly separate from the indigenous reality, and will in many cases still today have to be characterized as an etic – or outside – perspective.

3.3 Types of communities

Today, the traditional schema as outlined in para 3.2 in the case of many indigenous peoples do not hold anymore. Indigenous peoples are integrated into nation-states, their members are educated, they have contact with their own people in neighboring countries and on other continents, in short, they know about the outside world and understand how global events also affect them. With knowledge comes the interest and will to participate, and not passively receive anything that might come their way.

This para present a modern and expanded understanding of "indigenous community." It involves an effort to describe a typology of communities, and it will be interesting at this point to see a visual presentation of this community typology (see Figure 1). The indigenous communities presented in this figure are organized according to their values on two variables, namely complexity and space. The types of communities can be described according to a scale which measures the geographical and institutional scale or scope of each community level. The linear relationship and positive orientation must not be misunderstood. This is clearly not a case of an implied evolutionary relationship, a take-off. The movement is not a development from one level in the direction of the following, leaving the previous levels behind. Rather, it is a process of gradual incorporation, where the movement, in fact the extension, to the level above, builds upon and incorporates all levels below.

The additional list of meanings of the concept "community" presented is (in addition to the village level and the nation-state level): (iii) nation-state, (iv) territory, (v) region, and (vi) the world (cf. Figure 1). As will be understood, the focus here is on organizational, structural, and political factors. The enormous variation that exists within the two lowest of the community-levels, namely village and indigenous people, and the implications thereof, are discussed more detailed below (cf. para 4; cf. also para 3.0).

Figure 1: Typology of indigenous communities

Complexity

Space
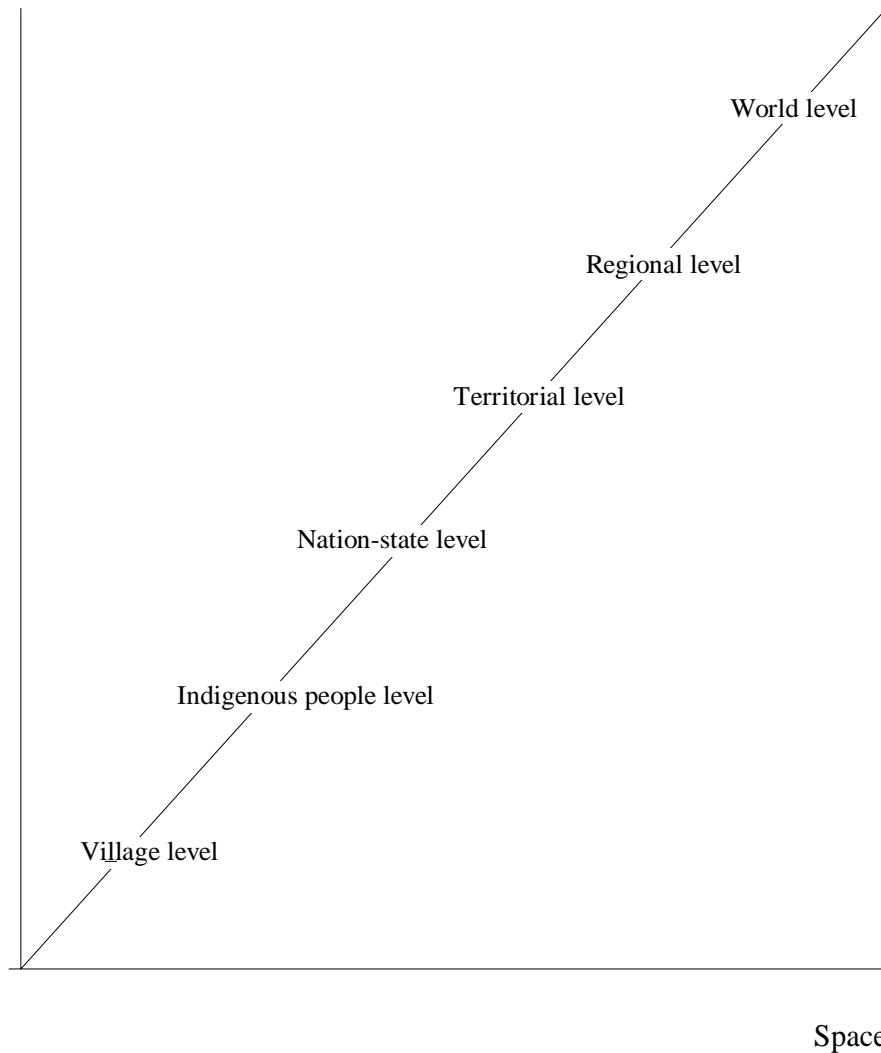
The nation-state level. The nation-state is a relatively new, ill-defined entity superimposed upon the traditional levels. For this reason it belongs both in the macro- and micro-analytical levels (cf. Table 1, and para 3.4). Given the all-encompassing role that the nation-state has attained in the post-colonial world as a means of governing and integrating the populace of any given area, this level is, and will continue to be, of major importance for indigenous peoples. This is in spite of the fact that more and more nation-states are becoming weaker and are less able to carry out the tasks they have taken on. That this is not necessarily a blessing is shown by the recent increase in civil strife around the world, in several cases involving indigenous peoples. East-Africa is a good example. Here, the age-old

conflict between pastoralists and farmers recently has taken a serious turn with the harsh conflict between the Masaai and the Kikuyu in Kenya, signaling what some believe might be a return to the confrontational politics of *sungusungu* in Tanzania in the 1980s. The recent tribal conflicts between Hutu and Tutsu in Rwanda dwarf most earlier tribal conflicts in Africa.

The relationship between the level of indigenous peoples and the nation-state level is, according to various attempts at defining indigenous peoples (cf. para 2), characterized by three types of distances: territorial distance, institutional distance, and a difference in subjective identification (Burger 1990, United Nations 1986; cf. also Lam 1992).

The indigenous agenda today, as situated in the dichotomy between the local and the nation-state levels, is marked by a certain paradox, as witnessed by the legacy of colonial imposed structures and change on the one hand, and the need of indigenous peoples to return to – sometimes even invent – a claim to stability and change (Hastrup 1993).

The territorial level. The territorial level is traditional in the sense that it comprises the area within which two or more indigenous peoples traditionally have coexisted, be it peacefully or not. It refers to indigenous peoples' association with, and sharing of, the natural resource base. The indigenous peoples in question usually occupied different ecological niches, and forms of cooperation include for example trading (cf. para 4.1).

Just like the nation-state cut across and divides indigenous peoples' lands, it divides up traditional, indigenous territorial areas. A weakening of the nation-state may lead to a reasserting of traditional territorially defined forms of cooperation or coexistence – or alternatively lead to the development of new territorial forms.

The regional level. This level is more recent part of indigenous peoples' identity villages and indigenous peoples, living in different nation-states, begin to work together and gradually also engage in legal and contractual matters with nation-states.

My interest in this level began some years back when I made an effort to delineate what I referred to as "indigenous regions" (Soeftestad 1988). I recognized two levels of regions. The primary level corresponded more or less to the traditional continents. Within each region I defined one or more sub-regions.[25] The indigenous peoples living in such a region have something in common, be it history, culture, language, colonial power, ecology, or subsistence adaptation, which accordingly separate them from neighboring regions. For the most part, this was not an especially complicated task. With the exception of some places in Africa and Asia, most of the

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[25] In the following, these sub-regions will be refered to simply as regions (cf. also Note 3 in Table 1 above).

regions are relatively easy to identify based on among other factors geography and topography (cf. Appendix 2). The indigenous regions are however not an outsider category. Today they are increasingly recognized by indigenous peoples, in a certain sense as an extension of the nation-state, as important especially for organizing purposes. Examples of this include: (i) The Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) covers the Arctic region, (ii) The International Rainforest Alliance operates in most areas where there are rain forests, but has a particular strong base in Mainland Southeast Asia and Peninsular Southeast Asia, and (iii) The World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) is a coalition of indigenous organizations in parts of the Americas, Arctic, Australia, and New Zealand, in addition to more sporadic membership.

In terms of number of indigenous peoples, there are so far very few cases where indigenous peoples operate on or above the regional level. This will however very likely change fast. Examples are: Inuit, Saami (see Case 1: International relations), various North, South American, and Central American Indians, and some groups in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific.

The world level. A global indigenous community is emerging by virtue of the many indigenous persons that since the early 1980s have been active in international human rights and environmental policy-making, especially in UN and ILO.

I anticipate that this level is going to become increasingly important. This is, first, because politically and organizationally speaking, organizing efforts on the region-level has not attained much importance so far. It may simply be bypassed. Second, because there are organizations that are crosscutting the regional level. The best example is the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) with various locally based semi-autonomous bodies covering several regions or parts of regions. Third, through the annual sessions of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (the importance of this special-purpose UN Working Group will only increase as the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is working its way toward adoption by the General Assembly). Fourth, and most important, because of the crucial and focal importance of the United Nations in this whole process. Examples include: (i) the 1993 Year of the indigenous peoples, (ii) the decade of indigenous peoples to be declared during the 1994 session of the General Assembly, (iii) the special office on indigenous peoples proposed to be established within the Center for Human Rights, and (iv) the importance of the UN Goodwill Ambassador Rigoberta Menchu Titu.

It would be wrong to conceptualize this final level and its importance as in any way centralized, as the pinnacle of indigenous power. It is better understood as a moral imperative, underlined by the draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous

Peoples, and as a point of reference for indigenous people, nation-states, and various development agencies.

Case 1: Saami international relations

The Saami in northern Scandinavia have been active politically for a long time, both in relation to the Scandinavian nation-states as well as internationally. The ethnopolitical activities that Saami are involved are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Ethnopolitical activities of the Saami

Ethnopolitical development	Ethnopolitical level	Core activities
↑	4. World level	Participation in the World Council of indigenous Peoples, which has consultative status with UN ECOSOC
	3. Regional level	(i) Close relations with Inuit Circumpolar Conference that cover the indigenous region Arctic, (ii) The Nordic Saami Council works with the Scandinavian countries and the Nordic Council
	2. Nation-state level	E.g. Norway: The Norwegian Saami Parliament represents Saami vs. the Norwegian Government
	1. Indigenous people level	E.g. Norway: Various Saami political parties (NRL, NSL and SLF)

Source: Adapted from Soeftestad (1988: 172).

Notes: (1) the table implies a movement upwards, accompanied by increasing rights and obligations, and (2) Saamiland covers parts of Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia. The abbreviations NRL, NSL, and SLF refer to Saami political parties with different agendas.

Conclusions on levels. The issue of participation and indigenous peoples has to be analyzed on four of these levels, namely village, people, region, and world (to some extent also on the territorial level). Given that the character of each of these levels is very different, the type of participation-relevant considerations that have to be made, will be very different, and will range from present-day direct involvement on the lower levels to an increasing emphasis on more abstract and political involvement with representative indigenous NGOs on the higher levels. The latter will not be considered in this paper.

The nation-state is part of a different structure. Its relationship to the various levels of indigenous communities might vary. For example, a village, a people, or a region might fall within the boundaries of one nation-state or several nation-states. The Global community of indigenous peoples is more of a community whose concerns are of global import – without regard to national, state, or any government boundaries. But the nation-state must interact with the various levels of indigenous

communities if the needs and aspirations of indigenous communities are to be considered in development plans.

3.4 Features of communities

In the following, typical features of indigenous communities of relevance to participatory development will be described (see Table 1). The following levels of indigenous communities will be discussed: (i) village, (ii) people, (iii) territory, and (iv) to some extent the nation-state. While the features mentioned in most cases are located on the first two levels, specifically the village level, the latter two levels also have to be taken into consideration in implementing participatory development.

The features discussed obviously do not all apply to one and the same community. The features reflect differences in culture, history, subsistence basis, and political structure, and most of all the fact of a widely differential integration in the larger society.

In the paper "Indigenous Organization" (Talle 1994) the principal emphasis is on organizational forms on the village level. Since it is here that there is most overlap between these two papers, several of the features will be treated lightly. In this connection a differentiation is made between micro-level features and features operating on the macro-level (the latter in a relative sense). The former are the concern of the paper "Indigenous Organization," while this paper primarily deals with the latter.

Micro-level features. These features include, among others: (i) social organization, (ii) community sub-units (divided along e.g. geographic, religious, occupational, and most importantly kinship lines), (iii) community structure and function, (iv) patterns of interaction with a community (who is doing what, why, when, where and with/against whom), and (v) community cohesion.

Macro-level features. Two major such macro-level features are identified, namely (i) social change, and (ii) degree of dependence on the outside.

Social change. In the indigenous world today, everything changes and develops; even the rate of change is increasing. This is in itself a typical feature. Some of the selected features are to some extent artificial in that they presuppose that their overt expression is tangible enough to be described in detail and determined. The processual aspects of the features operating on the lower indigenous community levels should not be underestimated.

This is partly a question of culture, as the basis of change (cf. para 4.1). But it is also partly a question of human behavior leading to, or itself being a result of change. We are here partly talking about change initiated from the outside, and partly

about internally initiated change (as in so-called "culture brokers"). In both cases it is a question of actions, based in the local or the wider culture.

"Culture brokers" function as mediators, between internal organizational units or factions within a village, as well as between the village and the outside. From one point of view they mediate between the local and the outside in order to realize local aspirations and ideas about development. From another point of view, they contribute to the acculturation of the local culture, and its integration in a wider and more encompassing frame of reference.

Degree of dependence on the outside. The importance of this argument lies foremost in the vertical relation between the traditional village community and the nation-state. More specifically, I am concerned with the connection between modern society and its capitalist relations of production, and the indigenous community with its still essential pre-capitalist mode of production. It is important to realize that we are talking about a continuum starting from an autarkic or closed community and moving towards increasing degrees of integration and dependence on the outside (cf. the discussion of the nation-state in para 3.3).[26]

4. Structural and processual factors

The factors discussed are of a crosscutting and cross-cultural nature. They are of two types, namely what I will refer to as internal, absolute factors on the one hand, and external, relative factors on the other hand.[27] As will be clear, the absolute factors predates the relative factors. The latter are based upon, and relative to, the former. They are also relative to a concrete issue in the sense that their actual content is determined initially by the situation at hand.

While the typical "features" operate on the lower community levels (cf. para 3.4; and also Table 1), the structural and processual factors operate on all community-levels, and are even to some extent independent of this typology.

4.1 Absolute factors

Absolute factors include variations in the indigenous world and natural environment. These factors are absolute in the sense that they ideally should be accepted as such. Absolute factors can be understood as independent variables.

The absolute factors focus on the low end of the community continuum, on indigenous peoples, their villages and their cultures. They aim at defining and

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[26] Cf. the argument on the Latin American closed corporate community in Footnote 17.

[27] Cf. the relationship between factors and features, as presented in Table 1.

outlining a set of crucial factors that together constitute an acceptable safeguard against acculturation. Cross-culturally constituted (and accordingly general in their lack of detail), these factors make up the a priori determined levels of cultural and economic activities and aim-oriented behavior – a kind of cultural and human rights standard. The absolute factors are: (i) natural environment, (ii) subsistence adaptation, (iii) social environment, and (iv) culture.

Natural environment. Natural environment as used here in the sense of being opposed to the social environment. Without being misunderstood for implying either a deterministic or a possibilistic argument, it can be argued that the existing type of natural environment, including the types, location, availability throughout the annual cycle, and amount of natural resources, to a large extent determines as well as limits the exploitative activities possible. (The natural environment also has a crucial influence on culture more generally.)

Subsistence adaptation. Subsistence orientation, or the ways and means of making a living, takes the natural environment as point of departure. A general typology of such subsistence activities include (i) hunting and gathering, (ii) slash and burn (swidden), (iii) horticulture, (iv) nomadism, (v) fishing, (vi) farming, and (vii) market (cf. para 3.0 above).

These types can also be related to the major ecosystems, including upland, lowland, and coastal, and also to the prevalent forms of social organization for productive purposes, including band, tribe, chieftainship and caste organization.

Exploitation and management of natural resources are prescribed by interaction between the absolute factors, and will often include features like common property management, stewardship, and collective rights to land and other resources.

Social environment. Emphasize any neighbors or a particular selected indigenous people. Any relationships between these people, including trading and political alliances, should be taken into consideration.

Cf. the argument presented earlier regarding the importance of "territory" as a community level. The term "territory" as I use it, cover relations between neighboring people, comprising for example trade and political alliances (or lack of them) (cf. para 3.3). Adjudication procedures in the case of conflicts, internally or between neighboring indigenous peoples, are also found here.

Culture. There are several unique and cross-culturally valid aspects of indigenous cultures that could be mentioned here.[28] Let me point only towards the differences between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous peoples when it comes to: (i) time-reckoning, and (ii) concept of change. Time-reckoning among indigenous

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[28] That indigenous peoples are internally differentiated, can of course be seen as a bit of a nuisance that one would have liked to sweep under the rug. On the other hand there is no obvious contradiction here.

cultures is often circular as opposed to the linear progression of time found in the West. Given a circular conception of time-reckoning, a concept of change as we know it does not exist in traditional indigenous cultures. If it does, it works infinitesimally slower than ours.

4.2 Relative factors

The relative factors are relative to other, outside entities, and this will in most cases be the nation-state. From the point of view of the indigenous peoples, the relative factors build upon the absolute factors. The final outcome, or the emphasis placed on them, results from interaction with the nation-state in question. Relative factors are in some sense subjective, and in their most crude form dichotomized. The outcome of the choice process is value based. Relative factors can be understood as dependent variables.

The crucial relative factors focus around natural resource use as well as the control over these resources. In order to appreciate these, there are three important points of view, or preconditions for approaching them, as it were. They deal with, first, the interest indigenous might have in being involved in any development at all, second, the problems we as outsiders have in communicating with indigenous peoples, and third, indigenous aspirations.

Degree of integration/assimilation. In some cases, indigenous peoples have little interest in "development" or "progress" as defined by the outside world. At the very minimum they would like to have control themselves over the specific content of any development initiatives. The basic premise is that if left alone, many indigenous peoples would be able to take care of themselves. The idea of the state as <u>provider</u> should come into play only after consent is given.

Ability to understand us, and vice versa. This is only in a limited and initial sense a question of speaking the same language, or any lingua franca. At stake is the ability and security with which we feel we can "translate" the other and largely unknown culture, as well as vice versa.[29]

Aspirations. What do indigenous peoples want? What is indigenous development? What is their perception of the "good life"? While clear answers to such questions may be difficult to get, we should encounter indigenous peoples with the a priori idea that they do know what they want from outsiders.

This factor is complicated, since "aspirations" are not given and static. Aspirations are, first, initially channeled and influenced by whichever larger society or culture the indigenous people in question become integrated in to a smaller or

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[29] Cf. the emphasis on using the native tongue in the paper on "Indigenous peoples" in the Participation Sourcebook.

larger extent, and second, based upon this, some (but unfortunately very few) indigenous cultures are able to come in a position where they recognize what is useful in the larger culture, and what is unacceptable. Invariably, there will be differences between their view of prosperity, advancement, and the good life, and what we, the outsiders, think is good for them.

The environment and resource control. The right to land and other natural resources (incl. water) is an economic right. In indigenous cultures, different types of rights are vested not in individuals, but in groups constituted along various lines. This fundamental difference has to be taken into consideration when planning and implementing participatory strategies (cf. Soeftestad 1991: 376). Furthermore, the crucial importance of the environment for indigenous peoples, not only as a source of natural resources to be exploited, lies in its close relation with the culture – as witnessed for example in the role the environment plays in religion.

There is to a large extent agreement among indigenous peoples as to types of resources and the level of control over them that is necessary. While the nation-states as a rule do not agree do indigenous demands for resource control, they put less emphasis on this compared with the extremely sensitive issue of a sharing of domestic political control.

The nation-state and political control. Political rights, as for example in self-determination, are closely connected with resource access and control. Political rights provide the means with which the future use of natural resources is ascertained. It deals with the way and means of apportioning and decentralizing domestic political control, and primarily over any natural resources that the nation-state may grant indigenous peoples control (or at least some level of influence) over. Many indigenous peoples today are not interested in sovereignty, but some form of internal autonomy in cultural, economic, educational, political, and social matters. Self-determination requests are often met with arguments from states that "peoples" are not a recognizable administrative and legal unit within the nation-state or in the international legal arena (cf. Lam 1992, Nanda 1992, Turpel 1992). Like all legal concepts, however, the idea of self-determination is not static. It is evolving and being transformed in a reflection of societal developments (Morris 1993).

The issue of a sharing of domestic control is extremely touchy. The UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples presents much more radical views on this then will be advocated here. On the other hand, it is unfortunately very likely that the Draft Declaration will be reconsidered, if not torn apart, by the UN Commission on Human Rights. At the same time there are rather different views among indigenous peoples themselves as to the correct approach here.

4.3 Absolute vs. relative factors

Indigenous peoples bring the absolute factors to the bargaining table; they are issues over which there should be no discussion whatsoever. From their point of view, the whole idea with the relative factors is that they should protect their culture. In a few cases, there actually is a traditional bargaining situation (be it around a table or not) where arguments are presented and discussed in a civilized way. Most of the time, though, the truth is a very different one. The nation-state in question often takes over natural resources by the power of eminent domain, with little involvement of the indigenous peoples and unacceptable forms and levels of reparation paid to them.

An orderly and quiet procedure of at least trying to solve these issues is exceedingly difficult because of the inherent contradiction in the two positions. A latent conflict over resource control and political influence is more and more likely to erupt in an overt conflict. These conflicts, often spurred by environmental change, often have an ethnic character since the nation-state level often will be controlled by members of a majority group. Conflict management and conflict solution have become quite common in some parts of the world, and need to be better understood (cf. Hazarika 1993; Hettne 1994; Homer-Dixon 1991, 1993a, 1993b; Suhrke 1993).

5. Conclusions and recommendations

Seen from the point of view of some Borrowers, there is a built-in conflict between respect for and protection of local populations and their habitat on the one hand, and the need for natural resource appropriation and utilization on the other hand. The traditional intermediate position of the nation-state between the World Bank and project beneficiaries, has recently in some cases given way to the World Bank itself being placed in an intermediate position, in effect taking on the role as mediator between the other two parties. The issue of governance, with its three components, namely the public sector, participation, and the human rights dimension, would seem to be crucial for understanding this lack of group accommodation.

The structure of the World Bank's lending operations is not set up to facilitate the participation of project affected peoples, being primarily a relation between the World Bank and a Borrower. Increased involvement of project affected persons falls outside this patterned and structured interaction. Increasing the framework from a dialogue to a tripartite relation is not possible within the present structure. There is however some degree of freedom within this structure, and on an ad hoc basis it is sometimes possible to involve project beneficiaries, given consent by the other parties.

Case 2: Forests vs. people

The Global Environment Facility (GEF) places emphasis on the preservation of biological diversity in tropical and sub-tropical forest ecosystems, and this can imply involuntary resettlement.

In the case of the Tana River Primate National Reserve in Kenya, this Reserve contains the last remnants of the former extensive lower Tana riverine forests. Pokomo, an indigenous people, have lived in the area for hundreds of years. Together with other people, there are today less than 100 households living within the Reserve. Recently conditions in the area have decreased due to human activities. The local population has grown and outsiders have moved in. As a result forest clearing has greatly increased.

The aim of the project is to establish effective management through halting forest clearing and over exploitation (by humans) as well as curbing increased poaching. Planning and preparation to a large extent focus on the interaction between the human population and two endangered primate species. One side sees the relationship as symbiotic and the other as detrimental. According to the latter view, the human population must be resettled outside if the Reserve is to be a viable ecological conservation area in the long run.

The Pokomo are singled out as a priori destructive. There is little empathy for the scale of impact, as well as for established symbiotic relations involving humans. In applying this knowledge to projects, the guiding principle of conservation should be compatibility between economic activity and biodiversity protection. The Bank policy on involuntary resettlement states emphatically that involuntary resettlement should be minimized whenever possible. The people in question should accordingly be made partners in the project activities instead of being seen as liabilities.

Integrated Conservation and Development Projects provide examples of how this can be done. Combined with a strong emphasis on the participation of local forest dwelling people in protection, benefit sharing and planning, it highlights the need to consider their requirements and welfare (cf. Poole 1993). Unless local people gain economic and other benefits from the protected area, or are compensated for their loss, there is little likelihood that effective long term protected area conservation can be achieved.

While the first part of the paper emphasized the importance of culture for understanding who the indigenous peoples are, as well as what characterizes their situation, the later analysis of how to involve them has emphasized some crucial political aspects. These political aspects to a large extent build upon imminent and emerging indigenous cultural characteristics, but they in addition, and increasingly so, to a surprisingly large extent build upon a political mode of operation that we in the West will recognize, taken over by indigenous peoples in a classical case of cultural diffusion, but molded and shaped by the various indigenous cultures. Although local and regional variations in this political rationale may be noticed,[30] they are all based upon a diffused Western idea of for example bureaucracy. Moreover, given the early domination of the international arena by indigenous peoples especially from North America and Australia, the political rationale of these indigenous peoples are now more and more seen as the norm which is being followed by other aspiring indigenous efforts at organization.

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[30] We have by far paid enough attention to the variability in local socio-political contexts.

Regarding the Absolute Factors, the emphasis on "absolute" implies that, in a situation of negotiation involving the indigenous peoples and the nation-state levels, these factors should ideally be understood and accepted. They constitute the basic platform upon which indigenous peoples constitute and reproduce their existence.

In the case of the Relative Factors, they are relative in the sense that they are (i) not primary, as well as (ii) situational. This means that the emphasis given them in the final analysis is open to discussion. Relative factors are context-specific, and are accordingly in principle negotiable, specifically in relation to the Absolute Factors. From the point of view of indigenous peoples, this view is regrettable and very likely unacceptable. Given the present *realpolitik* concerning the position of indigenous peoples within nation-states, this might however be the best compromise. A win-win solution does certainly not seem to be in sight.

When discussing the Features and Factors that are important for creating and sustaining an "enabling environment" for participatory development for indigenous peoples, we inevitably have to make choices channeled by political and structural incentives and constraints. What can the Bank do? What can Borrower governments do? What are the costs and benefits of participation? What are the policy implications of the Bank adopting a policy of participatory development?

The benefits of increased involvement and participation of indigenous peoples are obvious. They include increased chances of defining a development that are compatible with indigenous cultures and aspirations, increased opportunities for determining a direction and pace of development that are satisfactory to them, as well as project benefits that are sustainable on a long-term basis. The implications of such a participatory regime, as well as the costs of participation as it were, are to include the indigenous factor in the balance sheet. The Borrower country would have to acknowledge the indigenous peoples a more prominent place in the whole project equation. Specifically with reference to the energy and infrastructure sectors, we will then be looking at projects that require longer lead-times for planning, will have a longer time-horizon, will cost more, and will take longer to implement. The burden of adjustment would be at least partly on the Borrower. Issues and trade-offs have to be discussed and weighed against each other. The trick is to move from the position of simply <u>doing</u> things, to <u>how</u> to do them – and with what possible implications.

To be concrete, most countries have national policy frameworks for indigenous peoples. However, they do not seem to make much of a difference. It is easy to resort to the old adage that the crucial and most important factor for explaining the sorry state of affairs is lack of Borrower commitment. Somehow that seems to be too easy. What then is missing?

In searching for general – as well as specific – answers, the emphasis should be on issues, opportunities, and constraints for Borrower governments as well as the World Bank in attempting to engage with indigenous peoples in the interest of supporting their aspirations and concept of change. Conversely, these issues should be emphasized also in order to mitigate the adverse impacts that wider development programs might have.

A crucial goal with this exercise is to contribute to understanding and approaching indigenous communities in ways that respect their autonomy while supporting their propensity to change. The idea with this paper was to draw from the experiences of the development literature that struggles with this idea of guiding and making possible internally initiated, self-defined, and self-directed change. The conclusion is that there are lessons to be learned, but only on a general level. The specifics of the indigenous world as it is today, an even more as it appears to develop and unfold, limits the usefulness of only a traditional community-based approach.[31] These ideas have to be complemented with other approaches and insights.

What then are the challenges confronting development planners and outsiders in attempting to link up with and be responsive to the aspirations of indigenous peoples? How to do this with due respect and consideration for their concepts of time, pace of change, and cosmology? A major message to come out of the report by the Bankwide Resettlement Task Force is that we should move from a property-compensation approach towards a people-centered approach. This argument would seem to apply equally well to the case of indigenous peoples.

Viewing participation and indigenous peoples together presents some difficulties. First, some argue for leaving indigenous peoples alone, and not interfering with them. This of course should not be misunderstood as promoting an isolationist approach. I believe that the issue of leaving indigenous peoples alone applies differently to them than to other minorities or traditional peoples. The argument for this is that the potential destructiveness of the contact situation is so much larger with these peoples. Second, given that the first argument is left aside, the issue becomes one of how to do participation, or rather, in the case of indigenous peoples, of basic underlying approaches to the very idea of cooperation with them. Given indigenous peoples' very strong emphasis on the importance of rights to land and culture, as well as the ability to determine their own future – by achieving and maintaining political control over their resources (i.e. the two basic Relative Factors), any participation must necessarily be based on, or be a consequence of, first answering the question of the nature of the control they are being given by the

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[31] Concrete advice on what to do, with special reference to indigenous peoples, have been made by several authors. A list of such recommendations are included (see Appendix B).

nation-state in question, and over what kind of resources. This must be resolved to the satisfaction of the indigenous peoples in question, in general or within a specific project context, before it is meaningful to begin discussing the modalities of involving indigenous peoples in any form of participatory approach to developing their present livelihood conditions.

Participation is applicable beyond the apolitical micro-level, where it aims to show single entities, that is persons, how to do participation correctly. These persons' interest as well as ability to take part is conditioned by the political system in which they are situated. That is, both micro and macro level must be attacked parallel, as they are interrelated. Accordingly, participation should not be seen as only a cultural issue, which is thus positioned in a political vacuum. Participation must be situated in a cultural-political framework. Participation is concerned fundamentally with political issues of the individual's role and position in a larger framework.

The reasons for understanding and analyzing the organizational form "community" as I have done in this paper,[32] is not to prepare a typology of organizational forms, innovative arrangements, and vertical integration as such. That would have been equally fraught with problems as the three alternative proposed avenues (cf. Footnote 32). Alternatively, the emphasis in this political angle on the indigenous world is not so much on structures as on processes. I have tried to outline the important factors that shape this development or movement towards more complexity and encompassing geographical coverage (cf. Figure 1). The Factors and Features (cf. Table 1) are at the same time pointing towards the constraints and incentives, and the costs and benefits in doing participatory development with indigenous peoples. They are the nearest we come to general guiding posts in understanding how to approach the issue of development and indigenous peoples, how to propose and advocate participatory development among these people while at the same time building upon and respecting their traditional culture and world view.

Rather than presenting ready-made avenues and approaches for participatory work among and with indigenous peoples, the paper has aimed at constructing a negotiation room or framework, based upon, and within which, any concrete task has to be situated. No amount of insight and advice can do this job alone. In the final analysis this falls back on our ability as outsiders to understand and take on the others' point of view, and, in cooperation with indigenous peoples, to arrive at a balanced equation of the costs and benefits that is a viable long-term proposition for all parties involved.

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[32] Alternatively, the analysis could have been based on for example ecology, livelihood, or community ethos; variables that would appear to be better known.

The discussion above of how to understand – if not define, the term "indigenous peoples," concluded by suggesting that the goal should maybe be on identification rather then on definition. Obvious reasons for this would seem to be that the search for a definition is as controversial as it is an exercise in futility. While on the one hand including indigenous peoples' own concern and being instrumental enough to be useful in the Bank's work, the term "indigenous peoples" should on the other hand be flexible enough to be useful across time. That which is indigenous changes over time. It is important that the term belong to the people and their lives, and not become an objective, scientific term. Its focus should maybe lie in the nexus of political control and power as applied to local resources – exactly the core Relative Factors outlined above. This Culture-Nature relationship is implied in the idea of an "enabling environment." In the local community, peoples' culture is largely a result of self-identification with the community and the other community members. It is crucial to turn this process of local self-identification into local participation, and thus essentially enabling the environment.[33]

The largest contribution the World Bank can give to indigenous peoples is to leave the concept of "indigenous-ness" as a relatively vague, open-ended, and flexible idea of which indigenous peoples themselves have ownership. From their point of view, defining and redefining the indigenous is a crucial first and last part of the participatory process. From the point of the Bank, localizing development in the direction of communal involvement may solve many of the problems connected with the term. The emphasis should be placed on the local self-identification process as connected with a community identification process as basis for local participation.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1. Terms of Reference

The objective of this paper is to provide a literature review on the issues of indigenous communities which are of particular relevance to participatory development.

The paper will (i) provide examples of various types of indigenous communities (in contrast to the nation states or dominant societies in which they are embedded), (ii) identify typical features of indigenous communities of relevance to participatory development, and (iii) suggest ways of integrating and strengthening the participation of these communities in development efforts.

This paper will serve as a complement to the participation sourcebook chapter on indigenous peoples, which is envisaged to focus more on practical guidance and "how tos" concerning the participation of indigenous people in development.

Appendix 2. Number of indigenous persons in the various indigenous regions in the world

Region	Sub-region	Pop.
Africa	1. West and North Africa	8
	2. Horn of Africa and East Africa	6
	3. Central Africa, i.e. Mbuti (Pygmies)	0,2
	4. Southern Africa, i.e. San (Bushmen)	0,1
Asia	5. Middle East and West Asia	10
	6. Arabian peninsula	5
	7. Central Asia	27
	8. South Asia	51
	9. East Asia	67
	10. Southeast Asian mainland	15
	11. Southeast Asian archipelago	15
Australia	12. Australia	0,25
Pacific	13. New Zealand	0,3
	14. Melanesia	6,5
	15. Polynesia and Micronesia	8,5
Arctic	16. Arctic	0,18
America	17. North America	3,5
	18. Central America	13,0
	19. South American Highland	19,5
	20. South American Lowland	1,0

Source: Adapted from Soeftestad (1988). Based on data from Cultural Survival, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, and Hitchcock (1994).

Notes: (1) the regions and sub-regions are demarcated based on a number of criteria. The same set of criteria could not be used in all cases. The various sub-regions can be broken down into smaller units for more detailed analysis. The regions used in this table do not coincide with the term region as used in the Bank (cf. Table 3), (2) population figures are given in millions. Several of the figures are conservative estimates, and (3) sub-regions nos. 1-4 includes basically only pastoralists and hunter and gatherers, and this view is increasingly being challenged (cf. Footnote 13). Sub-region no. 5 includes Kurds, Palestinians, and various peoples in Afghanistan. The sources are especially inconsistent and confusing regarding this region, and the figures given here are very uncertain. Sub-region no. 16 covers Inuit in Alaska and Canada, Saami in North Europa. and various peoples in North Asia. Sub-region no. 17 covers Indians in the United States of America as well as in Canada. Sub-region no. 18 includes Mexico and the Caribbean.

Appendix 3. Conditions for success in development
projects which affect indigenous populations

(a) Self-management

Political and legal representation; indigenous populations prepared to maximize potential for consensus and minimize traditional divisions; open channels of communication among indigenous populations and between them and dominant nation-state; access to intermediaries; consideration for isolated groups (Beauclerk 1988: 32-35).

(b) Meeting felt needs

Identify priorities, meet needs with help of intermediary or change agent to work for indigenous population as they gain skills for participating in national societies' legal/political organizations (Beauclerk 1988: 35-37).

(c) Restoring confidence

Guarantee people rights to their resources, history and values (Beauclerk 1988: 37-40).

(d) Allowing time

Emergency help provided, but with longer view in mind of self-sufficiency; NGO support must be longer-lived to be useful (Beauclerk 1988: 40-41).

(e) Safeguarding the subsistence base

Rather than replacing traditional pursuits with markets, restore the viability of subsistence as much as possible; consider where meeting other needs with state subsidies have helped for example Dene in Canada (Beauclerk 1988: 41-42).

(f) Strengthening the economy

Means of earning must reflect specific indigenous population's needs/aspirations, for example small scale production, selling labor, or communal marketing might be appropriate (Beauclerk 1988: 43-45).

(g) Recognizing women

Among important issues to consider thoroughly are: residence patterns of communities, social organization, gender roles, gender relations, property right, identify women of status in communities, determine effects and possibilities of women earning income (Beauclerk 1988: 45-51).

(h) Providing services

Indigenous practices and beliefs must be considered when planning health and educational facilities; facilities are local, use local languages and aim to be locally controlled (Beauclerk 1988: 51-55).

(i) The role of the state

Favorable state policies include: acknowledgement by state that its society is multi-ethnic/multi-cultural; willingness of state to set its priorities according to that recognition, for example by considering that indigenous territories may seek futures which are quite different from the national society; legally codified recognition of indigenous rights to and protection of lands and resources, to language, to socio-political and economic forms of organizations, and to communal forms of land-holding (Beauclerk 1988: 55).

(j) The role of non-governmental organizations

Grass-roots contact, willingness and energy to innovate, NGO's as liaison (Beauclerk 1988: 57; Guppy 1992).