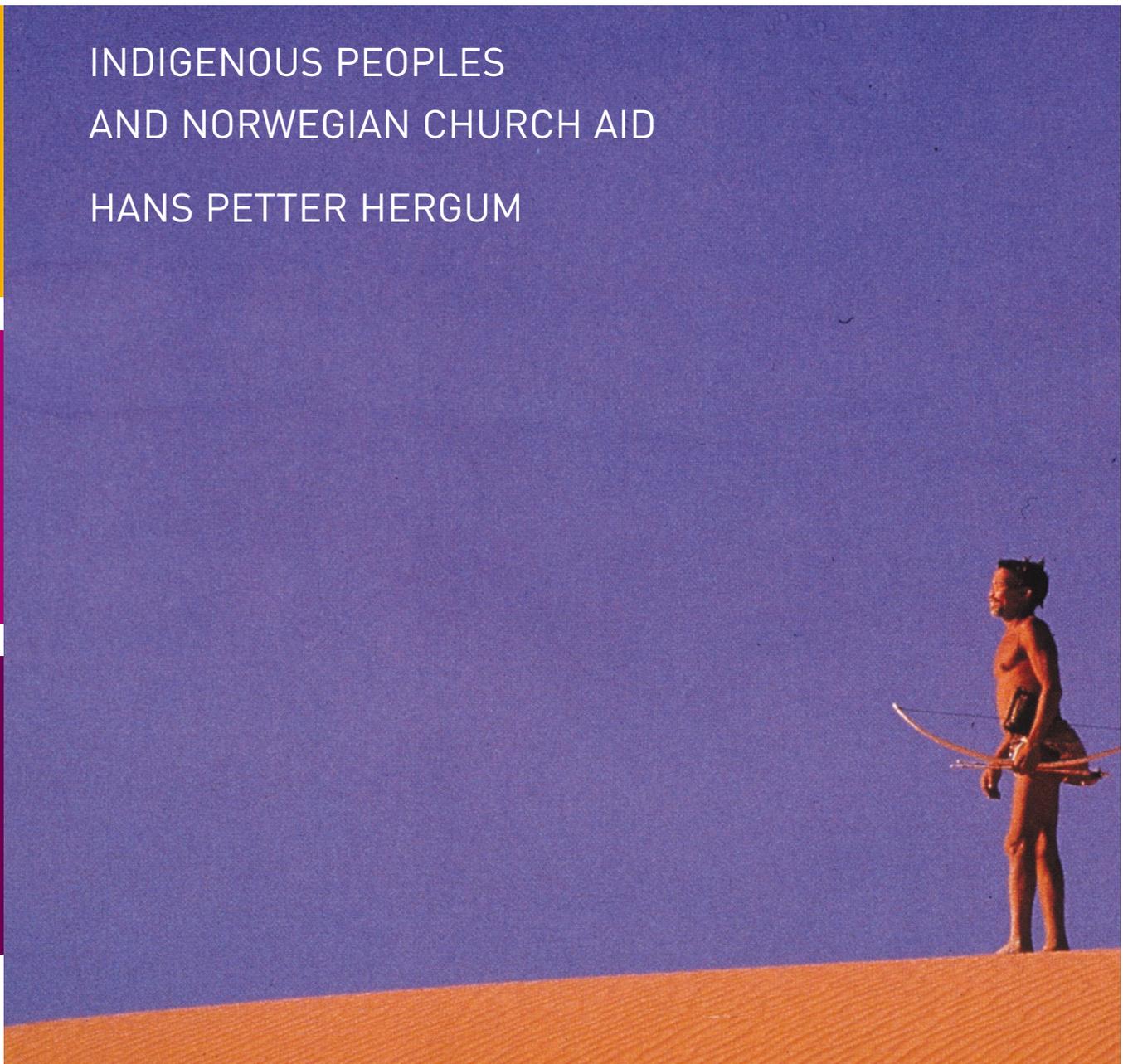

THE FIRST PEOPLES

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES
AND NORWEGIAN CHURCH AID

HANS PETTER HERGUM



NORWEGIAN CHURCH AID

Introduction



Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.

-Imagine an airline check-in queue in Chicago or London. Seven people stand there, looking in different directions. One is a solicitor of Afro-Caribbean origin, another a blond-haired girl from northern Europe, another a computer expert who was born in India. The fourth is a Chinese teenager listening to music on a Walkman. The fifth, sixth, and seventh are all attending a conference on rock art and come respectively from Australia, New Guinea and South America. All seven are quiet, and avoid eye contact because they neither know one another nor feel related in any way. Yet, it can be proved they are related and ultimately all have an African female and male ancestor in common.¹

Is it a joke! – Or is it true? New knowledge and discoveries in science seems to give mankind new knowledge about “who we are” and “where we are coming from”. Genetics and new knowledge trace the geographical route back to an ultimate birthplace, which is Africa. There is still a long way to go scientifically, and scientists do not fully agree yet, but it seems that the history of the world is inseparable from Africa and the indigenous peoples.

Indigenous peoples (IPs), Adivasis, Tribes, Aborigines, First Peoples, First Nations – they have many names. They are from all over the world - Australia, Asia, Europe, Africa and America. Very often they are marginalized and the poorest of the poor. At the same time indigenous peoples – as other people – have resources and knowledge, very often knowledge which may get lost if its not protected and preserved.

People from the western world have sometimes had a naive and romantic understanding of IPs. We should not let ourselves be affected by that. They – as we – can be ruthless to each other and with their environment. At the same time IPs have a special relation to nature, to land,

¹“Out of Africa’s Eden” Stephen Oppenheimer 2003.

water, game and spirituality. In daily life this represents a fascinating interrelation and cooperation between the religious and the material world.

Norwegian Church Aid has for years cooperated with indigenous peoples. We have tried to accumulate knowledge, and support networks of peoples and indigenous organizations. Compared with the totality of IPs – more than 250 – 350 million people – Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) is working only with “few” indigenous peoples or “First peoples of the World”. In the following we will present some key areas, related to the people NCA is working with. But the question of indigenous people also concerns us as non-indigenous people.

In 2005 the second UN decade of indigenous peoples started. Five years earlier, the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were announced and agreed to by all UN member states at the Millennium Summit in 2000; Goals which give directions on how to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, halt the spread of HIV/AIDS, and achieve universal primary education – to mention three. Target date for reaching the goals is 2015 – same year as the end of the second indigenous decade. It is not so that if the MDGs are reached, it will also automatically create a better future for

indigenous peoples. Even the MDGs, so apparently noble in their intent, contain potential seeds of oppression. Could it happen that in 2015 the situation for IPs has become worse not better even if the MDGs are reached? The MDGs will go partly like a “red thread” through the pamphlet. This – and several other issues – are presented and discussed on the following pages.

A pamphlet like the one you have in your hands is not a “one man” product. Several people have given me valuable comments and proposals. Colleagues at Norwegian Church Aid have helped and given good advice. I am especially thankful to Willemien leRoux in Botswana. For decades she has been working with indigenous peoples of Southern Africa and has a unique knowledge. I am very thankful to Willemien who took of her limited time and gave needed and invaluable feedback.

This said, everything in *First Peoples* is my own responsibility.

JANUARY 2006 - HANS PETTER HERGUM,
SENIOR ADVISOR, NORWEGIAN CHURCH AID



Indian girls from the Amazon Basin, Brazil. Photo: Håkon Lislerud.

INTRODUCTION	2
1. WHO ARE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES?	6
A MAASAI AND A LADY	6
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND DEFINITIONS	6
Difficulties in giving Definitions	6
"We were here first!"	7
Minorities	8
UN (UNITED NATIONS), ILO (INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION) & WORLD BANK (WB)	8
Discussion of definition, waste of time!	9
IDENTITY	9
Contact between IPs and Europeans	10
IDENTITIES MAY CHANGE	10
2. COLONIALISM AND CONQUEST	11
NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM	11
The loss of Land	11
New Diseases	11
Brutal Rule	12
CONQUEST OF BRAZIL	12
HAVE WE LEARNED?	13
3. WHERE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES LIVE TODAY	14
Map of distribution of Indigenous peoples	15
4. HOW DO INDIGENOUS PEOPLES LIVE?	16
POOR AND PRIMITIVE - THEIR PLACE IN THE MARKET ECONOMY	16
EFFECTS OF NATIONAL POLICIES	17
The Debt Burden,	17
Poverty	17
TRADITIONAL LIVING	18
The Batwa / Impunyu of Rwanda	18
The Hadzabe of Tanzania	19
Pastoralist	19
Fishermen	20
Potters	20
INDIGENOUS WOMEN – HOPE AND DESPAIR	21
Traditional Egalitarian Gender Patterns	21
Triply Discriminated	21
Adopting New Detrimental Traditions	22
Positive Developments	22
EDUCATION AND CHILDREARING	22
BATWA WOMEN OF THE GREAT LAKES AREA	23
Rulers of the Forests	23
Today – all is lost!	23
5. SOME HUMAN RIGHTS CHALLENGES	24
LAND RIGHTS	24
CONVENTIONS AND LAND RIGHTS	24
The ILO-Convention 169	24

The Africa Charter	25
THE RELATION TO LAND AND WATER	25
FROM WATER FOR ALL, TO WATER FOR A FEW	26
INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS	26
The Kalahari Bush-Savanna	27
THE FIGHT FOR THE CENTRAL KALAHARI GAME RESERVE (CKGR)	27
ISA (INSTITUTO SOCIOAMBIENTAL), A KEY-HUMAN RIGHTS PARTNER IN BRAZIL	28
6. BEING INDIGENOUS BY BIRTH	30
A Common Ancestor	30
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND CULTURE	31
A SPIRITUAL LIFE LINKED TO LAND AND NATURE	31
Nature is Sacred	31
LANGUAGE	31
Naro – one of several San Languages	32
NATURE – THAT’S ME! INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE OF NATURE	32
ARTS AND CRAFTS	33
Contemporary San Art	33
MUSIC	34
Contemporary Music.	34
The voice of God	34
7. MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGs)	35
SAVING GRACE OR THREAT TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLES?	35
Development as a Threat to IPsS	35
Latin America and MDG	35
EDUCATION – AN ASSET, A DREAM BUT...!	36
Asia and MDG	37
8. CHALLENGES AND SIGNS OF HOPE IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD	38
THE FIRST UN DECADE OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES	38
The Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (PFII)	38
Tourism	39
A Southern African Example	40
EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION	40
A Philippine Example	40
A Vietnamese Example	41
One-Size-Fits-All Development does not fit All	41
9. NORWEGIAN CHURCH AID (NCA) AND IPS	42
Latin-America	42
Asia	42
Africa	42
EMERGENCY WORK	44
BIBLIOGRAPHY	45
ABBREVIATIONS	46
...	

Cover Photo: Paul Weinberg: A San Hunter in the Kalahari. The San People of the Kalahari have lived in the region for more than 20 thousand years.

1. Who are Indigenous Peoples?

A MAASAI AND A LADY

-A middle-aged American women tourist and a young Maasai man bumped into each other at the entrance of a hotel in Tanzania Ngorongoro Reserve. The Maasai was dressed in a red toga-like garment (Shuka) and adorned with beaded jewellery looking really like a "man from the bush". The tourist timidly asked in Pidgin English, raising her camera: "Me-take-your-picture?" The Maasai coolly looked her up and down. With some amusement he said, in perfect American-accented English acquired from American missionary teachers: "Only if you are paying in US dollars, ma'am". She fled - embarrassed - without taking a photo.

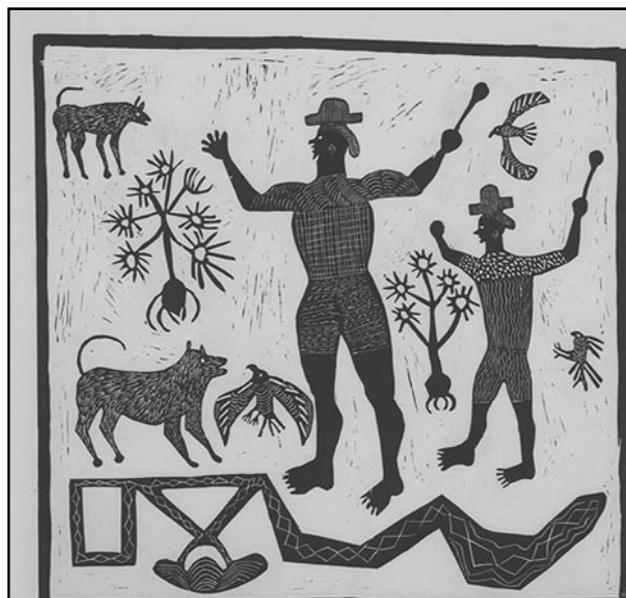
She - the tourist - probably thought that he was an illiterate decorative and exotic man from "the bush" whom she wanted to picture and put on the wall together with photos of lions and jungles. She is not the only one who has done this - I have done it myself.

He - the Maasai, representing an indigenous folk - had experienced tourists visiting Tanzania for years. Tourists are usually heartily welcome to Tanzania since they bring needed dollars. But since the Maasai communities were forced out of the Ngorongoro crater some years ago to make way for tourism and conservation, they had not seen many direct benefits of either activity. The Maasai - as other indigenous peoples - are fed up with being treated like human animals in a zoo - and widely regarded as dumb and stupid, too.

The history and stories about indigenous peoples mirror this one in many ways, but their struggle for recognition has been and is usually much more serious and the collision a lot more painful.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND DEFINITIONS

Today the indigenous peoples constitute between 250 and 350 million people - depending on definitions. They are dispersed in more than 70 countries. As opposed to some years back they now live in the knowledge of not being totally alone any more, and that they are more recognized than a few years back.



San art of the Kalahari. Two men chasing hyenas. Artist: Thamae Setshogo.

Some decades back settlers in Columbia were acquitted from having killed 16 Indians. They were not aware, or so they claimed, that it was illegal to shoot Indians (sic). In our time the most horrendous transgressions have happened to indigenous people without a finger being lifted. The white settlers in South Africa hunted San (bushmen) like another pray. South Africa used to say that they never killed the indigenous people the way the American settlers did the Indians, and the Australians did the Aborigines. But they did. Bushmen were hunted and shot. Several stories are told and written down about how San were butchered. Not because they were a threat to the white man, but because they were looked upon as animals. Later the excuse for these slaughters became that they were a threat to pastoralist farming, but in fact history proves that the incidents of cattle being killed by the San were feeble attempts at fighting back their powerful invaders.²

Today the indigenous peoples share acknowledgement of equality and community. In many ways they have a shared historical recognition about colonialism, war, violence, massacres, loss of land etc. They have shared experiences in being oppressed, exploited, disfavored and denied the form of worthy life many want to have.

DIFFICULTIES IN GIVING DEFINITIONS

The term "indigenous peoples" is a difficult one. There are several interpretations and their use varies. People like a sociological researcher, a member of parliament in Botswana, a lawyer, or a Naga of India will probably give different definitions. The question of whether and how to

²) "Voices of the San", Willemien le Roux and Alison White 2004.

define “Indigenous peoples” has over and over again been posed at the United Nations (UN). This is a difficult debate and it may be “correct” not to have a strict and narrow definition.

There are a number of disadvantages in seeking a comprehensive and universal definition:

- 1) The diversity between IPs makes it difficult to seek a single definition which can bridge the differences. In fact we may exclude groups that should have been included by creating a single definition.
- 2) For years the debate about definitions has been on the agenda. It absorbs a considerable amount of time, and seems not to be fruitful compared with other more urgent debates.
- 3) Within international law no people, nation or group has been asked to define itself. Agreeing upon a common definition could be too huge a challenge.

When talking about indigenous “peoples” we talk about “peoples” with an s. We use plural since we are talking about a particular “nation”, a particular group of people who feel common identity linked to traditions, language and way of life. The plural also indicates the diversity of people within the group as a whole. Some state governments oppose use of the term “peoples” because they fear its association with the right of secession and independent statehood. These states prefer terms like “tribes” or “populations” which do not have the mentioned associations. IPs themselves use the term “peoples” because of its association with inherent recognition of a distinct identity.

The IPs themselves do not agree on definitions. In some countries and situations it may be too politically sensitive and too dangerous to use the term indigenous, as granting them the status of being indigenous is ironically a threat to those who came after them, who want to claim the rights of occupancy or governance over the first peoples. The opposite may also exist in other parts of the world. IPs claim the right to define who they are themselves. They have at times categorically rejected a strict definition, and strongly reject the idea that outsiders can define them. They argue that self-identification is one of their basic rights.

Let us take India as an example. Here the government uses “Scheduled tribes” (ST) as an official administrative term used for the purpose of administering certain specific constitutional privileges, protection and benefits for special sections of peoples considered historically disadvantaged and “backward”. Another term is “Adivasis” literally meaning indigenous peoples or original inhabitants. In Botswana the San have objected strongly to the term “RADs”, i.e. Remote Area Dwellers. But also “indigenous peoples” are used – but mainly by conscious groups which are working specifically with and for the tribes/Adivasis and which use deliberately the international UN terminology. Today more than 67 million Indians fall under the ST definition. This implies that India is the nation with the highest concentration of indigenous peoples of the world.

“WE WERE HERE FIRST!”

A common definition is a *non-dominant* group living in a particular territory claiming to be the *original inhabitants*. They are the people who were there first. Often calling themselves *First Peoples* or *First Nations*. The Maya of Guatemala, the Aborigines of Australia, and the San of Southern Africa were undoubtedly there first – even if some are saying that all black South Africans are indigenous. Which is definitely not true, although migrations by both black and white groups (the latter from Europe) took place at different times from Northern and central Africa, these migrations took place between 1,700 and as recent as 400 years ago, but they effectively displaced the Khoekhoe and San in the South, and now many of them are claiming to being “first” to the area.

Usually the term “first” is a problem because who really knows who got there first? Now – with DNA-tests and gene technology we can be much more precise in stating, “Who was here first?”

Talking about people being there before a single state was created has also been used in defining IPs. But this is not a “safe” definition. Several Bantu-people of Africa arrived to areas before what we call a state was created – without being indigenous. And Native Americans were organized in sovereign nations and had state systems long before they were colonized.

Being the disadvantaged descendents of peoples that inhabited the territory prior to the formation of a state is also a common definition. After colonialism was abolished, new states were established. Certain peoples became marginalized and discriminated against because of religion, way of life, language, culture etc. To overcome these obstacles, some insisted on self-determination and being indigenous. Several of the IPs themselves emphasize that they differ from others.

MINORITIES

From what is said - the interpretation is unclear and "on the move". The most usual one is "those who came first", which means that minorities - who are often put in the same basket as indigenous peoples - not automatically fall under this interpretation. Indigenous peoples usually have a geo-

graphical setting and belonging. They come from a defined geographical area, where they have lived for generations and centuries. Minorities usually live more scattered. Minorities have arrived to an area in some historical time. They cannot - as the indigenous people - claim both material and cultural rights, only cultural rights. In Norway, for instance, the Sámi-people are indigenous, while the Jews clearly are defined as a minority. Some minorities, who have experienced the same problems as indigenous peoples, have during the last years started using the term indigenous. But then it is a more structural definition of the term.

In essence, the definitions are all trying to describe the unique qualities cultivated by the indigenous peoples' hunting and gathering lifestyle and survival techniques that were based on the complete balance of nature, which contradicts completely

UN (UNITED NATIONS), ILO (INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION) & WORLD BANK (WB)

United Nations

UN has been working for years on an international declaration about indigenous peoples. They emphasize that the term indigenous should indicate the population that had an historical connection to the societies that developed before invasions and colonization took place. They talk about people who:

- See themselves as different from the society/people that now rule these territories or parts of the territories
- Are partly or completely robbed of their land and resources
- Constitute a non-dominant sector/unit in the society
- Are determined to conserve, develop and transfer their land and their identity to the next generation as a foundation for continued existence as a people
- Live in accordance with their cultural pattern, social institutions and legal systems

In addition, the World Council of Indigenous People (WCIP) adds the importance of experiencing group community and identity as indigenous peoples.

The World Bank

The WB for the purpose of its own work underlines:

- Self-identification and identification by others as members of a distinct group.

- Vulnerability to being disadvantaged in the development process.
- Close attachment to ancestral territories and to natural resources in these areas.
- An Indigenous Language, often different from the National Language
- Presence of customary social and political institutions, primarily subsistence-oriented production.

The International Labor Organization

The ILO convention 169, of 1989 "Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries", state that IPs are:

- Tribal people in independent states where the social, cultural and economic conditions separate them from other parts of the national unity and where their status is completely or partly regulated by their own customs, traditions or by special laws or regulations.
- People in independent states that are viewed as aboriginal because they descend from the people that lived of the land, or in the geographical region where the land belonged to, at the time when the area were conquered or colonized, or at the time when the state borders were set, and that - no matter what their legal situation - have kept all or some of their own social, economical, cultural and political institutions.



*The San, or the Bushmen, are the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa.
Foto: Hans Petter Hergum.*

nous. But in Mali due to the sensitivity embedded in the term indigenous and indigenous peoples, often Tuareg themselves do not want to be called indigenous, or even use the phrase.

Another group defined as indigenous today is the Maasai in Eastern Africa. Some years back they did not have this status, but due to way of life, traditions and history, they are today defined as indigenous.

For the indigenous peoples themselves, these discussions about terms of definitions may be a waste of time. However, government and authorities can easily manipulate definitions.

the more aggressive, expansive lifestyle of the farmers, be it agriculturalist or pastoralist, which through the centuries have been the main cause of the rifts between the different groups and the decline of indigenous peoples' existence.³

DISCUSSION OF DEFINITION, WASTE OF TIME!

For some who could fall under the IP umbrella, the above definitions are not relevant at all. In Vietnam, where we have almost 50 ethnic minorities, they seldom use the phrase "indigenous peoples". "Ethnic minorities" is a term that works better. Vietnam, a densely populated country where several ethnic groups are migrating regularly, has in practice stopped using the term indigenous. One reason is that the term also indicates land rights, which in a Vietnamese context are very sensitive and politically difficult to use. The same applies to a country like Botswana, where nationhood is seen as blending all minorities into one main tribe, the Batswana.

Some groups already defined as indigenous, try to avoid the phrase. The Tuareg of West Africa are defined as indige-

Too much emphasis may have been used on definitions, and not enough on commonality of problems and self-identification. Some groups have through generations experienced discrimination and oppression from the state or the majority. For these groups the discrimination and oppression has been focused on their total basis for existence. They have chosen to call themselves "indigenous". They feel they share common problems and characteristics with other indigenous people. They have connected themselves to the global indigenous population through this form of structural marginalization.

To be able to find a concrete definition that is satisfactory is difficult, and most likely not something that is wanted. By having no definition, the UN's Minority Convention made it possible to agree on the convention.

IDENTITY

The academic debate and discussion about "Who is indigenous?" is a relatively new one. Not long after the "white

³) "Maps and Dreams", Hugh Brody, 1981.

The Bushmen didn't know about cattle so when the blacks came with them we started to kill them to feed ourselves, because they looked like animals, and then the Bahero started to kill some of us. When the Batswana come again they said to us "If you kill a cow you will be killed. You are not supposed to kill cattle, that's Batswana law". After that the Batswana gave some of their cattle to us to look after, that's how we got used to the cattle, then the land became as it is now.

//!ae N//aqu, Botswana

man" had the first contact with indigenous people the Europeans started to classify these "strange people" - who lived and acted differently from their own way of life.

CONTACT BETWEEN IPS AND EUROPEANS

The first contact between indigenous people and Europeans in South Africa was when Bartolemeu Dias and his crew in 1488 entered Mossel Bay in the Cape area. From the herders they met they got fresh meat, highly sought after since they had spent weeks off shore.

But Dias and his men saw the Khoekhoe as a threatening and a curious species. Dias easily used his power, and shot down and killed a Khoekhoe man with his crossbow at Mossel Bay beach. The Portuguese crew knew nothing about the people they met – the San and the Khoekhoe – who were the closest to what the original human beings were like. I.e. these were their own ancestors and therefore a reflection of what they were like before migrating to Europe some hundred thousand years earlier! For Dias and most other white and black people of Africa these strange people were mere creatures – closer to animals than human beings.

The next contact was Vasco da Gama's arrival nine years later. But it was first with Jan van Riebeeck – the commander of the Dutch settlement at Table Bay - that a more systematical observation and identification of the local inhabitants started. The Europeans' observation of the locals fell roughly in two groups: the keepers of livestock and the robbers of livestock. The lack of understanding and knowledge by the colonizers about the natives' way of life and cooperation, and their harmony with nature, their land use system of hunting and gathering, onto which the agro-pastoralist invasions were imposed, created the many misunderstandings and stereotypes during the years concerning the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa. The indigenous peoples' dependence on hunting and gathering, wild food and scant material belongings for them were mere signs of misery and deprivation. The strange click-language, mysterious rituals and religion, no knowledge about the Christian God, and seemingly lack of any understandable governmental structure and organization, made the Europeans use derogatory language and describe them in negative words as depraved and primitive.

IDENTITIES MAY CHANGE

Identity is not an easy term. People have identity as individuals and as members of a group or groups. A name gives you an identity, but names can be changed. During history indigenous people were often given names by for example missionaries. Such names often said more about the giver than the receiver. There are stories about how Bushmen – when approaching the missionaries – needed to show their shoulders, because this is where the missionaries had written people's names with chalk! Of course these people had names already, but too difficult names for "the intruder" to pronounce. By giving him or her a new name, you also may change a person's identity. In the mentioned example, the objective was to transform a person into being a Christian.

People seek identity beyond themselves, in groups, with a religious community, with a political party, with a nation or a continent. You may get your identity by force, like

"black" South Africans during the Apartheid area. People have been classified and assigned into groups throughout history. The Khoekhoe of Southern Africa – before "the white people of Europe" arrived, called the hunter-gatherers names like "Songua" (San: meaning "those who pick up things from the ground", implying "being different from ourselves, the pastoralists", and these names became associated with robbers, tramps, bandits – those who stole stock) which was also a way to keep them at a distance, as "other" and "different". It is impossible to completely classify a person or persons. People move in and out of groups, and may transform their identity accordingly. A confused farm worker in Southern Africa once said: "I am not a black man, I am not a white man – I must be a Bushman!".

2. Colonialism and Conquest

Oh you will really let me cry, by asking about my ancestral land, which I am sitting on, but which now belongs to the government. I am really very unhappy, because we don't have access to anything in this holy land, which was our ancestral land.

Willem Dauxab, Namibia

When the first white men met the Indians in America, or the Khoe and Bushmen of Southern Africa or Aborigines in Australia, they stood face to face with IPs. They met people who were adapted to a different life than what they were used to. Explorers and colonizers, very often also missionaries, arrived with an attitude, which - in practice - was arrogant and oppressive. Oppression and prejudice against other people are normal and have existed as long as there have been people on the planet. But the situation changed dramatically when the Europeans entered the scene and started to carve up and divide the world.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM

Colonialism had a profound negative and devastating effect on the people colonized, but especially the IPs were hit. They were - like for instance the Bushmen of Botswana - already marginalized. The black Bantu people of Southern Africa had exploited the natives of Southern Africa since the first day they arrived to the region. Being already marginalized when the white Europeans arrived gave them no power to resist.

Decades and centuries of oppression started when new technology led Europeans on boats to the "New Worlds" of Africa, Asia and America.

THE LOSS OF LAND

Take Africa as an example: In 1884-5 Africa was divided up like a piece of cake at the Berlin Conference. The strong powers of Europe did the "partitioning" of Africa. National boundaries were drawn up, which cut across ethnic lines and created divisions between people of the same race and language. Political boundaries split families and friends. New governmental systems were imposed, and foreign laws suddenly used in a totally new context. Land was stolen or "bought" from the natives. People who - according to their beliefs, culture and tradition, could not sell land - saw "mother earth" being stolen from them. From their perspective it was impossible to sell land. It was like selling a

The British settled in Australia in 1788 and claimed Aboriginal land. The land was empty and belonged to no one, they said. But aboriginal people had been there for more than 60 000 years, living in up to 700 clans - each with their own territory, political systems and laws.

limb, a part of you. The land is empty, said the colonizers with the vision of farmers everywhere, and they snatched forest, minerals and water. How baffled the indigenous peoples must have been! "Empty? - But we are here, and have always been here", they said.

Most people arriving participated as imperialists - traders, missionaries, settlers and people representing the state. You found people of course who sided with the natives, and saw the value of their culture and knowledge, but this was not the rule. Most Europeans were part of the exploitation and destruction of the land of the natives.

Mukonzo Kikoko, Pende from Congo tells his story:

"... Our fathers were living comfortably...they had cattle and crops. They had salt and marshes and banana trees. Suddenly they saw a big boat rising out of the great ocean. This boat had great wings all of white, sparkling like knives. White men came out of the water and spoke words that no one understood. Our ancestors took fright; they said that these were "vumbi", spirits returned from the dead. They pushed them back into the ocean with volleys of arrows. But the vumbi spat fire with a noise of thunder. Many men were killed. From that time to our days now, the whites have brought us nothing but wars and miseries..."

Local people (seen as "unproductive"), therefore had to survive on the worst patches of land, as the farmers' eyes searched for the best, the most productive. Native Reserves were created. Pastoralists were forced into reserves that hindered them from moving and from using their traditional land use systems for survival. Often IPs were used as slaves as they were seen as "doing nothing" and were made dependent on the cultivators' cultures who took their land.

On Hispaniola -the Spanish colony - Christopher Columbus arrived in 1492. The IPs were enslaved to work on plantations and in mines. Resistance resulted in brutal attacks from the Spaniards. It was said that 100 natives would die for every European killed. After few years about 3 million locals were killed or died of famine, disease or slavery. The local population was nearly wiped out.

NEW DISEASES

The white man of Europe also brought new diseases to countries in the West and South. Measles, smallpox, typhus, influenza, TB and venereal diseases - all were killers to the

The grave of freedom fighter Hendrik Witbooi in Gibeon in Namibia flanked by Hans Petter Hergum, then director of NCA's regional office in Southern Africa and a relative of Witbooi.
Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.



native people who did not have the needed immunity. Indians all over America died in huge numbers. Half of the Incas of Southern America were wiped out. The British colonizers brought venereal diseases. They blamed the Aboriginal people for infecting them, and wouldn't admit that they were to blame. Some estimates put the numbers of people who died due to newly introduced diseases at 80 to 90 % of the original population in North America, and large parts of Southern- and Central America and Australia.

BRUTAL RULE

The situation in Africa was not anything better. To hamper tribal revolts, soldiers were sent on so-called "punitive expeditions" to assist the farmers in recapturing their

CONQUEST OF BRAZIL

When the Portuguese arrived Brazil, approximately 500 years ago, about 5 million Indians lived in the country. They were the main inhabitants of Brazil and the Amazon. Today – out of a population of about 170 million people – the Indians constitute less than 1% (300 000 – 450 000 of Brazil's population⁴). The Indians are split into about 220 indigenous peoples and 180 different languages. More than 290 organizations and associations in Brazil are working with indigenous issues.

Most of the Indian tribes are very small. Close to half of the tribes are less than 200 members. 45 tribes have a population between 200 and 500. Only one of the tribes has more than 20 000 members. Through history they had huge areas where their traditions and cultures were used – generation after generation.

The Indians' main occupation has been related to hunting and gathering. Some also used "slash and burn" agricultural methods in the Amazonian rain forest. These methods functioned satisfactorily through decades and centuries. The rain forest – where these methods were used – is intact also today. By moving their villages from place to place, by using agricultural methods which are efficient and do not harm the forest and the environment, the Indians managed to take care of their environment.

The key to survival in the tropical area is to know how to use – without exploiting – the different natural resources as efficiently as possible. The Indian tribes of the rain-forest have had the best knowledge of their environment. Information of all kinds of plants, roots, insects and animals – and how they can be used – has been part of their

accumulated knowledge and education. These traditions and culture have been transferred from generation to generation. The same can be said of most indigenous peoples of the world.

But during the last years, the situation has changed dramatically. The Indians of the rain forest have had a traumatic experience with society at large. According to Brazilian law the Indians have the right to use their traditional territories to the end of their existence. But once more the different worldviews and land use systems clash. Society has not followed up on its duty to demarcate and protect the land and territories the Indians need. It is important to understand that for the physical survival of indigenous peoples the mere formal recognition of indigenous lands does not necessary imply the protection of those territories. "Garimperos" (gold prospectors), lumber companies, mining companies continue to exert economic pressure to use the areas. Construction of roads, power lines, gas pipes and hydroelectric dams within indigenous lands remain high on the agenda in the modernization of the country. According to estimates about 85% of the country's indigenous lands suffer from some kind of invasion.

Mining, logging and cattle ranches have in practise priority and occupy traditional Indian land. The Indians are extremely vulnerable. Diseases, inconsiderate mining companies and fanatical missionaries may separately – or together – threaten the tribe's existence. There is a need for protection, cooperation and support if the Indians are to survive as a nation.

⁴ The Ministry of Education operates with 440 000 IPs in demarcated areas, and 50 – 100 000 outside. A census from 2000 operates with 730 000. The census of 2000 talks about self-identification. Numbers related to IPs in Brazil are marked by uncertainty.

domestic animals, seen by the hunter-gatherers as either part of the land, or taken as a form of revenge. In Tanzania, in German East Africa, the colonial power hanged twelve Barabeig elders and their chief medicine man leaving their bodies to rot as a warning to others. In 1904 in Namibia, then called South West Africa, the Germans massacred Hereros and Namas (Khoekhoe). 75% of a population of about 80 000 were killed – men, women and children. Women were raped before being bayoneted. Under the leadership of Hendrik Witbooi and Jacob Morenga, a Nama commando adopted guerilla tactics and continued fighting for two years before the Germans took control.

During the colonial period many IPs were classified “savage” and “primitive”, as they were not cultivators, and as hunters and gatherers earned no respect. Through history cultivators have been perceived as more civilized than others. “Aimless”, “uncivilized” and “uncontrolled” are some of the labels the cultivator culture have put on nomads and pastoralists. The labels were put on people who knew nature better than any other group, and knew how to survive when the so-called “civilized” were lost due to lack of experience and knowledge. In this way indigenous peoples often unknowingly nurtured and assisted those who later turned their backs on them and caused their demise.

HAVE WE LEARNED?

It did not stop with the end of colonialism. Independence of their nation states was not an open door to heaven for IPs. New native governments continued the bad tradition and the situation prevails for most. Till this day the IPs have been fighting for their rights to land and water, to language and history – and have usually failed. Power has been put in other hands, but other power relations and dynamics cause that the same procedure continues. One such “new” dynamic is that hunter-gatherer lifestyle is seen as a reminder of the “primitive past” of many young African governments, and as the western model of development is seen as the ideal to reach, there is no space or respect for indigenous peoples’ traditions and culture. Even cultural tourism is seen as a derogatory form of livelihood, perceived as a way in which prejudice and curiosity of the West

about a past that Africa would rather move away from, is perpetuated. The interest in traditional culture implies discrimination and lack of respect for Africans, and there is no sympathy for maintaining such traditions. Therefore, many IPs are thrown from their land by force, or careful orchestration, such as the example of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) in Botswana today, in the name of “development”. Hunting areas are declining, and pastoralism as a land use system, with huge cattle herds on the savanna and Kalahari areas, are taking over, like in Eastern Africa.

In Australia the government of Howard does not want to say, “We are sorry”. They do not want to repent and apologize for a tragic history, which destroyed scores of thousands Aboriginal people of Australia. If the progressive countries of the West would not set this example, how would African and third world governments get the message and reconcile the differences of the past?

Hydroelectric dams, giant industries, logging and huge mining industries have displaced thousands of IPs. In the process, their knowledge is destroyed and lost forever. Often they are talked about like animals and things, not as human beings. They, who were the first of the first, have become the outcasts of a so-called “civilized world”.



They who were the first of the first are now the outcasts of the so-called 'civilised world'. (Photo: Hans Petter Hergum)

3. Where Indigenous Peoples live today

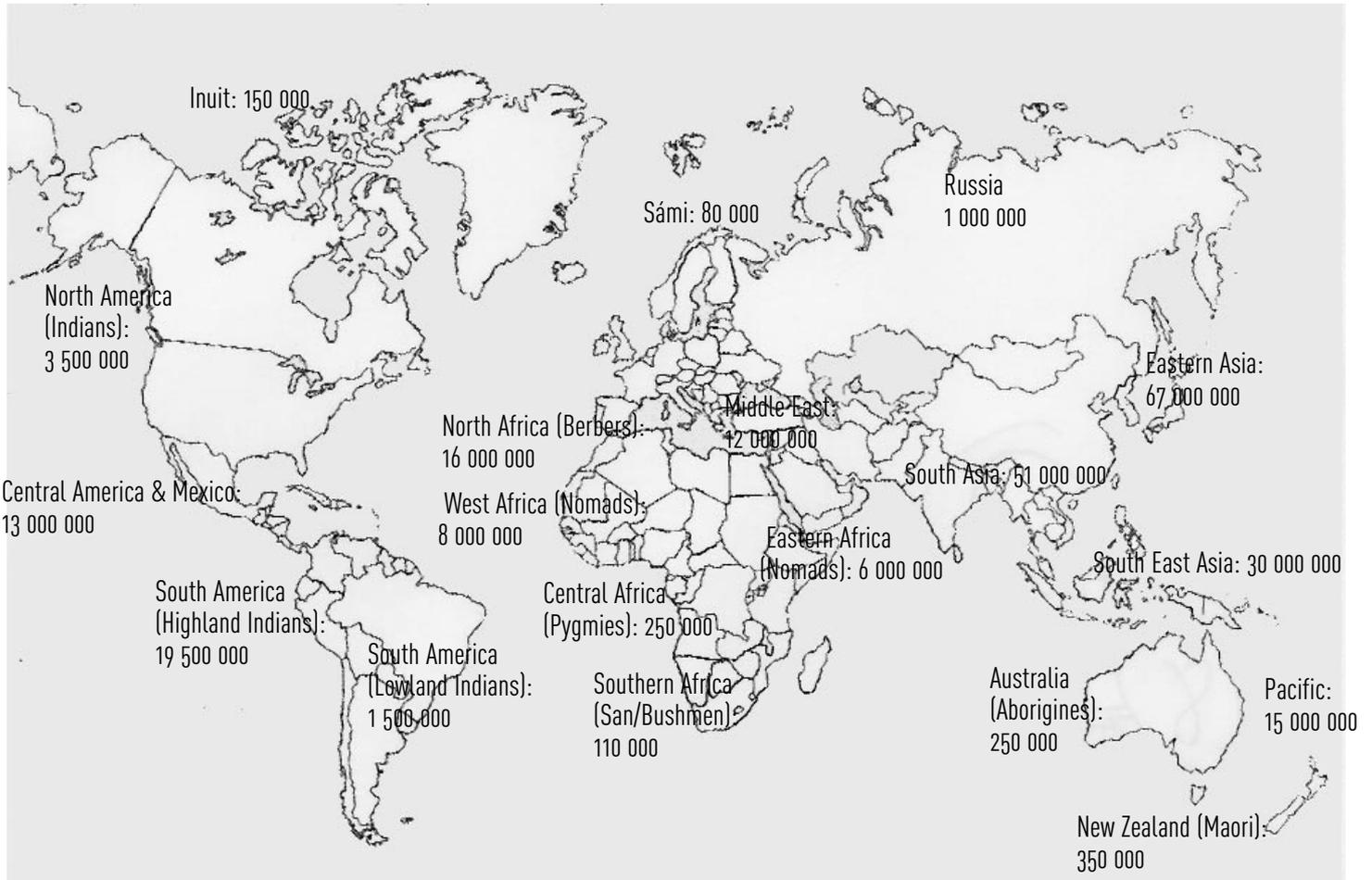
Lack of a clear definition makes it difficult to present the exact number of indigenous peoples (IPs) in the world today. In India, where they speak about “tribes”, or “scheduled tribes” or “Adivasis”, the figure varies with millions of people. The same can be said in many parts of the world. In this pamphlet we have estimated the total figure of IPs at between 250 and 350 million divided between about 7000 indigenous cultures. It may be more. As said, the definition is “on the move” and may include more indigenous peoples in the future.

The figures on the map present a totality of a little more than 250 million indigenous peoples. These figures may be underestimated, but they give a picture of a globe with IPs all over the world, on all continents and in most countries.



San art of the Kalahari. Artist: Thamae Kaashe.

Map of distribution of Indigenous peoples



AMERICA:

Inuit:	150 000
North America – Indians:	3 500 000
Central America & Mexico:	13 000 000
Highland Indians (South America):	19 500 000
Lowland Indians (South America):	1 500 000

EUROPE:

Sámi:	80 000
Russia:	1 000 000

AFRICA:

North Africa (Berbers):	16 000 000
Nomads (West Africa):	8 000 000
Nomads (Eastern Africa):	6 000 000
Central Africa (Pygmies):	250 000
Southern Africa (San/Bushmen):	110 000

ASIA:

Middle East:	12 000 000
Eastern Asia:	67 000 000
South Asia:	51 000 000
South East Asia:	30 000 000

PACIFIC REGION:

New Zealand (Maori):	350 000
Pacific:	15 000 000
Australia (Aborigines):	250 000

4. How do Indigenous Peoples live?

What also surprises me is why does the government ask us why we are in these places, and who gave them to us, when they found us here. That is why we say that the government or law should allow us to stay in our land and not let everyone live where he or she just thinks it suits her as long as it is beautiful.

Verimuna Tjikitirua, Botswana

Many IPs live as any other people of the world today. They live in towns, in rural areas working as traders, in the local industry, as consultants, as builders, academics, as plumbers etc. But in this chapter the more traditional ways of living among IPs – in areas where NCA is working – will be presented.

POOR AND PRIMITIVE - THEIR PLACE IN THE MARKET ECONOMY

In spite of the fact that IPs' traditional livelihood systems – such as "slash and burn" or shifting cultivation and agriculture, hunting and gathering, and pastoralism, sustained them through centuries, too many people, even modern economists, still regarded hunting and gathering as inefficient and backward. To day, in the advent of global warming, it is regarded as the least invasive and most sustainable livelihood system.

The integration and assimilation of IPs into the market economy and the dominant society has been the solution adop-

ted by most modern governments. Such approaches have led to the conversion of their lands into commercial monocrop agricultural and forest plantations; mines, export processing zones or dumping sites for nuclear wastes. Cash crop production has taken place on a massive scale, not only in Central America but also in Asia and Africa. The impact of this on IPs in Central America – as described below – applies to other regions as well:

"From an indigenous perspective, the situation appears to have been particularly serious in those countries where the development of cash crops for export (coffee / tea) led to demands for indigenous labor as well as to pressure on their lands. In Guatemala and parts of Mexico, where the coffee economy grew particularly rapidly at this time, IPs lost much of their communal lands. Many became resident workers (colonos) on the coffee plantations, and in the Guatemala highlands, where the IPs populations were mainly concentrated, farm plots rapidly became too small to provide for a subsistence income. Regular periods of migrate labor to the large plantations became part of Guatemalan Indian life".⁵



Deprived of their ancestral land, many San people live in slumlike dwellings and in great poverty. Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.

⁵) "Issues in Indigenous Poverty and development", Roger Plant.

Poverty amidst IPs finds its roots in colonization, the destruction of indigenous economic and socio political systems, continuing systematic racism and discrimination, social exclusion and the non-recognition of IPs individual and collective rights. In several countries IPs were part of the pre-independence liberation movements and fought side by side with others against the colonizers. Yet when the nation state came into being, they in turn perpetuated their internalized colonization.

IPs felt betrayed by the new state when they saw that the new rulers had violated the economy and local sovereignty that their ancestors fought and died for. Legal, political, economic and cultural systems in the European mould were put into place that ignored or contradicted the pre-existing social, political and cultural systems that IPs had developed to govern themselves and to govern their relations with nature and neighbors. Indigenous socio-cultural and political systems, which were seen as barriers to the entrenchment of colonial rule or perpetuation of State hegemony, were illegalized or destroyed. These were the factors that led IPs to continue their ancestors' struggle to maintain their pre-colonial self-determining status as Peoples and Nations.

EFFECTS OF NATIONAL POLICIES

Structural inequities and inequalities were further reinforced by legislation of discriminatory and oppressive land laws that ignored IPs' customary land tenure systems and laws. Natural resource management laws of governments contradicted indigenous sustainable natural resource management practices, seen as "wrong" practices. Pervasive paternalism, development aggression and government neglect in providing social services to IPs all contributed to chronic poverty among IPs. Indigenous territories were mainly regarded as resource base areas and it was the sole prerogative of the nation state to decide how to exploit these resources.

THE DEBT BURDEN

The debt burden, undoubtedly, is a major factor in IPs' poverty. To generate exchange to pay for foreign debts, governments rely upon massive extraction of natural

resources for export. In many countries IPs' territories are the last frontiers where such resources are found, because the rest of the lands were taken by agro-pastoralists and on the remaining land the last IPs tried to protect their territories from further plundering by colonizers and even post-colonial governments. To plunder the natural resources may be a solution for some states to reach the MDGs.

Structural adjustment packages tied to foreign loans made basic social services even more inaccessible for IPs. Governments spending most of their budget to service local and foreign debt have problems providing basic services to their majority urban populations. Providing social services to IPs in remote areas gets an even lower priority.

Mineral, oil and gas extraction is carried out in many indigenous territories to generate income to pay back debts. The situation in Ecuador is a classic illustration of the links between the debt problem, extractive industries and indigenous poverty. In Ecuador there is a hope that oil production will help stabilize the economy and eventually be a key component in the reduction of its national debt. The debt has risen from \$200 mill in 1970 to over \$16 billion in 1998. The Government continually favors the interest of foreign companies over its own IPs. Ecuador is leaving itself open to the possibility of continued environmental destruction and human rights violation.

The debt trap has condemned debtor countries to poverty. Unless there is a political will to have strong and effective solutions, such as debt forgiveness and debt arbitration it is difficult to imagine how such countries can ever get out of poverty. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) is one of the international community's responses to the debt problem. IPs belonging to PRSP countries attest that they have never been involved in drawing them up nor were their concerns reflected in any satisfactory way. The PRSPs are by many IPs and civil society organizations seen as recycled structural adjustment policies.

POVERTY

The approach taken – according to MDGs - by a country to cut by half the number of poor and hungry people by 2015, will determine whether IPs' poverty will be alleviated or not. The path of incurring more debts, engaging in more

*In central Africa some Batwa people live as fisher folk around Lake Kivu, on Idjwi Island in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and a few on the shores of Lake Tanganyika and Lake Rweru.
Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.*



aggressive extraction of mineral resources, oil, or gas in IPs' ter-

ritories, or further liberalizing imports to the detriment of traditional livelihoods, will not alleviate poverty among IPs.

Definition of poverty and poverty indicators has been discussed among IPs for years. Poverty is generally defined in terms of income and consumption and is constructed around cash incomes and food expenditures within a market and cash based economic setting. These are parameters that not immediately reflect the realities of many IPs. Important non-income indicators of poverty include:

- Lack of voice or power in political and bureaucratic systems.
- Non-recognition of the collective rights of IPs, and
- Lack of access to basic infrastructure and social services.
- Lack of land and natural resources
- Lack of skills for survival in a changed economy

While there is an increasing number of IPs engaged with the market economy, the majority is still mainly in subsistence production. Thus, the \$1 indicator (absolute poverty) does not make much sense for people who do not sell their labor or who spend little time producing for the market.

The poverty situation for IPs is a relational phenomenon. How they view poverty might also be different to other groups. Some are rich because others are poor. The poverty situation of others may be alleviated, but this may mean further poverty for IPs. Further, poverty, especially for IPs, is a collective phenomenon with historical and structural causes and this cannot simply be dealt with on an individu-

al level. Poverty has to be dealt with and addressed through a human rights-based approach and in particular through the recognition of collective human rights.

TRADITIONAL LIVING

NCA has for years worked among IPs in Rwanda among the hunters, gatherers and fishermen of the Great Lakes.

THE BATWA / IMPUNYU OF RWANDA

The Batwa of Rwanda who still live in the forest call themselves "Impunyu". About 7000 or less are living as Impunyu today. The main problem for these people is that the public forest administration does not allow access to the forest. The result is that most of these Batwa live on the borders of the forest. They use it daily. Going in and out of the area, but cannot live there permanently.

The Impunyu are semi-nomadic, moving from place to place. Their daily life is characterized by hunting small, and medium sized mammals, collecting leaf, fruits, honey and different tubers. Some of these people are good craftsmen and are doing business and trade.

Their religion is built on the knowledge from the forest. They have sacred valleys, hills and caves, trees and swamps. Today many of these secret places have to be visited secretly since the forest now has become national parks. Traditionally when a member of the camp died in the bush, the person was buried on the spot, and the camp was immediately abandoned. Without permanency in the forest, this is difficult.

Traditionally each clan collectively owns an area of the forest. Other clans can visit or travel in areas belonging to other groups, but most of the time they are in their own area. Here they know the resources, plants, water resources, game as their own pocket.

Those who have had their land taken by farmers, often still live in the same areas - now as squatters linked to the farm. Even if many of the Impunyu know how to farm, they rarely cultivate for themselves. Their traditional way of life has been destroyed and working for others or begging very often is the result - not their own cultivation of land. Sharing of resources has been natural for these people. The Impunyu regard begging as primarily a way of asking the Bahutu and Batutsi (the two main groups of Rwanda) to share, not as a sign of a miserable status, but a sign that indicates the miserable state of their forest. Begging in their perspective is also an indication of a sharing culture and does not necessarily have the same negative overtones as in a non-equal culture.

Little is known about gender relations among these people. Usually among hunters and gatherers the society is known to be egalitarian. Through destroying their traditional culture, the egalitarian thinking and way of living may also be destroyed, as women, who were the primary gatherers, have lost the power and status brought about by their strong contribution to the past economy.

THE HADZABE OF TANZANIA

The Hadzabe people of Tanzania are recognized as the original inhabitants, the first people of the area. There is no great discussion about "who was there first".

Until recently they all lived as hunters and gatherers. Living in the bush and close to the Yaeda Valley, they could hunt and collect all natural resources, which were needed for daily life. Game like kudu, eland, dikdik, buffalo, wildebeest and zebra - only to mention some - were hunted. With bows and arrows - poisonous or not poisonous - smaller and bigger game were hunted and brought all necessary meat for the people. In addition they gathered different kinds of fruit, berries and roots. Collecting honey was - and is - an important resource for the Hadzabe.

Today the situation has changed. Still some families are living only by hunting and gathering. Fewer and fewer people have the traditional mobile lifestyle, where they always brought along their arrows and bows, wherever they went. The majority now lives semi-nomadic. Partly settled they are still using the forest for hunting and gathering, but are not moving around as previously. The reason is that during the last 30 years game numbers have been heavily reduced by poaching and loss of habitat, as more and more cattle and farming people moved into the valley.

A main problem for the Hadzabe people has been the Tanzanian tradition of looking at an area where no people are settled, as uninhabited, once more the farmer/cultivator perspective. According to this tradition, an area where no person or family has settled down or not cultivated, has been open for those who can use it. In practice it means that the forest where the hunters and gatherers are living, is uninhabited and those who like can use the land. This land use implies mostly changing the land into something else, and for the Hadzabe this means that they have not only been pushed away from traditional hunting areas and seen cultivators and farmers taking over, but their land is no longer useful.

*"...other Tanzanians often think of our land as unused and empty. But it is not empty. Every part of it is owned and used by us. We have looked after it well. Until so much of our land was taken, the animals, the bees and the plants all multiplied well. We were never hungry. All our neighbors suffered from famines. In the history of the Hadzabe there has never been a famine. No Hadzabe has ever died of hunger when we had our land. But now that so much of our land has been taken, and is still being taken, many Hadzabe are hungry..."*⁴

Without enough land the Hadzabe traditional way of living will be history in a few years. There is a great need for forest, reserve areas with enough game, fruits, roots and water, where hunting and gathering can continue for those who do not want to settle.

PASTORALIST

Several IPs live as pastoralists, with their cattle and other domestic animals. It is a question if they became pastora-

⁴) Gudu Mahiya/Gongo Ptro/Simon Charles - paper presented at conference, Arusha 1999.



From being dependent on the forest for hunting and gathering, more and more Batwa people have taken up pottery as a living. Being a "Potter" creates an opening for stature in social life when access to the forest has been diminished. Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.

Several of these people are being prevented from openly fishing in boats because they do not have fishing licenses. These Batwa people trade fish for other kinds of food or for money. They are good in crafts and the men make canoes and paddles, women baskets, mats and fish traps. Several of them have also small farms and some make pottery.

In Botswana, along the banks of the Okavango Delta, some ||Anikhwe can still be found today, although the estimates are that there are only about 1,000 of them left. They used to be the masters of the swamps, finding their way in the papyrus maze on papyrus rafts, which they used for transporting their hunt and the products of their fishing (with baskets and spears). The ||Anikhwe were largely assimilated by the WaYei who came from East Africa (Great Lakes region) about 400 years ago, and today very few can still speak their own language.

lists due to contact with other groups or through normal evolution, but the Barabeig of Tanzania and the Maasai of Eastern Africa have cattle herds and are roaming on the savannah of Kenya and Tanzania, yet are seen as indigenous peoples. Many pastoralists are nomadic or semi-nomadic- moving seasonally between different areas according to where they can find water and grass. Indigenous people like the Tuareg of Western Africa and Khoekhoe of Southern Africa often depend on the products from their animals. Through animals they get food, income, clothes etc. Several look at their animals as God given and sacred. The Tuareg could not live traditionally without their camels; some of the Sámi-people of Northern Scandinavia are bound to their reindeer for living according to history and traditions. Sheep and goats are part of life for Khoekhoe living traditionally.

FISHERMEN

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Rwanda there is a small group, 3 000 – 4 000 people of indigenous fisher folk, and little is known about them. The majority of them live around Lake Kivu, on Idjwi Island in DRC and a few on the shores of lake Tanganyika and lake Rweru.

POTTERS

Of the between 70 000 and 87 000 Batwa in Central Africa, more than 65 000 fell into this category.

These estimates must be understood in the context of the Batwa. They had to adapt to a new situation according to the immigration of farmers and pastoralists - and other colonizers who took over their forests.

As more and more immigrants arrived and forests became farmland, it got increasingly difficult for many Batwa to obtain wild food and other resources. The Batwa offered themselves as craft workers, labourers and protectors. The women started working as potters. With the forests more and more destroyed, and no need for the immigrants to use Batwa for access to forest resources, the relation to the Batwa changed negatively. Discrimination increased and exploitation became easier and more frequent. The result was that Batwa become more and more semi-settled.

Earlier, still relatively mobile - living in banana leaf and grass huts - they were little concerned about their landlessness. This has changed dramatically during the last years. Give us more land! - Is a cry from the Batwa people

of today. More land for settling and doing agriculture. Settling permanently also creates a need for proper housing which few of the Batwa have today. Still many are living like squatters in non-permanent houses.

From being dependent on the forest for hunting and gathering, more and more people have become dependent on pottery. Pottery replaced the forest traditions, hunting and gathering as a symbol for their identity. Also men are potters, but as pottery became a way of living for these people, also the women's role and importance increased. No forest for hunting, no land for agriculture – the men lose their authority and contribution to the daily income and family life. Their self-esteem and social value are reduced as they lose their role in the family. Alcohol abuse is on the increase, marriages are unstable and moral values have changed.

For the Batwa potters new problems have risen. Industrially produced containers and pots – made of plastic – were pumped into the market. By not increasing the prizes, the Batwa tried to compete with the new products. In practice they did not manage. Inflation and potter substitutes destroyed the Batwa market. Also access to clay has been reduced. They have to walk longer and longer distances to get the right clay. The area for collecting clay may also be privately owned. When pressure on a local resource increases the Batwa lose the competition. Also access to firewood for pot firing is reduced, which makes it even more difficult for the Batwa potters.

The Batwa have often been socially ignored. But being a "Potter" also creates an opening for stature in social life. The process in itself is socially involving the whole community in digging and collecting clay. Being a producer and seller of pots also means that you have contacts with non-Batwa, i.e. you may sell a pot or you may get contacts, which may result in job opportunities. Some argue that the social rewards of pottery are as important as the financial. Losing access to these resources also means losing social and economic income, which could have given these people a better future life and a more secure identity. Their identity are further marginalized when a) they experience that access to the forest is denied, b) that hunting and gathering are not relevant any longer, and c) that the markets for the pottery production are reduced.

INDIGENOUS WOMEN – HOPE AND DESPAIR

TRADITIONAL EGALITARIAN GENDER PATTERNS

Several indigenous societies had traditionally egalitarian gender patterns. Women and men usually complimented each other, both in the family and at work. For most indigenous peoples these patterns have been dramatically changed. The reasons are many. All people in the world are today – in one way or the other – part of the society at large. "Discoveries", colonization, globalization, repression and exploitation have changed the world – also small local societies. Traditional societies have been confronted by the "new world" and find themselves affected and changed – and for the indigenous women changes have usually been negative.

TRIPLY DISCRIMINATED

Indigenous women are often "triple discriminated". They are women, indigenous and they are among the poorest of the poor. Many are part of what is called the "new slavery". Trafficking, bonded and forced labour, sexual harassment and discrimination is for many indigenous women part of their daily life.

The majority of the San people of Southern Africa have lost their land. They are working for white and black farmers and on cattle posts where life is organised according to the cattle owners' racial and gender perspectives. San women usually do domestic tasks and are underpaid, which makes them dependent on men.

In the Great Lakes area of Central Africa, individual property rights systems as opposed to their traditional community based system have weakened the Batwa women's rights to land. The Twa-women are more dependent today than before since it is mainly the men who own land.

The Tuareg women of Western Africa had traditionally a very strong position in society. Some have even talked about a matriarchy among the Tuareg. In cases of divorce it was often the men who had to leave, not the women. When men used to be away for long periods trading and at war, it was the women who were the guardians of culture and traditions in the camp. But years with political conflicts against the majority society reduced control over their nomadic areas, increased destruction of traditions and gave them no say in



*A Tuareg woman and child from Mali. Traditionally, Tuareg women had a very strong position in society. Some even talked about a matriarchy among the Tuaregs.
Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.*

decisions affecting them. Therefore they – and specially their women – are today critically marginalized.

ADOPTING NEW DETRIMENTAL TRADITIONS

Adoption of others' culture and traditions like polygamy and female circumcision has reduced the position of the women. Female genital mutilation (FGM) is something new among the Tuareg, but is well known and still practised among some indigenous peoples of Eastern Africa. FGM is a violation of the human rights of the girls and women who experience it. FGM should be opposed and abandoned, and culturally appropriate and acceptable alternatives to the tradition found.

Many indigenous peoples live in areas of conflict – in Asia, Latin America and Africa. When situations of conflict prevail women usually suffer most. In the DRC, Burundi and Rwanda – the Batwa have been the victims of ethnical discrimination and physical violence. Rape has become “normal” and prostitution a way of survival.

Additional to “external” violence, domestic violence is also increasing. Where previously women were never in a subservient position, most are now living a life of degradation, marginalization, and losing their culture and “meaning of life”. Any conflict has the potential to end in violence, especially through the increasing abuse of alcohol. Men who feel out of control resort to violence and the women are the

victims. All over the world, indigenous women tell the same story. Abuse is heavily linked with losing their traditional position in society.

POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS

But, some positive development is taking place. At the “Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues” (PFII) the indigenous women are standing up and speaking for themselves. Some have got political positions and use it in their fight for indigenous rights and development. The Republic of Ecuador has an indigenous woman as foreign minister, in Burundi Twa women are elected to parliament.

The UN system through its PFIP has created a meeting place for indigenous peoples – and women are central in using this Forum. Increasingly indigenous women are forming organizations that target their specific needs and concerns. Indigenous women's organizations often target the same issues as non-indigenous women do – like health, violence, domestic violence, trafficking, FGM etc – but they do it with their perspective and their knowledge.

EDUCATION AND CHILDREARING

The progressive childrearing practices of the indigenous peoples are interesting. Compared to the traditionally more rigid, hierarchical education systems of other people, new modern education trends tend to follow the participatory, non-competitive, peer-inclusive and experimental learning techniques that hunter-gatherers used to follow. Story-telling, drama and artistic expression were the focus of education techniques, and children were always included as equals, never oppressed or excluded, so a natural curiosity for learning was cultivated.

This contradicts strongly with the formal education systems they are forced into, especially the competition, the emphasis on the individual rather than the group, and for IPs the issue of separation (from their siblings in different classrooms, etc) and from their parents and clans by taking them to boarding schools, have resulted in massive problems to access literacy and other educational practices that they need to survive in the modern world.

BATWA WOMEN OF THE GREAT LAKES AREA

One of NCA's main target groups in Great Lakes area is Batwa and the Batwa women.

RULERS OF THE FORESTS

The Batwa of Rwanda, Burundi and eastern Congo (DRC) used to be the rulers of the mountain forest in the area. Men went hunting in the bush, while the women gathered needed food from what they found in nature. Knowledge collected through history and generations made the Batwa to a certain degree a part of the forest. "We are the forest, and the forest is us", the Batwa say.

TODAY – ALL IS LOST!

Batwa are now among the poorest people of the area. All land is gone – taken by other more powerful people. Huge forest areas are today used for agriculture or defined as National Parks where the Pygmies are not allowed to live. Lack of land and deep-rooted discrimination has reduced many Batwas to beggars and squatters.

The political conflict in the Great Lakes area has further created huge problems for the indigenous peoples. The Rwandan genocide in 1994, the following war in DRC and conflicts in Burundi have resulted in death, rape, abduction and acts of cannibalism against IPs. The Batwa population of Rwanda was reduced with 50% during the genocide. 25% were killed, and 25% fled to neighboring countries.

Most of the killed and displaced Batwa were men, which created extreme difficulties for the indigenous women left. Many not only lost their husbands, but also the small income they had as a family. Women have become the most marginalized among the marginalized, suffering a double discrimination because of ethnicity and gender. The women of Great Lakes do not own land and can only obtain user-rights via their husbands. A Twa widow may continue using her husband's land, particularly if she has children. The same will usually happen if the husband has left her, or they have separated because of abuse. Lack of land will particularly affect the Twa woman. She is mainly responsible for providing food for the whole family.

Twa women have great problems getting necessary education. Scarce income and resources for education are spent on boys. Girls marry earlier than men, and are expected to continue domestic work during their school years. Lack of education creates severe consequences for women. Employment and holders of positions in the main society are reduced. Still the Batwa society is fairly egalitarian. Division of labor, right to choose their marriage partner, sharing of food, control by fathers or uncles, divorce from their husbands – is fairly similar between the sexes.

Some IPs have resorted to developing school systems alongside the modern one, which teaches children cultural values and helps preserve information contained in the languages and practices of IPs. Examples of such are the Yanomani, and the new education programs emerging in the San groups in Southern Africa. Many of the more modernized IPs, such as the Native Americans, the Sámi and the Maori, are trying to re-introduce educational systems that reflect their past, their history but also the methods of education they used to have.

5. Some Human Rights Challenges

We are fenced in like cattle in a kraalwe don't know what we can do to hold onto traditions, everything is against us.

Dawid Kruiper, Welkom, southern Kalahari

Indigenous peoples (IPs) have all the same fundamental rights and freedoms as other people. In addition, due to their distinct relation to states and the rule of law, and because they suffer discrimination and are vulnerable to abuse, international law has also developed specific legal provisions to secure and protect their rights.

LAND RIGHTS

Securing land rights is fundamental for the lives and culture of IPs. It is not possible for IPs to practise their distinct cultures and determine their own development and future without access to and rights over natural resources and land. This is the same all over the world. During the last two or three decades a mobilization of indigenous communities to protect and secure rights to land has given results.

In Latin America organizations have actively been fighting for indigenous rights through titling and legislation of territories. But the situation differs between different countries. In Columbia IPs representing 2% of the population have achieved the legislation of indigenous areas corresponding with one third of national territory. In Brazil more than 15 million hectares are recognized in favor of indigenous peoples. The Amazon Indians of Peru have achieved titling of about 7 million hectares, while in Bolivia recognition is going very slowly.

Africa experiences a land rights situation which is a catastrophe. Since colonial times hunters and gatherers in Africa have lost large tracts of land, and the disturbing situation continues. South Africa is the only country where some San groups have got their land claims recognized. Due to a new and progressive constitution, after the liberation of South Africa in 1994, the ǀKhomani San got some land back in the Kgalagadi area of South Africa. The land was handed over by the then Vice President Mr. Thabo Mbeki.

In Namibia and Botswana the situation is much more difficult. The Botswana government does not accept the Basarwa (San people of Botswana) as indigenous, and is constantly denying them any land rights, as they can mostly not prove that they will be able to use it for pastoralist or

agricultural purposes. In Burundi and Rwanda the land rights situation remains very difficult. Too many people living on too small areas, internal struggles for power, forest clearance for agriculture and wildlife conservation are some of the many problems facing the *Great Lakes* areas. And to date - none of the African countries have signed the ILO 169.

In Asia the situation varies significantly between the different countries. In Thailand there is no recognition of indigenous peoples called hill tribes. In Laos the situation is better. Here forest areas have been allocated to some communities. In the Philippines the so-called ancestral domains of indigenous peoples and communities can be titled. But it is a complicated procedure, which usually needs external support.

CONVENTIONS AND LAND RIGHTS

The International labor Organization (ILO) is the specialized Agency of the United Nations (UN) that seeks the promotion of social justice and international human and labor rights. ILO is well known by indigenous peoples throughout the world as being the UN agency that is responsible for the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples convention – convention no. 169.

THE ILO CONVENTION 169

This ILO convention 169 when produced in 1989, broke new ground. It included a principle that “aboriginal title” derives from immemorial possession and does not depend on any act of the state. The term land is generic and includes the woods and water upon it. Articles 14 and 15(1) state:

Article 14

1. The rights of ownership and possession of the peoples concerned over the lands, which they traditionally occupy, shall be recognized. In addition, measures shall be taken in appropriate cases to safeguard the right of the peoples concerned to use lands not exclusively occupied by them, but to which they have traditionally had access for their subsistence and traditional activities. Particular attention shall be paid to the situation of nomadic peoples and shifting cultivators in this respect.

2. Governments shall take steps as necessary to identify the lands, which the peoples concerned traditionally occupy, and to guarantee effective protection of their rights of ownership and possession.

3. Adequate procedures shall be established within the national legal system to resolve land claims by the peoples concerned.

Article 15

The rights of the peoples concerned to the natural resources pertaining to their lands shall be specially safeguarded. These rights include the rights of these peoples to participate in the use, management and conservation of these resources.

ILO has also a special provision regarding relocation by force. Under article 12 in convention 107, indigenous and tribal people cannot be reallocated except according to national law for reasons of national security, economic development and their own health. A huge problem is that many indigenous peoples live in countries which have not ratified the ILO conventions. Only 17 countries have ratified them and no African countries. Right now, a court case is going on in Botswana. The case is about the rights of a group of San people to live and stay in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. Even if Botswana not has ratified the convention, it is possible for the San to use it as a reference and a tool for promotion of their rights.

In article 13, which is the first article related to land rights, the ILO conventions also stress the collective rights which are also related to the indigenous peoples' cultural and spiritual values to the areas and territories where they live.

It is the "collective" which has rights – not only the individual. The western ideas that land can be privately own is usually not possible – it is an anathema among the indigenous. Land – as water, plants, trees and wild animals – all belong to the whole community. It should be shared; you take what you need but not more. "Sharing of resources" which has become a slogan in the western world, is customary among the indigenous peoples. Sharing, not selling was the indigenous way of life. A Native American tried to explain this to white Americans:

"Our land is more valuable than your money. It will last forever.... As long as the sun shines and the waters flow, this land will be here to give life to men and animals. We cannot sell the lives of men and animals. The Great Spirit put it here for us and we cannot sell it because it does not belong to us. You can count your money and burn it within the nod of a buffalo's head, but only the Great Spirit can count the grains of sand and the blades of grass on the plains. As a present to you, we will give you anything what we have that you can take with you, but the land, never"
(Ceawfoot, a Blackfoot native Indian chief)⁷

The ILO convention has been unique in their recognition of the collective rights of indigenous groups to own land and other resources. The ILO-convention is in UN terminology part of the so-called *third generation of rights*. *First generation* were linked to Civil and Political Rights. *Second generation* to Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, i.e. a kind of "hierarchy" of rights – even if it is not the UNs intention...

THE AFRICA CHARTER

The Africa Charter, adopted by Organization of African Unity (OAU), came into force in 1989. It was retained by AU as part of the African Union's objectives. Differently from the "generation thinking" in the UN, the charter protects all rights in the same document. And the document expressly recognizes and protects the collective rights and uses the term "peoples" in its provisions.

The indigenous peoples of the world are united in their common history and common experience. They are represented by organizations helping them making a positive impression on the future of the indigenous people. A few common features should be emphasized:

THE RELATION TO LAND AND WATER

Land and water are the basis for everyone, but this applies especially to the indigenous peoples. Water rights are intimately related to land rights. The land and water of the ancestors are grounded in all of their cosmology. Not only is the daily food taken from these elements, but the land and the water also have a spiritual quality. The land has been given to them by the ancestors and will be passed on

⁷) Miller Lee (ed) "From the Heart": Voices of the American Indians (Pimilico 1997).

We used to hunt these animals but they did not get finished and did not run away. Now the government has taken our animals from our control, and we do not know how to get the government to give back the control of our animals to us, because these animals were given to us by God, saying, "this is your life".

Moyo Tsende, Ngarange, Botswana

to the next generation. The past, the present and the future are woven together. Inheritance and respect for traditions are united in their traditional way of life. Land cannot be bought or sold. It is managed by the clan or the group, and owned by the ancestors or the gods.

During the last decades, land privatization policies have given the indigenous peoples less access to land and water resources. The consequences have been dramatic for many IPs. Some of the consequences have been distinct in Northern- and Southern Africa. Consequences of war and

conflict in the Sahel area south of the Sahara- to take an example - is also that the pastoralists and nomads are under pressure to leave their traditional way of life. When different interests and different groups fight for the same resources, indigenous peoples usually lose.

Southern Africa is generally a water-scarce region. Countries like Namibia and Botswana have difficulty in obtaining sufficient water to meet the people's needs. Huge plans of dam building (Epupa and Popa Falls in Namibia) and drawing water from Okavango to the capital, Windhoek, has been proposed. If proposals are carried through, it may create huge problems for indigenous peoples in the areas and take away more land and resources from them.

FROM WATER FOR ALL, TO WATER FOR A FEW

In Botswana water rights were traditionally associated with a social unit like clans, bands and families. Customary law gave all people rights to use surface water, rivers and springs. But in tribal grazing areas rules were different. Here the right to surface water was confined to tribal people or wards that were granted access to those areas. Permission was needed if you as an individual (belonging to another ward) wanted to drive cattle through the grazing area to water your animals. If you did not follow the rule, your cattle could be confiscated. At the same time, during stressful times, the San and other people followed the rule that individuals and cattle in dire need of water should be granted access to it. Unfortunately this generosity often gave cattle owners right of entrance into San lands that they regretted bitterly afterwards.

With new technology, drilling of wells, using of pumps and pipes, the right to water also changed. Private interests took over and communal access and rights were reduced. People who had resources to drill a borehole were able to get de facto rights over the water and the lands surrounding the well. Few San have had resources to drill for water. Instead they have been denied access to areas, which used to be part of their hunting and gathering areas. Part of the response of San NGOs to this land loss is to apply for land and drill for water, which then ironically give the San legal access to pieces of the land they once owned, but without "papers"!

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS

In the indigenous world, a kind of new colonialism has been observed for years! Theft of traditional knowledge, of what is called "intellectual property" has become good business for pharmaceutical and biotechnology companies. Many of us may use products - creams, pills, and medicine - made of tubers, roots, berries and leaves. These are resources from nature's own pantry, knowledge and traditions gathered by the indigenous peoples. The main problem may not be that these products are developed and used. The problems are that the indigenous peoples sharing their knowledge and traditions often have been deceived. Their property rights are not recognized; they are usually not paid for their knowledge collected through generations. And huge land areas - their land - may be sold to multinationals by the government for profit.

Through thousands of years the indigenous peoples have collected and accumulated knowledge of their environment. In no time this knowledge may be stolen - making good profit for a few, while destroying indigenous culture and traditions for an indigenous nation. Life-long experimentation of nature - of biological and genetic resources - may then be stolen for good. To fight against these bio-pirates and multinational cooperations is a huge challenge. Through patents, the multinationals have the control, and the locals lose all their influence over own way of life and

how their knowledge is commercialised.

THE KALAHARI BUSH SAVANNA

The Kalahari is not a traditional desert but a bush savanna.

Usually it is dry like a desert. But during short periods of the year – if enough rain comes - Kalahari is like a beautiful garden. The yellow grasses are blowing in the wind, the creepers in pink, yellow and white blossoms and the acacia

THE FIGHT FOR THE CENTRAL KALAHARI GAME RESERVE (CKGR)

The CKGR was created in 1961 by the government of the former British Protectorate of Bechuanaland. A 52 347 square kilometer area was established for the game and the San people living there. It was unique in Southern Africa since it was created with the aim to protect both nature and securing the rights of the maximum 2000 people living there. During the years seven villages were made with 40 to 500 people settled – mostly San. The communities were provided with water by the government. A school and clinic were built at Xade (correct spelling Cade or |Ade) – the largest settlement in CKGR - for three different ethnical groups.

Bechuanaland got independence in 1966 and became Botswana. Two decades later, the government announced after conducting an evaluation that residents of the Reserve should be encouraged – not forced – to relocate outside CKGR. Since 1986 the people of CKGR – the great majority are San – have been fighting for their rights to live permanently inside the reserve. In 1997 about 500 people, comprising close to half of the about 1200 inhabitants of the Reserve, were resettled at NewXade outside the boundaries of CKGR. According to many San, they were relocated by force. Trucks were brought in by the government to remove people and they were compensated for infrastructure lost, such as fields, houses etc, but not for the value of the land they lost. “The end of the day” came in 2002 when the government closed down all services to remaining residents. Having first been made used to permanent access to water, to be without this necessary water suddenly, survival was threatened and most San had to leave the Game Reserve. Different reasons are proposed as to why the government did this. Some say that:

- Having people in a game reserve is contradicting the policy and interest of nature conservation.
- Others argue that the main reason may be discovery

of diamonds in the desert.

- Many claim that the hunting and gathering practices of the San have changed so that they no longer are the conservationists that they once were

But for the Batswana, - the government and people of Botswana - the main argument in favor of the removal of the San can also be understood as a “civilizing project” towards people considered to be the most “backwards” in the country. In Botswana, most people, for whom their own “primitive” past is just too close for comfort, see being a hunter and gatherer as an embarrassment. The life of the San is strongly looked at and associated with poverty and as an indication of political failure. Historically not only San but also many other people relied on hunting and gathering for periods. War and drought could temporarily destroy their other forms of livelihood. For a common Mtswana it is difficult to understand that some people would prefer hunting and gathering instead of being “assimilated” into the society at large. We can disagree, but it is important to have this in mind when more Western “romantic thinking” argues for the traditional way of San life.

It is a tragedy – both for the San and the government - that Botswana’s attempt to integrate or assimilate San into mainstream Tswana society, in practice has shown the reality of the government’s reactionary policy towards indigenous peoples. Instead of creating space and living conditions for the few San wanting to live in CKGR, the governments’ actions and reactions have shown the root cause of the problem. An image of an outdated thinking and policies of handling indigenous issues has been displayed - which San and Botswana probably will suffer from in years to come.

ISA (INSTITUTO SOCIOAMBIENTAL), A KEY HUMAN RIGHTS PARTNER IN BRAZIL

ISA was created in the 1970s. During the dictatorship the Civil rights movement were active fighting for human rights and political independence. People were very little aware of the situation for the Indians. Many even thought they were extinct. The government was the only "unit" – more or less – knowing about the Indians but their involvement was very limited and marginal. During this period several organizations were established putting the indigenous peoples of Brazil on the agenda. And maps – concrete maps produced – would become very important for documentation of IPs' rights to land in the years to come. To find out where the Indians were living, to count them and to localize them on maps would be a strategy and a way of visualizing the Indians of Brazil.

Anthropologists, lawyers – different kinds of professions etc. got engaged in indigenous issues during the 1980s, and they gave input to the new constitution that was produced in 1988-89. When ISA was launched, it had highly qualified people with extensive experience in defending social and environmental rights. The organization needed and had a broad base which gave it the possibility to do what was demanded and necessary. ISA was built up by professionals who had been working with indigenous issues since the 70s. Today the organization has more than 100 employees (the largest Brazilian organization working with indigenous peoples). The main office is located in Sao Paulo and is very solid and impressive.

ISA's objectives are to:

- Defend collective socio-environmental rights
- Monitor and propose alternatives for public policies
- Research, distributing and documenting socio-environmental information
- Develop participatory models of socio-environmental sustainability and
- Strengthen the institutional structure of local partners.

ISA HAS SEVERAL PROGRAMS:

THE XINGU PROGRAM. Relates to the Xingu Park and area in the Mato Grosso province. This is home to 14 indigenous groups. The program's objectives is to support indigenous initiatives in protecting, managing and controlling their territory and its natural resources, train indigenous teachers, strengthen the

institutional structures of indigenous associations, and monitor regional and national public policies.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN BRAZIL. ISA is the main organization of information of the indigenous peoples in Brazil. They have a huge and very impressive material production. Written material (books, reports), digital information, a website especially for IPs with and on-line encyclopaedia with profiles of more than 120 indigenous peoples.

RIO NEGRO. A program developed in cooperation with the IPs of the Rio Negro province. The objectives are to develop projects, which protect indigenous areas, promote sustainable activities, adequate food production, income generating activities and cultural appropriate forms of education and health care. To create cooperation and to increase dialogue between the 22 IPs of the province - to have a joint approach to development, is a key factor.

Other programs ISA is implementing are "Sao Paulo Metropolitan Region Water Sources" (about water resources, deforestation, information and sustainable use of the Sao Paulo metropolitan water resources), "Socio-Environmental Rights and Policies" (with legislative and executive branches of the government to fulfil and improve social environmental policies), "Vale do Ribeira" (working to guarantee the rights of traditional communities by information, training and socio-environmental monitoring), "Monitoring of Protecting Areas" (generating, systematizing and provision of information about indigenous areas, conservation units, colonist settlements, military areas, gold prospecting reserves, and other public lands).

ISA has during the last 10 years been an important instrument for change in developing a progressive and good national "code of law" for the rights of indigenous peoples and biodiversity. With the government of Lula in position ISA thought – as other organizations working with indigenous issues – that they had got an ally. But the two first years of Lula have been disappointing and have not lived up to their expectations.

Kalahari - this hostile environment, where little can survive, looks like an Eden after a long spell of rain. (Photo: Hans Petter Hergum)



trees stand majestically with thorns and green leaves. This hostile environment where little can survive looks then like an Eden for a few days and weeks. With experience and well-trained eyes, San may collect what they need in these areas – to last the whole year.

Kalahari truffle is one of the delicacies from the desert. It is a fungus that may be baked in hot ashes, boiled in salted water or fried in a pan. A fantastic taste! Another plant is Harpago or called Devils Claw, named after its seeds, which has long, claw like, pointed barbs. It is a root producing a substance that has varied medical effects. For generations the indigenous peoples have used it as a medical tea and remedy for pain, fever and inflammation. Without the San, probably nobody would ever have realized the plant's hidden medical properties. Namibia is today the greatest producer and supplier of the Harpago root.

Hoodia, a third native succulent, is a cactus-like plant. Probably San have used Hoodia through thousands of years to suppress hunger. During the war in Namibia soldiers saw how San people, used as trackers, could go on and on without eating anything except Hoodia. Hoodia contain ingredients that override the natural appetite. For the people of the so-called developed world, getting heavier and heavier, Hoodia could be the slimming-saviour for those who are too fat. Slimming pills may give good profit, but for whom?

Plants like Harpago, Kalahari Truffle, Hoodia and other topsoil resources in the Kalahari are part of "the San people's garden". And according to all people's thinking – to

steal fruit or vegetables from other people's gardens, is illegal. Not so it seems when it comes to IPs and their gardens. A huge problem for the San is that multinational corporations – without asking or discussing with the San – get patents of natural resources and do not give San any share in the profits. Experience and knowledge developed over generations may suddenly be commercialized and taken from the IPs. Luckily there are discussions now between commercial interest and the San to find benefit-sharing solutions for how to use the natural resources of the Kalahari. Difficult negotiations are proceeding, facilitated by Working Group for Indigenous Minorities (WIMSA), the political network of the San organizations, hopefully with satisfactory results for all involved. But it is very complicated, and several questions related to rights have to be resolved. One is: what is appropriate or fair share in the profits for the IPs? How much credit should be given to the contribution of traditional knowledge and how much should be given to the scientific achievement?

6. Being Indigenous by Birth

A COMMON ANCESTOR

-Imagine an airline check-in queue in Chicago or London. Seven people stand there, looking in different directions. One is a solicitor of Afro-Caribbean origin, another a blond-haired girl from northern Europe, another a computer expert who was born in India. The fourth is a Chinese teenager listening to music on a Walkman. The fifth, sixth, and seventh are all attending a conference on rock art and come respectively from Australia, New Guinea and South America. All seven are quiet, and avoid eye contact because they neither know one another nor feel related in any way. Yet, it can be proved they are related and ultimately all have an African female and male ancestor in common.⁸

It is more and more clear that the history of indigenous peoples is the history of mankind. According to several geneticists and new knowledge, it is now possible to trace the geographic route taken by our ancestors back to an ultimate

In the "environmental movement" there is an understanding that the diversity of nature has its own value, and that diversity is important for the future of the earth and of mankind. There should also be an acceptance for a global diversity of "life forms", where the life forms of the indigenous people are included. The indigenous people have a right to live and develop in accordance to their own culture and their own traditions. Their culture and traditions consists of values that will be kept for the future. To lose your culture is maybe the extreme form of poverty. This means that indigenous peoples should be an obvious target group for support and cooperation.

We are living in a context, in a situation where we see that to support indigenous peoples is also a way of supporting ourselves. We experience that our economic, social and cultural processes are disempowering and potentially ruinous to our earth. To work among people whom we call indigenous, is a way of going back to "mother earth", in order to relearn who we are and where we are coming from, and – which is very important – to put our relationships in perspective: to relearn means that we not only "give" but "receive". I.e. it is recognition that we are seeking support from those we are seeking to support.



The San of Southern Africa represent the "oldest ethnic group" living on Earth today. Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.

birthplace, which is Africa. We can now follow the mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA, also called "the Eve gene", because it only can be passed from mother to child), which we inherit from our mother, who inherited it from her mother and so on, back through generations. The same can be done with the Y-chromosomes ("the Adam-gene"). I.e. that mankind, by using mtDNA and the Y-chromosome – which remains uncorrupted with each generation – can be traced in an unbroken line to our original female and male ancestors.

The accuracy of dating is still uncertain, but the genetics talks about "two family gene trees" – one for our mothers and the others for our fathers. Through these gene-trees we can now trace individuals back to their recent ancestors. The ancestors may have lived 300, 3000 or 130 000 years ago, but all ancestors – they say – can be placed on the Adam- and Eve genetic trees.

By tracing the history of mankind backwards, we end up with the indigenous peoples. And it seems that the San people of Southern Africa, the Hadzabe of Tanzania and the BaMbuti of Great Lakes are the three "oldest" ethnical groups living on earth today. That places these three groups, their history, their traditions, their culture etc. in a historical context and reality, which is extremely important to protect and preserve for the future. It also emphasizes the importance of supporting with

⁸) "Out of Africa's Eden" Stephen Oppenheimer 2003.

The San person when God created him was to work as a waste material in the world. Every man who enters gives a rule that the san people cannot be rich, they must just be there as rubbish. Everyone say San people must just stand there and work for us without money.

Hans Blouberg, Namibia

everything we can the culture and knowledge still existing in the oldest of old groups, for our own sake as well as theirs.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND CULTURE

There are few people who deserve our support, solidarity and aid more than indigenous peoples. Not only are the majority of them among the poorest in the world; in addition their culture and way of life are marginalized. The land, or "Mother Earth" as the indigenous peoples often call it, is taken away. Cattle are now grazing the areas where they used to hunt and gather. They are displaced. Their language lost. It is not just an issue of poverty and hunger; they are also losing their own "self". When your culture, language and way of life are displaced, a big part of your self is "dying". This is the ultimate marginalization.

A SPIRITUAL LIFE LINKED TO LAND AND NATURE

Indigenous peoples live all over the world. They have often adapted the traditions, religions and way of life from the majority in the country they live. It means that we find Hindus, Christians, Muslims and Buddhists – to mention four of the main world religions – among indigenous peoples.

But traditionally – and still for many IPs – spiritual life is more closely linked to land and nature than what is experienced in other religions. Many of them have learnt to balance this connectedness with their new, introduced religions in a satisfactory and meaningful way.

NATURE IS SACRED

Life and nature is not only linked, but more or less the same. You cannot separate life from the surroundings. Human beings, land and nature are one. With such an understanding it is totally absurd when non-indigenous people talk about moving IPs from one area to another. When you and the soil where you are born are one, then you cannot move anything without destroying the totality.

Nature is sacred for IPs. For many IPs God is not believed to have taken on a human form, but inhabits in nature itself. God is everywhere, in the landscape, in the water, in the animals, in human beings. To live according to nature is to

live according to God. If you do not live in harmony with your surroundings you have to face the consequences.

For most IPs, between the spirit and the people a Shaman is needed to provide a bridge to the deity. He or she is the one "translating" God's voice through different rituals and performances. As a hunter and gatherer, one is dependent on an interpretation of what nature is saying to you. To understand the world of the spirits and how to influence them, to be on their side, is of great importance for survival.

Different IPs interpret and interact with the environment differently. The Damara people of Namibia are very silent when gathering wild foods. The reason is that they believe that their ancestors may be disturbed if they are too noisy. The Nagas of India and Myanmar have, like many others, an animistic tradition. That means that they believe in the existence of spiritual beings inhabiting nature. But, at the same time they also believe in a God – a Creator. Interestingly enough their God is also a Trinity: the Creator or the High God, the Spirits living in the sky, and Earth Spirits.

For the Efe people, the BaMbuti pygmies living in Ituri forest of DRC, the forest is their universe. Here humans, animals and plants cooperate. Efe acknowledge a Superior Being. At the same time they think that their forests are full of spirits. Through sounds and whistling the Efe communicate with the spirits of the forests and ask for a good hunt. In a kin group of Efa they share a common totem, an animal which is a symbol of the group, and which should not be killed and eaten.

The San groups believe in a Creator as well as the presence of a Trickster, a negative being who stands between them and God and is responsible for their misfortunes and failures, especially their illnesses. Wellbeing is a sign of being in balance with nature and with God, therefore the role of the healer (Shaman) especially through trance dancing, is of utmost importance in restoring this balance, putting the Trickster in his place and returning their connectedness with God, nature and each other.

LANGUAGE

One of IPs' characteristics is the uniqueness and importance



Nature is sacred for indigenous people. God inhabits nature itself. God is everywhere, in the landscape, in the water, in the animals and in human beings. Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.

of their languages. Often they are very different from those of society at large. Most Indians, for example from America, have their different languages understood by few others apart from those belonging to that particular group. The same can be said about IPs in other parts of the world. Language is very important in the context of identity. Several indigenous groups around the world today are struggling to retain or revive their languages. To be taught in your mother-tongue – especially the first years in primary school – has been proven to be of utmost importance and is a demand which very often does not exist on the priority list of the state. For the politicians, the educational systems and for the teachers – for reasons of finance and other resources – this is a huge challenge. Yet there is a growing lobby for this to be available to all groups and even studies that show how mother tongue education is a cheaper option for education due to its long-term effects in a country.

NATURE – THAT’S ME! INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE OF NATURE

The term “primitive” is often used about indigenous peoples. In the context of being “aboriginal” the term is correct. However, the word is usually used with a negative connotation, referring to a state of being less developed.

From such a definition, the term “primitive” is not a fitting term to describe indigenous peoples.

In areas where the indigenous still live as they have been living for generations, no one else can be regarded as more developed than them. They are the ones who know the names and usage of all the plants and animals in nature: which roots are edible, which can cure what sickness, how to find enough water during drought, how to navigate in the desert where the sand dunes look all the same, or where the forest is so thick it looks as if impassable. The indigenous are not admirers of nature – they are part of nature. Many know their surroundings far better than we know our own pantry. Knowing their surroundings is a question of survival. The knowledge the indigenous encompass is not only vital for their survival, but is increasingly acknowledged to be vital to the whole world. One important example is in the area of medical development. Biological diversity has value in its own right, but is of crucial value for the world and the survival of the human race.

A growing acknowledgement of the necessity and impor-

NARO – ONE OF SEVERAL SAN-LANGUAGES

In Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe there are about 30 different San languages, of which 14 are still spoken. Naro, one of the languages of the Khoe family, is mainly spoken in western Botswana and eastern Namibia. 10 000 people have it as their mothertongue, and 8000 as their second language. The language has 3 dialects and 4 different clicks (dental, alveolar, palatal and lateral). Additionally, each click has 7 different ways in which it can be pronounced, therefore altogether 28 different click-sounds! For around 20 years some San people in the Ghanzi area have been spending time and resources to try and write songs and produce materials in an orthography chosen by themselves. In the beginning of the 1990s the Reformed Church in D’Kar, with the Kuru Family of Organizations, started a Naro Language Project with the help of Dutch linguists, to describe and teach people to read and write this click language. Today, many publications, a monthly newsletter, a primer, several translated Bible books and about 6 community literacy groups exist in the area and the language is flourishing.

With a small move of his hand, Thomas stopped us. 40 meters further up the road a Dikdik (a small deer) had taken off running. Thomas knew just how curious the deer was, and moved on quickly, while the rest of us remained dead frozen.

Sure enough, soon the Dikdik stopped, turned around and peeked curiously. It noticed us, but not Thomas who had quickly and quietly moved away as the deer was running. In the few seconds the Dikdik had remained standing, Thomas had put his arrow with poison on the bow. The deer never had time to run. The arrow hit the deer and killed it instantly.



Hadzabe man from Tanzania making arrows. Fewer and fewer of the Hadza People live a traditional life from hunting and gathering in the forest. Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.

tance of variation in ways of living and adapting to nature is gaining ground. Norwegian Church Aid is supporting initiatives securing the rights of cultures to live and develop freely on their own terms. One such example is the Hadzabe of Tanzania.

Even in periods of drought and lack of food, the Hadza people of the Kidero Mountains hardly go hungry. They always know what they can utilize. It may not always be easy to find food, but they are seldom without food. In Africa today, however, hunger threatens those who have lost the knowledge of the abounding nature. In the deserts where the

San people live, in the mountain areas of the Hadza people, or in the forests of the Batwa people, those of us calling ourselves “developed” are the ones who are helpless. We cannot survive for long, often not even for many hours, in these environments. The indigenous have lived here for more than 50,000 years. They were the first ones to live here. However, purely undeserved, their way of doing so has been rejected by society at large.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

CONTEMPORARY SAN ART

In the Kalahari in Botswana, a place of inspiration can be found. Not far from the desert town of Ghanzi, in D'kar, the Naro people have produced and developed art for close to twenty years, which now is well known around the world. Several successful international exhibitions have been arranged – in Africa, in Europe, in America.

The project developed around 1990, by the then Kuru Development Trust – a San development program. The project started after an inspirational tour by the founders of Kuru to the Tsodilo Hills in northwestern Botswana. These hills, also called “The Mountains of God”, rise majestically from the otherwise flat sand of the Kalahari – more than 1350 m above sea level. This was – and still is – a sacred area for the San people, and one of Africa’s premier rock art sites. More than 4500 images have been painted at 400 sites, most of these dating back to 850-1100 AD. The rock paintings screened on the mountains are a source of tremendous inspiration for many of the San people living today, reinforcing their status as The First People.

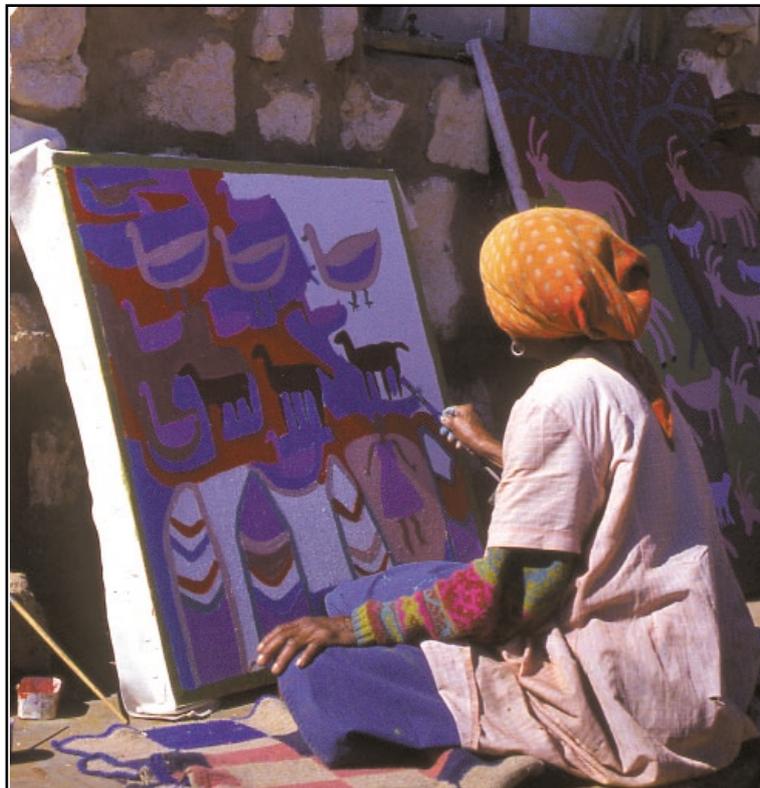
The success of Kuru’s first tour to the Hills gave an explosion of results. The art project was started and an explosion of drawings and paintings, in black and white as well as in vivid colours – presenting the world of the Naro-San people of today, came forth. It immediately was recognized as a form of communicating San culture and mythology to the modern world by an otherwise voiceless people. Shortly after the Kuru Art project was created, it was expanded into a Kuru Cultural centre, which also houses a museum, and resource centre and promotes music, dancing and other forms of tangible and intangible San culture.

From the art project, which had around 20 artists through the years, beautiful art calendars, drawings and paintings are for sale and exhibited all over the world today. There are people who try to downplay this unique art in a derogative way, saying the San paint like children. However, Pablo Picasso – one of the greatest artists the world has produced once said: “I used 15 years of my life to learn painting like a child”. NCA has supported and been cooperating with this San art centre since it’s beginning.

At the Kuru Art project, the Naro-San people have been producing beautiful art for more than 20 years. (Photo: Hans Petter Hergum)

MUSIC

For groups of IPs music is as important as food! A life without music is an empty life. A day without music is a dead day. For illiterate people, music and songs give them a source for their traditions and background – it tells their oral history. For many IPs, singing, dancing and playing an instrument are a part of everyday life. Kids learn about themselves, where they are coming from, their ancestors – their whole life. Songs talk about their history. Poems tell what it means to be indigenous. It presents important events, as well as share sorrows and triumphs of the group, and often their music personifies the deep religious centre of life of an indigenous culture.



CONTEMPORARY MUSIC.

World music is a “form of music” where the new and the old together create a fusion of musical traditions. It is like a melting pot, where the new brew makes new sound. The last years have seen festivals and meetings, music productions and new CDs given out – all with rhythms and sounds inspired by the Indians, the Aborigines, the San and the Pygmies. Herbie Hancock – one of the great jazz musicians of our time, has used the sound of the pygmies on one of his most well known tunes, “Watermelon Man”. Also Madonna in “Bedtime Stories” is influenced by Pygmy music and rhythm.

Marie Boine, a Sámi-musician combines traditional music with modern instruments and jazz, rock tradition. The two famous African Malian songwriters Salif Keita and Ali Farka Toure have for years drawn on Maninka hunters, Songhai and Tuareg musical traditions, respectively. Far from an infringement on intellectual property, this kind of fusion between young and old, indigenous and modern, is a tribute to an ancient world that creates respect and reverence for what we have lost.

THE VOICE OF GOD!

The Mbuti people living close to Lake Kivu and the Ituri-forest of Congo are talking about “the Voice of God”. Deep in the Ituri a sound may suddenly appear and fill the forest with hope and passion. The BaMbuti pygmies are listening to the sound of God that gives them directions and messages for their daily life. The sound is created by an Mbuti playing on a kind of “trumpet” made from the molimo tree, or from a plastic pipe of a certain size. They also sing hunting songs before setting off into the forest. The BaMbuti also have religious festivals where songs, dancing, clapping are key elements. Simple and few words are sung – often praising the animals, which they hope to catch.

For IPs as for many other groups, music has also become a sound of resistance. Music meant a lot during the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Toyi-toyiing through the streets had a huge collective effect on the black people, and sent scary messages of solidarity and hidden power to the white oppressors.

7. Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

SAVING GRACE OR THREAT TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLES?

The MDGs have been mentioned earlier. Let's look a little closer to some of the "blessings" of the MDGs.

The MDGs are huge challenges for the whole world. All countries have to stand together and fight for MDGs if they should be reached. If they are met, there is no doubt that some effects will trickle down to some of the world's 300-500 million IPs. But the question remains whether governments, the international community, civil society, IPs and the private sector can really achieve these goals. It could be that the IPs could become the sacrificial lambs for the reduction of poverty through development projects that will displace them from their lands.

Framing the MDGs as a human rights-based agenda is therefore essential. For IPs it is difficult to talk about development without talking about basic rights to land and resources, culture and identity and self-determination. At the same time, some governments and even inter-governmental organizations, question the wisdom of targeting IPs

LATIN AMERICA AND MDGS

A report on Mexico says that the IPs live in "alarming conditions of extreme poverty and marginality". This study observed that being poor and being indigenous are synonymous: "Virtually all of the IPs living in municipalities with 90% or more IP are catalogued as extremely poor". Statistics in Guatemala show that 50 to 60% of a total population of 11 million persons belongs to 23 different IPs. 54% of them are poor and 22% extremely poor. 60% of households do not have the capacity to earn half of the costs of their minimum food needs despite spending a greater part of their earnings on it. In Ecuador's rural population, of which 90% are indigenous, almost all are living in extreme poverty. Eight out of every ten indigenous children in Ecuador live in poverty according to the indicators published in the Human Development Report for 2001. In Mexico the ratio is 80% vs. 18%, in Peru, 79% of the IP is classified as poor, compared to 50% of the non-indigenous. In Bolivia the ratio is 64% vs. 48%.

as a specific beneficiary group for development.

Yet, the issue of IPs is invisible in the MDGs. A review of the MDGs in some countries show that they are not even mentioned or referred to.

DEVELOPMENT AS A THREAT TO IPs

The term "development" has got a negative connotation for IPs even if it's called "sustainable". Their histories are replete with traumatic experiences with development projects, policies and programmes. In fact, mainstream development is regarded as one of the root causes of their problems. If the MDGs reinforce this paradigm instead of challenging it, there is little hope that the MDGs can really bring positive changes for IPs.

The term "development aggression" refers to the imposition of so-called development projects and policies - without the free, prior and informed consent of those affected, under the rubric of modernisation or nation building. This process can lead to destruction or loss of ancestral territories and resources, denigration of indigenous worldviews and values and of their political, economic and socio-cultural systems and institutions, ecosystem degradation, displacement and violent conflicts. This is often associated with large scale commercial extraction of minerals, oil and gas, logging, building of mega hydroelectric dams, highways, chemical intensive agriculture, industrial forest plantations, designating environmentally protected areas that encroach upon IPs lands, among others. Sectoral loans from international financial institutions, such as education sector, loans that are primarily used to perpetuate the dominant development paradigm and the modernization agenda, can also be considered development aggression.

Research indicates that generally IPs are disproportionately represented among the poorest of the poor in both developed and developing countries. The World Bank study on IPs and poverty in Latin America concluded, "Poverty among Latin America's IPs is pervasive and severe." One conclusion is that poverty map in the region coincides with IPs' territories.

There is a need for disaggregating of data to understand better the particular situations of IPs. The 1994 to '98 issues

EDUCATION – AN ASSET, A DREAM BUT...!

Education, for many IPs, is seen as a way to get out of poverty. At the same time the rate of illiteracy among IPs is usually higher than amongst the majority of the people in the country. The number of indigenous children who go to primary education and finish is also much lower. A 1985 census in Colombia showed that there is a 44% illiteracy rate among the countries 64 indigenous ethno-linguistic groups. Studies by Kuru and WIMSA and others in Southern Africa show that more than 30% of San children who enter school never finish primary school.

A World Bank-study in Mexico gave more or less the same results. There are variations between some of the states, but in Chiapas – to mention one – the illiteracy rate in 1990 was 30%. The national average was 12%. In Bolivia a study concluded that indigenous individuals were 30% more likely to drop out of school than their non-indigenous counterparts. The situation in Africa and Asia is more or less the same as in Latin America.

The main causes of the high levels of illiteracy among IPs and in areas with a huge percentage of IPs are:

- Lack of schools and teachers.
- Lack of teachers who know the indigenous languages and culture
- Isolated and remote communities, implying separation from their parents at a tender age
- Inability to buy school uniforms and materials
- Discrimination and stigma
- Abuse and lack of care
- Absence of bilingual education
- Irrelevance of education for IPs – no emphasis on own history or culture or skills needed by their communities

In spite of the negative picture, education is still seen as important and as an asset by most IPs. But it can also lead to alienation from their group. There is no question that universal primary education is desirable for IPs. However, the quality of education has to be looked into. Does universal primary education make IPs value their indigenous cultures and norms or does it make them deny their iden-

tity or despise their own culture and traditions? In most cases indigenous children who enter the school for the first time are traumatized because they do not understand the language and cultural setting used. They are teased and discriminated against because they speak a strange language or dialect, or look different. They are not dressed like the others and they are often treated badly by teachers who carry their own prejudices. It is therefore not difficult to understand why they so easily drop out of primary school.

For many IPs higher education is only a dream. It is expensive, often far away and lack of funds and support makes it impossible. For those few who are lucky and get higher education, very few decide to go back to their ancestral land after finishing school, and many suffer from the alienation and the emotional impact of having survived the system, leaving them unable to serve their people as hoped.

Another factor is that methods and pedagogical approach are a challenge. The point of view of IPs, their history and culture, traditions and stories are usually absent from the textbooks and curricula. Often discriminatory and derogatory references to IPs are found in the books, reflecting the ignorance and disdain of the majority group and reinforcing the internalized oppression of the IPs. Is due consideration at all given to indigenous teaching and learning?

Bilingual intercultural education is a frequent demand by IPs. General response from the governments is that lack of resources makes this impossible. Positive cases are found in Latin America – Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Guatemala – where educational reforms has led to bilingual intercultural education. In two Southern African countries, Namibia and partly also in South Africa, for the first three years mother tongue education and an effort to provide appropriate cultural education is given. In Botswana the discussion is on the table, but nothing has taken place yet, especially as this would open the door to other minorities wanting that as well.



Some San people of the Kalahari play music with traditional instruments. Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.

of the Human Development Report stressed the importance to disaggregate the human development indicators on the basis of factors such as gender, race and ethnicity, and geography in order to portray more accurately and act appropriately in response to such indicators. If the IPs' situations are accurately reflected in the report, the ranking of coun-

ASIA AND MDGS

The Asia Development Bank undertook a study in 2002 on the poverty situation of IPs and ethnic minorities in Vietnam, the Philippines, Cambodia and Indonesia. Because of lack of disaggregated data based on ethnicity the study could not establish trends in the relationship between poverty and ethnicity. But in the case of Vietnam such disaggregated data does exist. The findings are that the worst poverty situation in Vietnam is among the ethnic minorities who live in the Highland areas of Northern and Central Vietnam.⁸

tries with IPs in the Human Development Index (HDI) goes down. Mexico ranked as 48 among 120 countries in 1996. If the IPs are excluded from the report, Mexico ranks up as 29. A similar situation will be experienced with most other countries having IPs. The Human Development Report (HDR) for 2004 concludes that IPs are more likely to be poor than non-IPs. It further said that in many countries, public spending and basic social services is "systematically discriminating against minorities and IPs".

Data disaggregating was one of the recommendations that emerged from the first and second sessions of the PFII.

It is common that even those IPs living in territories richly endowed with natural resources, remain the poorest of the poor. Chiapas in Mexico is an example. It is the main producer of gas and oil, yet most indigenous women cut firewood for cooking. Around 11 million people in Mexico live in extreme poverty and the great majority of them are IPs.

⁸) "Indigenous peoples and the Millennium Development Goals" - Victoria Tauli Coupuz..

8. Challenges and Signs of hope in a Globalized World



Here representatives of Hadzabe of Tanzania, Batwa of Rwanda and San of South Africa meet in Tanzania together with NGOs from Europe. Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.

The indigenous peoples of the world have been on the brink of extinction for decades. Indigenous languages and ethnical groups have been lost forever. At the same time, during the last years, several countries with IP tribes, Adivasis (indigenous peoples of India) have created a much more conscious and positive attitude to their own "First people". Derogatory language may still be there, but not to the same extent as before. More knowledge about others, about indigenous peoples, have reduced our myths and misunderstandings, and increased our understanding and need to even know more. We also see that we all are dependent on each other. To live in harmony and understanding also means a better life for all.

them, and to get to know the international laws and conventions they could fall back on in their fight for recognition. This decade has also brought many of them in contact, for the first time, with other IPs and even with members of their own groups they never knew existed. Perhaps, most important of all, it brought them into contact with donors and supporters who could help in strengthening their struggle for Human Rights.

There is a hope that the change in attitude to indigenous peoples not only is pragmatic but real. With more and more solidarity groups and organizations working for tribals and indigenous peoples all over the globe, with the "Second Decade of Indigenous Peoples", with increased involvement from UN and the establishment of Permanent Forum under ECOSOC – the IPs have come high on the agenda and are much more visible than before.

THE FIRST UN DECADE OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

The first UN Decade of the Indigenous Peoples has passed, but has given many IPs the chance to strengthen their inter-continental and international ties, get acquainted with the many systems and lobby groups available to help

THE PERMANENT FORUM ON INDIGENOUS ISSUES (PFII)
The PFII was established in 2000 and is a subsidiary body of ECOSOC (Economic and Social Council) under the UN umbrella. The Forum serve as an advisory body to ECOSOC

with a mandate to discuss indigenous issues within the areas of expertise of the Council relating to economic and social development, culture, the environment, education, health and human rights. PFI has, within few years only, become a very important meeting place and an arena for discussions and coordination. It has made the IPs of the world more visible and given them a new platform for presenting their issues. PFI is a sign of hope and a sign of positive will from the UN member countries to "do something" together with and for the indigenous peoples of the world.

TOURISM

Usually the indigenous peoples have looked at tourism and tourists negatively. This is easily understood. Tourists very often take over from the explorers, missionaries, development workers and business people that IPs have been subjected to over the years. They seek pleasure and leisure in remote areas, willing to spend money on sunbathing, good

food and "grand" excitement among the "wild indigenous peoples" of the world. In practice, often the next new wave of "globe trotters" of all colours and origins coming in as tourists, are in fact further exploiting and destroying the natural life of the local indigenous peoples.

However, a new kind of thinking has developed among several local indigenous peoples, to try and take control over this force that will not be stopped. The tourists will come anyway, and more and more tourists will come. Millions are coming in! As some San people of the Kalahari in Botswana have said: "They are our tourists, let us exploit them, not the other way around". A new trend of building and offering the so-called "eco-tourism" to foreigners has taken momentum and is also seen as a way of strengthening their own cultures, preserving fast disappearing practices and teaching their youths about their old ways. This new trend may be positive for the IPs - if it is done on their terms. But eco-tourism could also be very damaging, if

Together with WIMSA, SASI and other member of the Kuru family of Organizations, NCA has for the last 4 years cooperated with and supported a "Cultural and heritage program" based in Southern Africa. A part of the program is also based on eco-tourism. One example is an old cattle farm, which has been transformed into a Game Farm called Dq̄e Qare (Steenbok shin) - a farm run by the San people themselves. It is the only farm legally owned by the San, and belongs to the San community in D'Kar in Botswana. The farm is located in Kalahari, not far from Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

At the farm, visitors and tourists can have a four-day long authentic experience living with the San people of the Kalahari. In this challenging bush savanna and environment, you may live as the San did decades back. A small group of San will be hosts, guides and trainers and you will learn how to build your own traditional bush-shelter - next to the indigenous peoples themselves. You will join their community and live in the "veld" (land) as they used to do. Using natural resources in the surrounding environment and learning the skills required to be self sufficient, are what you will experience. Close to the fireplace, under the stars of the tropical sky, the click-sounds of the

San language will be heard, traditional dancing performed and good, ancient stories told.

The San may have lived in this area for more than 40 000 years. They have been the masters of nature, and still know how to read the environment. Hundreds of plant and tubers are still known to many of the San. How to decide which root or leaves should be used for what, is part of what was learned in childhood. Survival skills like tracking, making traps, raw material for making rope, bow and arrows, hunting and fire making, collecting of tubers and roots is part of the learning process a visitor should go through these 4 days.

Today the San culture and identity are under threat. Full contact with "mother earth" was taken away from them, and governments often have a policy of modernization, which easily destroy the indigenous way of life. In Botswana the San people's cultural identity is crumbling away day by day and may end up in total destruction of traditional life. Dq̄e Qare Game Farm may therefore be a step forward in protecting and preserving traditional San life, while also preserving the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa's identity, knowledge and culture.

done wrongly. Hopefully, with their full and informed participation, it can also be a great asset for the indigenous peoples, as long as it is ensured that they are the owners, managers and true beneficiaries in the end.

The year 2002 was designated by the UN to be the "International year of eco-tourism", and a World Summit was held in Canada that year. A declaration was written to the "World Summit on Sustainable Development", but the IPs had a struggle to try and change the declaration, so that it could also reflect indigenous views and concerns about tourism.

A SOUTHERN AFRICAN EXAMPLE

In Southern Africa - in Botswana, South Africa and Namibia - the San have established a new cultural and heritage program. This has some elements of income generation as well, including a program based on visiting tourists.

It is important - in a history of tragedy and exploitation - also to see the positive signs of hope that emerge from many of the IPs of the world.

A growing acknowledgement of the necessity and importance of variation in ways of living and adapting to nature is gaining ground. Norwegian Church Aid wants to support initiatives and secure the rights of cultures to live and develop freely on their own terms.

Norwegian Church Aid has initiated and facilitated a meeting between the San people (Bushmen) of Southern Africa, the Batwa peoples of Rwanda and Central Africa, and the Hadza peoples of Tanzania. During a period of 14 days they lived together in the bush of Tanzania and South Africa. They hunted together, gathered berries and roots, danced and discussed. They lived together for few days to discover their similarities and differences, and to find possibility for future cooperation. After spending one week with the Hadza of Tanzania, the gathering continued in Southern Africa with the San as the hosts. Exchange may be a key area for support and development among IPs in a "smaller world" in the years to come.

There is a coincidence that the time for reaching the

MDGs coincides with the end of the second decade for IPs. In 2015 the MDGs will be "reached", and at the same time the second decade for IPs ends. This coincidence makes it possible to compare the results. What has been reached? - And what went wrong during the period 2005 - 2015 related to IPs and development?

The challenges are huge, and you need to be more than optimistic to believe that by 2015 everybody will be satisfied and the different goals reached. The way forward is rough and long. But hopefully by 2015 the situation for IPs will be better than it is today. One small (or is it too big?) thing which has to be done by all governments, UN, inter-governmental bodies and NGOs is to look closely into its development strategies, policies, programs and strategies to see if the perspectives and recommendations given by IPs are taken care of. If not, change has to be brought about, even if it means that mainstream development thinking has to be thrown into the dustbin.

The fact that the term "indigenous peoples" is popular is not unambiguous, and is something that NCA has to consider. For NCA it may mean to work among minorities that should not, in the strictest sense, be defined as indigenous peoples, but from their way of life, traditions, and history etc., they may fall under an extended definition of indigenous peoples. This is how it is and how it has to be.

EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION

A PHILIPPINE EXAMPLE

In the present area of globalization, where trade and investment liberalization, deregulation and privatization are the policies of most governments; the face of poverty for many IPs has changed to the worst. An example from the Philippines: Agricultural liberalization affected indigenous vegetable producers. Imported vegetables, which came in legally or through the back door were priced 30 to 50% lower than the local produce. 250 000 local farmers and 400 traders lost their livelihoods because of this. And tragically - many farmers are going into marijuana production even if this is illegal. The cost of one kilo of marijuana can be 100 times more than one kilo of potatoes. Marijuana production is now a "good alternative" for small farmers in

countries as the Philippines, Thailand, Myanmar, Colombia and Venezuela. Because of the illegality, these areas – indigenous areas - have been heavily militarized and massive violations of their rights are taking place as governments carry out drug control and anti-terrorist campaigns.

A VIETNAMESE EXAMPLE

When Vietnam opened up its economy to the world market it built irrigation canals and provided subsidies for farmers to migrate to the central highlands and other upland areas in the 1980s and 90s. In 1990 it only produced 1.5 million bags of coffee. In 2000 it was increased to 15 million bags, making Vietnam the second largest coffee producer in the world. Huge areas of land, including forest in areas of IPs, were converted to coffee plantations. Rich lowlanders based in Saigon now own most of these areas. Massive deforestation, environmental devastation, displacement of IPs and migration of thousands of lowlanders taking over the areas was the result. Another result: overproduction of coffee, prices tumbling down – and IPs suffering more than ever.

Vietnam is one of the few countries on track in achieving the MDGs. However it is being achieved at the expense of the IPs. A study concluded:

“Although the opening of Vietnam to the world economy to market forces in the 1980s and 90s reduced poverty levels and increased personnel freedoms for much of the population, minorities continue to face hardships...Most upland ethnic minorities have benefited little from changes. They suffer from disease, lack of clean water, and have low literacy and income rates, despite many governmental efforts at upland development”.

The Vietnam example is not unique. The Maasai people of Kenya and Tanzania are faced with similar situations. Their grazing lands are now occupied by settler farmers and have been converted into agricultural lands.

ONE-SIZE-FITS-ALL DEVELOPMENT DOES NOT FIT ALL

The paradigm of economic growth through trade and investment liberalization, deregulation and privatization has so far resulted in further impoverishment of IPs and disappearance

of their knowledge and culture. The conclusion is that this one-size-fits-all kind of globalization is not appropriate for developing countries. Countries should be given the space to design and implement development policies that fit their particular economic, social and political context. The conflict of different paradigms of development is the central question. The key weakness of the MDGs is that it does not question the mainstream development paradigm nor does it address the economic, political, social and cultural causes of poverty. Decisions taken by a country to reduce the numbers by half of poor and hungry by 2015 will determine whether IPs' poverty will be alleviated or not. The path of incurring more debts, engaging in more aggressive extraction of mineral resources, oil, or gas in IPs' territories, or further liberalizing imports to detriment of traditional livelihoods would, in all probability, not alleviate poverty among IPs but may give the opposite results.

The issues of poverty reduction and economic development cannot be addressed separately from the issues of indigenous identity and worldviews, cultures and IPs rights to land and resources, and to self-determination. There is tension, no doubt between maintaining indigenous identity on one hand and improving economic conditions on the other. In a world where improving economic conditions is equated with the growth of market institutions, nationally and globally, many IPs find themselves in a dilemma. If they participate in the market, they have to forget about their customary land tenure systems, their traditional practices of redistributing wealth and ensuring more equitable access to and sharing of resources, and their natural resource management systems.

In this context it is important to discuss and obtain the free, prior and informed consent of IPs before development projects or any policy affecting them are designed and brought to their communities. Free, prior and informed consent should mean “the consensus of all members of the indigenous community/IPs to be determined in accordance with their respective customary laws and practices, free from any external manipulation, interference, coercion, and obtained after fully disclosing the intent and scope of the activity, in language and process understandable to the community” (IPs Rights Act of the Philippines). This law underscores that the IPs have the right to accept or reject a certain development, activity or undertaking in their community.

9. Norwegian Church Aid and IPs

LATIN-AMERICA

NCA has been working with IPs more or less since the organization started.

When NCA started in Nicaragua and Guatemala, in the middle of 1970's – in connection with what some local people called "the blessed earthquakes" – it was among those badly hit by the catastrophe NCA worked. Among the marginalized, the poorest of the poor – it was the local Indians, the indigenous peoples of the two countries. "Due to the earthquakes the world, – at last – has "seen us" and know about us. Thank God", said an Indian from Guatemala. Petter Skauen – then working in Latin America – and today one of NCA's key persons related to peace processes and Latin America, was among those who gave important feedback to how NCA should work and act among the Indians of Central America – 35 years back.

ASIA

In Asia, in the last years of the 1970, NCA got engaged in the so-called Golden Triangle. In cooperation with the UN and the government of Thailand, NCA started working with a conglomerate of minorities in these areas. One of the key issues was to find alternatives to the use and production of opium. Back in Oslo, at the same time, NCA prepared for a television campaign. One of the areas presented on the screen was the critical and challenging situation for the poor and "drugged" opium producers of the Golden Triangle located in Thailand, Laos and Burma.

10 years later NCA got involved in Laos and in the beginning of the 90s in Vietnam. Again NCA's target group was the poor and marginalized people, who also were minorities or indigenous peoples.

AFRICA

In Eastern Africa and Sudan, and in the Horn of Africa – in Ethiopia – indigenous peoples were not a target group for NCA in the beginning. But during our history in this part of Africa IPs have become a target later on. Our engagement to day in the mentioned areas and in the Great Lakes includes peoples like the Hadzabe of Tanzania, the Batwa (pygmies) of Burundi and Rwanda, and the BaMbuti of eastern DRC. Two assessments were done by NCA a few years ago in connection with increasing our engagement related to

the Pygmies of Great Lakes (see the literature list). What few people knew was that during the genocide of Rwanda 25% of the Batwa was killed and another 25% fled the country, i.e. that in 3 months the Batwa population of Rwanda was reduced with 50%. NCA has today several projects with the Pygmy people of Central Africa.

In the beginning of the 1980s NCA was involved in the humanitarian response in Mali. Drought and lack of rain created a huge catastrophe among the nomads and local people of Mali. NCA's implementation of an emergency program made the Tuareg-Chief Youssef stating with certain bitterness: "Allah is huge, but NCA is bigger". He was the Chief for 10 000 Tuareg out of a population of 2.5 million. The Tuareg of Western Africa are one of the indigenous peoples of the Sahel and Sharian area.

In Southern Africa NCA had been cooperating for years with partners working with refugees, human rights and several other issues. When NCA established a regional office in Botswana early in the 1990s, NCA immediately started cooperating with and supporting the San people (Bushmen) of Southern Africa. Since then indigenous peoples in Southern Africa have been one of NCA's main areas of involvement.

NCA & IPS PARTNERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

NCA established its Southern Africa regional office in Botswana in 1993. One of several issues and areas NCA worked with was indigenous peoples. The Norwegian Government – through its embassy in Gaborone – had for years cooperated with and supported the Basarwa (local name for Bushmen or San) in the country. When Norway decided to close down its embassy, NCA heavily increased its cooperation and support to the San people – with governmental funds.

In Botswana – it was and is primarily through the Kuru Development Trust – today called Kuru Family of Organizations (KFO) NCA is working with IPs. The San themselves built KFO – as a development organisation – together with other creative and committed people from the region. Since its start in the early 1980's, Kuru has expanded and mushroomed in Botswana. It is today the biggest development organisation for San in the whole

Local radio broadcasting to the San community in Botswana with the use of professional tape recorders donated by the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK). Photo: Hans Petter Hergum.

region. It has links to Namibia, Angola and South Africa. An impressive programme has been developed through the years. Main working areas are:

- Preschool and teacher training
- Art and cultural centre
- Game farm and tourism
- Language development
- Craft production – sale and procurement
- Natural resource management and mapping
- Culture and heritage
- Land security
- HIV/AIDS

Today Kuru is localised in the Ngamiland and Ghanzi provinces of western Botswana. More than 90% of the employees are San people. KFO is today divided geographically in different provinces and recreated into several smaller organizations. Each and every unit has its Board, which consists only of San. KFO is definitely the main engine in creating practical and constructive development among the San and other marginal groups in Botswana. Kuru has been “blessed” by leaders who often have worked 24 hours a day to make life better for the San. Together with the San they have really managed to put the IPs and Kuru on the map, in the media in Botswana and the rest of the region.

Daily work for everybody linked to Kuru has been like a desert of sand dunes – ups and downs. But due to hard work and a stubborn will, Kuru has come a long way and will further develop in the future.

Today Kuru – as other organizations working for IPs in the region – are challenged with several of the same tasks as earlier. Fighting for land rights, culture and traditions, education, employment, and health – to mention a few.

Another Botswana based organization NCA worked with was World View Botswana. A media based organisation working with radio programmes made by and transmitted by the San themselves. NCA got used professional Nagra-



tape-recorders from the Norwegian Public Broadcasting Corporation. The Nagras got a new life and a new “click-sound” in the centre of Kalahari.

Ditshwanelo Centre for Human rights has been one of NCA’s partners since its creation in the early 1990s. Ditshwanelo – as a human rights centre – has been involved with rights issues and the San for more than 15 years. NCA has cooperated with, used and found Ditshwanelo an important resource organisation working and fighting for the San people’s human status and their political and social rights. The human rights struggle is challenging, sensitive and often very difficult, but it is important for the survival of the “first and oldest” people living on the globe today.

In Namibia NCA has worked with WIMSA (Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa) since it started. A regional organization based in Windhoek but actively involved with San in the region. WIMSA is a representative’s umbrella for close to all the other San organizations in Southern Africa. One of WIMSA’s main tasks has been to establish a platform for San communities to express their problems, needs and concern, and therefore works to esta-

lish San Councils in all the Southern African countries. The regional WIMSA is focusing on supporting and networking with San communities in South Africa, Angola and Namibia, WIMSA-Botswana – which was established shortly after the regional WIMSA - is focusing on Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

South Africa's two main organizations working with indigenous peoples - SASI (South Africa San Institute) and IPACC (Indigenous Peoples for Africa Coordinating Committee) – have been part of NCA's partner organizations years. SASI falls under the Kuru Family's umbrella and is working with empowerment and capacity building, community development and social care, culture and heritage management and legal support.

IPACC is a continental indigenous organization with its headquarters in South Africa. IPACC consists of a network committed to and working with advocacy all over Africa. It is composed of more than 100 community based IPs organizations in 20 African countries. It has successfully emerged in few years to be the representative voices of the African continent IPs at the UN. NCA has through the years used IPACC as a professional resource both in Southern-, Eastern- and Great Lakes of Africa.

More than 110 000 San are today living in Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Angola. Some few are also living in Zimbabwe and Zambia. Projects and programs related to human rights and culture are among the key areas for NCA's involvement. NCA has also been cooperating with the Nama people (Khoekhoe) of Namibia since the middle of the 1990s. Education and schools have been the main areas of involvement. NCA is proud to see that some of the Nama people we cooperated with before independence in 1990, have been able to move up to the top level in government and parliament in the new Namibia.

EMERGENCY WORK

Emergency response is one of NCA's main tasks and commitment. In humanitarian crises, as in long term development, NCA has learned that it is imperative to know the situation and the people affected. In situations where minorities and indigenous peoples are involved a sensitive and adapted approach to the situation may be required.

Indigenous peoples are often extremely vulnerable for changes in environment, externally decided changes etc. This was the case in connection with the tsunami catastrophe, which also hit the Indian Andaman islands. The island population consists of 4 different indigenous groups differently assimilated, integrated or separated from the society at large.

After a tragedy – where thousands of poor people have lost their homes and family - decisions can easily be taken by the political hierarchy, decisions which often differ and function against the will of the suffering people. With IPs it is especially important to take their will into consideration. The closeness to nature, to land and water, their cosmology and religion make it important to listen to them and to take decisions together with the indigenous peoples. NCA has – through the years – learned and been aware of the need for knowledge, sensitivity and adoption to local thinking and tradition.

A development or emergency organization – an NGO - often has considerable status and power. They may have the role of the middleman between the traditional society (IPs) and the society at large. They may be in a situation to demand that the emergency aid reach the IPs and not only go to more powerful people. The NGO has also often the privilege to talk with the authorities and can talk on behalf of the vulnerable.

This brief history about NCA and indigenous peoples shows that NCA has been involved with IPs for many years. But it was not until the 1990s that the organization got more consciously aware of the special needs and the large challenges of working with IPs. No organization, or only very few, were geared to work among indigenous people in the 1970s and 80s. It was during the 1990s that indigenous peoples came higher up on the list of priority of some development organizations in our part of the world. That NCAs engagement has increased, and that IPs are now higher on the agenda than ever before, are due to more knowledge about the indigenous peoples and the need for cooperation and “standing together” for their rights and freedom.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AU:	African Union
CKGR:	Central Kalahari Game reserve
DRC:	Democratic Republic of Congo
HDI:	Human Development Index
HDP:	Human Development Report
ILO:	International Labor Organization
IPACC:	Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Committee
IPs:	Indigenous peoples
ISA:	Instituto Socioambiental
NCA:	Norwegian Church Aid
OAU:	Organization for African Unity
PFI:	Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
PRSP:	Poverty Reduction Strategy paper
RAD:	Remote area dwellers
SASI:	South African San Institute
ST:	Scheduled Tribes
UN:	United Nations
WIMSA:	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa



NORWEGIAN CHURCH AID

www.nca.no

<http://english.nca.no>

Postal address: P.O. Box 7100, St. Olavs plass, 0130 Oslo

Street address: Bernhard Getz gate 3, 0165 Oslo

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