



Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples Forum Conference 2007

“Indigenous Peoples–Migration and Urbanisation”

www.sami.uit.no/forum

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Preface

This report is from the conference organised by the *Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples* at the University of Tromsø, 18-19 October 2007. This year’s conference focused on aspects of migration and urbanisation. What has been central to the Indigenous struggle has been close ties to the land and the quest for control over traditional territories. Still, an increasing number of indigenous people live outside their traditional land and/or derive their means of livelihood from sources other than customary land use. A central question of the conference was to explore how indigenous identity is expressed and maintained in new urban settings. The speakers discussed some of the reasons for migration, including push factors that range from poverty to forced eviction, and pull factors such as access to education and new economic opportunities. They also focused on urban living conditions and the basis for social and political organisation.

The Forum was established to provide a meeting place for academics, students, administrators and representatives from indigenous organisations and other NGOs with an interest in indigenous issues. It was started in the year 2000 and receives financial support from NORAD. It has a board consisting of Sidsel Saugestad, Georges Midré, Lill Tove Fredriksen and Siv Øvernes from the University of Tromsø, with Jens Dahl from IWGIA Copenhagen, Geir Tommy Pedersen from the Saami Council, and Axel Borchgrevink from the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. Terje Lilleng at The Centre for Sámi studies at the University of Tromsø is the administrative coordinator of Forum.

One of the main activities of the Forum is to arrange annual conferences. The present and previous years’ reports, as well as news and updates regarding indigenous issues and future events can be found in Norwegian, Sámi and English on the Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples homepages: www.sami.uit.no.

Ellen Marie Jensen has reviewed and improved the English on the manuscripts and Bjørn Hatteng has done the technical editing and created the cover for the report. A great ‘thank you’ to all of the contributors.

Georges Midré,

Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples

Opening

Else Grete Broderstad, *Head of Administration, Centre for Sámi Studies, University of Tromsø*

Dear friends!

It's nice to see you, I warmly welcome you all to Tromsø and to this year's Forum Conference. Of course, I would like to extend a special welcome to those speakers who have travelled far to be here, from [South Africa](#), [the Philippines](#), and [Guatemala](#). And welcome to our domestic and local speakers as well.

It is actually the eighth year we are holding this conference, so we have concluded that this is a well-established arena and meeting place for you.

The Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples, funded by NORAD–The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation–is an important project. In addition to this annual conference focusing on current topics of importance for indigenous peoples, we also cooperate with main actors on development issues. One example is a meeting in Oslo held last December, where NUPI– The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and the Forum arranged a seminar where a report on Norwegian aid to indigenous peoples was released. As the director of the Centre for Sami Studies here at the University of Tromsø, I find this form of cooperation fruitful and useful and hope that similar projects can be arranged. As you know, the Forum is housed within the Centre. Also, another NORAD-funded project, the North/South Coalition, is also found here at the Centre, which should be a vehicle for new cooperation opportunities.

The title of this year's conference is “Indigenous Peoples–Migration and Urbanisation.” In a way, it is an unconventional topic in regards to indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples are “supposed” to be located in rural territories, on the countryside, far away from the metropolis.

However, hardly any spot on this earth is unaffected by the impact of urbanisation. Even more, and characteristic of indigenous territories, there is a desire to exploit natural resources in these areas, amplifying the impacts of migration and urbanisation.

This development creates problems, but also possibilities for indigenous peoples; these are questions that will be addressed at this conference.

One way of focusing with regard to the main questions is to ask how different processes and social conditions affect the situation for indigenous peoples. What are the consequences of, for instance, economic, industrial and military driving forces? And we could add due to current reality–climatic driving forces.

Another way of focusing is to ask: How can indigenous peoples make use of a development that, in itself, has many negative impacts that cannot be stopped, only at best be delayed? The point is also to ask how indigenous peoples themselves define and initiate change, how they are actors, not passive receivers without influence. Let me just add that I underline the importance of both angles, when dealing with challenges concerning knowledge of importance for the indigenous situation.

Migration changes the demographic picture. Today almost 50% of all indigenous peoples, from what I have heard, live in cities or urban areas. This challenges our traditional understanding of indigenous cultures and livelihood. Or, as it says in the invitation to this conference: How is indigenous identity expressed and maintained in new urban settings?

Seen from an indigenous point of view, it becomes important to underline the fact that traditions are dynamic and cultures are not frozen. People's ability to make use of technology, for example, must be regarded as having cultural vitality, not cultural loss. The latter interpretation would assume a notion of culture as “pure” and “genuine.” Indigenous rights and efforts towards

increased political influence would then become the means toward isolation in order to preserve “purity” and “genuineness.” But such a “purity-based claim” for protection of indigenous cultures would result in “no real” indigenous peoples in the end, and consequently nobody would claim indigenous rights.

This is a point I made back in 1998, together with Nils Oskal, a Sami professor, in a newspaper discussion about the protection of Sami culture. I find the same point relevant in this context, in the discussion about indigenous people living outside their traditional lands.

By these reflections, let me once more welcome you all to Tromsø, and I hope you enjoy your stay here and that you will find the conference to be interesting and useful. And before I give the floor to the Chair of the Forum Advisory Board, Professor Georges Midre, I just want to thank the advisory board for their involvement. We do appreciate your work, and I also want to thank the Centre’s own Terje Lilleeng who has the day-to-day responsibility for the Forum. I am pleased to declare the 2007 Forum Conference open!

Opening

Georges Midré, Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples

Indigenous Peoples Migration and Urbanisation

On behalf of the Forum Conference Board I wish you all welcome to the eighth conference convened by the Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples. This year’s conference will focus on indigenous peoples and aspects of migration and urbanisation. We have asked for papers that will trace the reasons for migration, and we wish also to focus on urban living conditions and the basis for social and political organisation.

This is not a new issue. There are a number of monographs and other publications discussing the topic. To mention one example: IWGIA, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, published an issue in 2002 with the title *Indigenous Peoples in Urban Areas*, exclusively dedicated to the theme we will discuss during this conference.

There seems to be a growing interest in these issues since a large and increasing part of the world’s indigenous population today lives in urban areas. But among the indigenous organizations—as well as among the foreign development organizations—the dominant problem is that the definition of indigenous has been tightly linked to traditional land use, apparently overlooking some consequences of conditions that drive indigenous people towards the cities. This may be understandable due to the fact that for centuries the most central issue for the indigenous struggle has its origin in their close ties to the land and the quest for control over traditional territories.

However, it is necessary to break with the conceptual configuration that is commonly found when the situation of indigenous populations is discussed, that is, the apparently unbreakable link between poverty, small-scale agriculture, and indigeness. I can see two main reasons for this. One reason has already been mentioned and has to do with the number of people now living in the cities. A large proportion of the indigenous peoples of the world are living on what their land has to offer, and with that they are poor. But an increasing number are living in urban areas. They struggle for survival outside their traditional rural areas and they derive their means of livelihood from sources other than customary land use. According to some estimates, the urban indigenous population amounts to half of the global indigenous population, and that number is increasing. The other main reason for the increased interest in the situation of the urban indigenous population is that although much of the migration to urban centres is caused by rural poverty and other “push factors,” the overall picture now seems to be more complex. It is true that reasons for migration may range from poverty to forced eviction. But we should also take into account that the city offers some pull factors, promises of better lives, including

valued services such as access to education, health services and new economic opportunities that are not available in the rural districts. The Mayan social anthropologist Irma Alicia Velázquez Nimatuj describes the rise of an indigenous business class in Guatemala. The book published by IWGIA mentions skilled and prosperous traders in Ecuador and expert Mohawk steelworkers in the US. There are a number of similar examples from other parts of the world, and it seems important to analyze these avenues and mechanisms leading out of extreme poverty and into more prosperous lives.

Culture is not an unchanging artefact, and identities may develop and transform during ones lifetime following new experiences and living in changing environments. Since indigenous identity is so strongly linked to land and nature, a central question will be to understand how these identities may be formed, expressed and maintained in the new urban settings. The UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues debated the situation of urban indigenous peoples and migration earlier this year. In his opening statement to the conference the Cree Canadian lawyer Willie Littlechild underlined that urbanisation processes are linked to both push and pull factors. He also emphasized the importance of identity issues, and particularly that living in cities does not necessarily imply weakening or loss of identity. On the contrary, alternative sources of identity building and maintenance do exist, and it is vital to identify and support these processes.

In the case of the Sami, the social scientist Lina Gaski discusses how the idea of land is integrated into the definition of “Sami culture” and thereby to the identity of the Sami. *To protect and preserve the natural resources, Gaski writes, are seen as absolute conditions if Sami culture is to be maintained and developed, and the link between the Sami population, culture and territory has therefore been essential for constructing nationhood.* Gaski describes how the political discourse in the Sami parliament employs imagery of society – nature. This is also expressed in official documents from the Sami Parliament. The Plan for the period 2002-2005 states: *The Sami culture is closely related to nature, both spiritually and practically and large parts of the Sami value foundations are attached to a life close to nature* (2002: 4). (Gaski 2007, forthcoming). One might ask how these cultural identities are expressed in the urban setting, for the many Sami living in the national capital of Oslo, or in urban centres like Tromsø. One could also ask if the ethno-political discourse as presented by the Sami Parliament is less relevant for the urban Sami.

In the publication from IWGIA I mentioned earlier, the editors Jens Dahl and Marianne Jensen discuss how the migrants to the cities leave social networks and often find themselves unprotected in the new, urban environments; nor will they necessarily be included in the more formal social movements and labour unions found in the cities. An illustrating case is presented by Juliana Turquí in her Master’s thesis from the University of Tromsø. She shows how Mayas working in the municipal markets in Guatemala City are seen neither as workers by the labour unions, nor as Mayas by the Mayan movement. The former defines the worker’s demands as “ethnic” and thereby as an issue for the indigenous organizations, and not as a “labour issue.” The Mayan movement, on the other hand, still gives priority to the rural indigenous population, and not to the urban workers of Mayan descent. These workers are marginalized in relation to both kinds of potentially protective networks and organizations. The formation and inclusion in formal as well as informal social networks and movements seems to be vital when indigenous people are struggling to protect their social and economic rights, an issue that should be addressed in Guatemala and elsewhere.

During the month of March of this year the United Nations Human Settlement Programme (UN-HABITAT) set up a meeting of International experts in Santiago de Chile. One important point from the summary of that meeting is well worth mentioning here; the experts concluded that the urban indigenous populations may well have multiple identities. They concluded:

Public authorities need to understand the multiple identities of indigenous peoples within urban areas and their continuing relationship to their traditional lands and natural resources. Indigenous peoples should not be seen as divided between urban and rural, but rather as peoples with rights and a common cultural identity, as well as facing similar challenges in adapting to changing circumstances and environments.

Again, it is a pleasure to welcome you to the conference and in particular those of you who have travelled far to be here, Geraldine Doco from the Cordillera Peoples Alliance in the Philippines, Jean Burgess, representing the Ghonaqua Khoe Khoe Peoples, Cape Town and Priscilla de Wet and Petro Esterhuysen from the University of the Free State in South Africa. We also appreciate the participation of Rune Paulsen representing the Rainforest Foundation, Norway, and Siv Øvernes from the University of Tromsø, also a member of the Forum Board.

Tomorrow we will draw on experiences from Guatemala presented by Lily Muñoz and Tomás López, from the University college of Bodø. Bjørg Evjen from the University of Tromsø will discuss some aspects of the Sami experience under the pressure of industrialization in Northern Norway.

As usual we have invited shorter presentations under the heading of Forum Update. We look forward to listen to Mattias Åhrén from the Sami Council, Rune Paulsen from the Rainforest Foundation and Simon Rye from NORAD.

Finally Jennifer Hayes from UiTø and Jens Dahl from IWGIA will sum up the conference.

A special “thank you” to the representatives from NORAD who have been with us during all these Forum conferences with their scholarly presentations and financial support.

Focus on the Philippines

Gerladine Doco

Cordillera Peoples Alliance, Philippines

Indigenous Peoples Migration and Urbanization: The Cordillera Peoples Experience

I would like to begin by giving regards from the Philippines, particularly from the officers and the members of the Cordillera Peoples Alliance, to the organizers, participants and everybody here today. This is a pleasant day for all of us.

I was invited here to represent the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera Peoples Alliance to present the issues facing the indigenous peoples under migration and urbanization in the context of the Cordillera. My presentation will discuss the effects of migration and urbanization on the Cordillera people from the Luzon region of the Philippines.

The indigenous peoples of the Cordillera, which are collectively known as the Igorots, have been victims of the negative aspects of urbanization. This conference is very much appreciated by our organization because the Igorots since the time of colonization have been subjected to several cases of forced migration and forced eviction from their homeland, this is the Cordillera experience. I have four topics to outline in my presentation:

I. Background

II. Waves of Migration

III. The IP Migrant Situation in Baguio

A. Economic Situation

B. Political Situation

C. Socio-Cultural Situation

- The Case of Bontoc Village and the Ifugao Community

IV. Challenges

I. Background: brief picture of the Cordillera

The Philippines is in Asia and it has three main regions called Mindanao, Visayas, and Luzon. In the far north of Luzon is the Cordillera which is the homeland of the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera—the Igorots or “the people from the mountains.”

The Cordillera has six provinces and each of the provinces has one or two major peoples or tribes (see map below). There are many sub-tribes in the Cordillera. At present the region accounts for 1, 365,000 people and 90% of the population are of the indigenous peoples. The non-indigenous peoples in the area are both migrants from the lowlands and other nationalities (slide 4).

Cordillera Indigenous Peoples Groups

- Isneg
- Tinggian
- Kalinga
- Bontok
- Kankanaey Iyaplay & Benguet
- Ifugao
- Ibaloy

Population:
1,365,000 (2000 census)

Slide 4

The cordillera is famous for its natural resources; the rich mineral deposits including gold, the soil, and the water resources, and of course the forest resources. Since the time of colonization, the Cordillera has attracted mining investors, logging interests, and others who have entered the Cordillera for extractive projects.

The San Roque Dam, one of the largest dams in Asia, is located in the Benguet province and along with other dams in the province are the cause of forced evictions or evacuations of the Ibaloi people from the area. Until the present time, those affected who were relocated back to Benguet have no access to electricity in their area— yet it was their land that has been submerged to build the dam that gives light to the cities and the mines in Benguet.

At present the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera are united by their shared customs and traditions. They play gongs, sing songs, and dance similar dances. The social and political systems persist but there is, however, no single group that could be classified as purely indigenous. Most of the customs and traditions of the region have been integrated into the mainstream culture of the Philippine Nation.

The integration of the Cordillera peoples into the wider Pilipino society can be traced to the following:

- 1) The cash economy which entered the Cordillera region since the time of colonization, particularly during the American colonization period. We [the peoples of the Cordillera] were not integrated into the Pilipino nation during the Spanish period, so while our brothers in other parts of the Philippines were integrated into the Spanish system, we persisted in the Cordillera with our own traditions, and political systems and economic systems. It was only during the American period when we were in effect colonized and integrated into the wider Pilipino society. That was time of the entrance of the cash economy into the region and when

the economic system of surviving through our own production was no longer pure with the entry of cash goods.

- 2) The imposition of the national legal system and the national government bureaucracy has had a big impact on the social and political systems of the people of the Cordillera.
- 3) Before the Second World War, the Cordillera peoples and the political systems of the wider Pilipino society co-existed. We had our own laws and our own courts. Actually, the traditional system was stronger because the people believed more in the traditional system than in the wider system of the Philippines. Yet there had to be some government officials in our area, there had to be governors and mayors, but these co-existed with us and our traditional system.
- 4) The aggressive entry of fundamentalist churches and groups has impacted the social systems of the peoples of the Cordillera. One good example of the entry of conservative groups and churches is in my province where the elders had to make a resolution to stop the further entrance of fundamentalist and religious groups in my municipality. There is only one religious group in my municipality which is the Anglican Church, the Roman Catholic and other fundamentalist groups were stopped from organizing their own groups in the area. So now there is co-existence with the traditional religious practices and the Anglican Church in my municipality. But in the wider Cordillera society there are so many fundamentalist groups in some areas who are organizing that they have made it so that the indigenous peoples are banned from practicing their own traditions because they [the fundamentalists] say that these are works of the devil. That is the impact of the entrance of such groups into the provinces of the Cordillera.

In the past we were producing rice and vegetables for our own consumption but now they are producing vegetables for cash: tropical vegetables, cabbage, potatoes, and carrots. What are left for us are the rejected products of the farmers or gardeners. One case which is caused by this expansion of vegetable gardens of Benguet and other provinces is the death of the natural fertility of the soil because of the high volume production of vegetables for cash.

The disintegration of the indigenous social political systems can be seen in the weakening of indigenous concepts of community cooperation and solidarity. There is also the development of tourism, which has led to the aggravation of the commercialization of indigenous culture. In the urban center you can see placards commercializing indigenous culture in the tourist areas of Baguio City. Souvenir pictures are taken for tourists, both local and foreign, for a fee.

The intensified militarization in the countryside also continues to cause human rights violations, forced evictions, and evacuations of the interior areas of the Cordillera region. In the past few weeks, one of the leaders, an elder of the Cordillera Peoples Alliance, was jailed because of a case which was claimed to be the activity of the leaders of the New Peoples Army as their own activity, yet it was one of our leaders who was in jail because of this activity. Militarization exists in the Cordillera.

Baguio is the first city that was established in the Cordillera, and is the most urbanized of the region [it was built on the ancestral lands of the Ibaloi]. It is the dream city of the American colonial government especially for its soldiers stationed in South East Asia, so they would have a place to recuperate, have recreation and a place to play sports. It is the central government, the center of education for the region and for Luzon; it also acts as the trade, commerce, and tourism center for the region. The dream city of the Americans is only meant for 25,000 people,

with only 49 square kilometers, but now it has 350,000 inhabitants. So you can imagine that it is very thickly densely populated.

The push factors of migration to Baguio city is basically the situation of the interior Cordillera, as I said earlier, the entry of cash crops or the cash economy, the increasing militarization and the government's neglect to meet basic social service needs of the people, as well as the entry of big industrial projects. All of these factors have caused forced migration. Because Baguio city is the only city at this time in the Cordillera region, the city has lured the migrants, and the poor farmers into the city. Baguio city acted as the absorber of the poor peasants and farmers and of the militarized indigenous peoples of the interior of the Cordillera region and for those affected by the mining, damming and logging projects.

So they became the urban poor in Baguio city, whose livelihoods rely mainly on seasonal and varied odd jobs. They bring no skills with them, so the only thing they can do is to create their own economic activities. For example, we see strawberries sold on the streets of the city. They are grown in Benguet, which is the nearest municipality to Baguio city; it is very famous for its strawberries. Then there are those who come to the city to find work doing odd jobs, they are carpenters and sidewalk vendors, and their economic activities are considered "underground" or informal. There is no security of tenure and they are not given benefits.

II. Waves of Migration

There have been three major waves of migration due to the situation of the interior Cordillera. The migrants are the people who are outside of their homelands. They have moved to the seemingly advanced or urbanized situation of Baguio—which contributes to the "pull" or entry of migrants to Baguio because it is the most urbanized, or at least they choose Baguio city because it is still part of their homeland of Cordillera, even if it is urbanized or a city.

First Wave (early 1900s)

The first wave of migration was during the construction phase of Baguio, when it was declared to be a city in 1909 by the American colonial government. The American government needed workers, construction workers to do the work, so they were the first registered wave of migrants to Baguio.

Second Wave (1930s)

After the mining act of 1905 the second wave was declared after the first mines of the Benguet Corporation opened in the 1930s in the Benguet province. There were men who wanted to apply to work in the mines but the mines were not able to absorb all of the applicants, so those who were not absorbed decided to go to Baguio and work as construction workers to build the roads and government buildings.

Third Wave (1960s-1980s)

The third wave was after the Second World War when the reconstruction of Baguio was underway which was also during the second opening of mines in Benguet, with several companies of the Benguet Corporation opening new mines and the continuous urbanization of Baguio. This also contributed to the third wave of migration because it impacted the people's lives in their home provinces. There was the situation where they did not have enough food for their family because they were between harvests. Baguio was a place which seemingly promised cash instead of waiting for harvest, where one can easily get food from the cash earned everyday. So this had

a combination of the push and the pull factors of migration.

III. The IP Migrant's Situation in Baguio

What is the situation of the migrants who left their home provinces and stayed in Baguio city? Because they went to Baguio without skills, with no levels of literacy, what they brought with them was their traditional skills that they learned from their parents, or from their forefathers. The women had traditional weaving and the men were skilled in building terraces in their homelands, the *riprap* stone walls. Woodcarving is also a skill handed down from generation to generation. The common occupation of the people of the Cordillera is raising livestock and backyard gardening, so these are the only skills that they had when they went to Baguio city.

The first photo below is a traditional family business in the urban setting (slide 14). They are woodcarvers, it is a family endeavor where the men the women and the children as a family are entrepreneurs. So they have their own community in this area. But there has been a change, however, in the products that they make because they have to sell these products to both local and foreign tourists; the products are tourist oriented and are not the traditional wood products that they had made before. The second photo is of others that have no skills who do sidewalk vending, which is considered illegal, so every now and then the authorities chase them; it is very unstable (slide 15). Background gardening is very common among the indigenous migrants in Baguio city, one is considered lazy if they do not have a background garden and some livestock, a pig or a chicken that they are tending (slide 16).



Slide 14



Slide 15



Slide 16

One of the most famous skills of the Cordillera women is weaving; loom weaving has the highest profit generation for the women migrants of Baguio city. They weave the traditional costumes of the Cordillera peoples. The most talented weavers from the mountain regions can weave all of the different costumes of the peoples of the Cordillera but the migrants from Kalinga and Ifugao can only weave their own traditional costumes. There are two kinds of weaving, when the old women weave they use a back-strap loom and the more modern is the hand loom.

Carpentry is one of the skills of the migrant men. We build the big buildings for the rich people, for the companies and the corporations, yet we are considered to be squatters, we do not have our home. The Philippines is one of the countries in Asia which uses the rickshaw drivers, most of the rickshaw drivers in Banguio are indigenous migrants from the interior Cordillera. Small-scale mining is one of the income generating activities of the people of the Cordillera. Most of the private mines in the outskirts of the city are owned by migrant IPs from the mountain province.

We are threatened in the city with demolition, even after we survived the militarization of the interior Cordillera; we are again faced with military demolitions in the city. The military men come to demolish our communities because they are considered to be “illegal structures” or we are considered to be “squatters.” They usually bring with them companies or they bring platoons of military police and claim that it is for our safety but because we are threatened we can not oppose or protest the demolitions. Even at the market, those who are considered to be illegal vendors are chased by the police as well as by the authorities in the market.

Economic situation

As has been demonstrated so far in this presentation, economically the IP migrants to Baguio city are the poorest of the poor. Even though they say that they can earn cash every day it is very unstable. In the provinces they may be able to tend to their lands for cash crops to earn their living, but because of militarization and government and transnational projects they are forced to evacuate to the city.

Political situation

In the political scene, the first migrants to Baguio city established their own *dap-ay*—traditional council of elder— in the communities where they built their houses. They used to co-exist with the mainstream political systems, but now the co-existence is inactive. Currently, the elders are being activated to make sure that the cases of tribal conflicts and tribal wars are settled in the city but also even in coordination with other elders in the provinces from the interior Cordillera.

Socio-cultural situation

The social-cultural situation in Baguio is far different today than with the earlier migrants. They persist in their communities with their traditions; we can see this in the case of Bontoc Village where the migrant communities are people from the mountain province so the people have built their village on the mountain side. There are practices which persist in the city; they practice their own customs in weddings, funerals and healing when there are sicknesses. The men or the elders ensure the younger generation will learn the songs, dances and the dialects of their own tribes or from the province where they came from.

After the 1982 fire, there were no houses spared so the community leaders decided to change the building materials for the houses into more modern materials and cement. But there are still families who can not afford the high prices of these materials so they build their houses with the traditional materials of cogon grasses. Bontoc village is one of the communities in Baguio city where we can find persistence of the cultural traditions, like homes built in the same ways as the houses in the interior.

The Case of the Bontoc village

- It was established in the 1960s as a temporary residence by the first women migrants from Bontoc, Mountain Province.
- Eventually, the place became a permanent residential area of the Bontoc people while maintaining their homes in the province.
- Houses were collectively built from cogon grass while customs and traditions from their home village were practiced. Cogon houses were eventually changed into GI sheets or cement.
- The local government promoted it as a tourist showcase of a typical Bontoc village.
- The elders were able to transfer knowledge about customs and traditions to younger generations.

Ifugao

- The Ifugao migrants maintained their identity through the continued practice of rituals and through their wood carving skills.
- They have also maintained their own tribal cultures and systems.

In the Ifugao community they continue to practice their traditions by way of their woodcarving and these have become a high income generating activity for the families or the migrants. Families will have their own small scale entrepreneur industry.

IV. Challenges

The practice of traditional customs is fast deteriorating in Baguio city, yet indigenous migrants continue to assert their identity as indigenous peoples and cling to their cultural practices; we can still play our gongs, dance, sing our songs, and have our own traditional weddings. But there are economic and political challenges because the livelihood activities face stiff competition which strengthen individualism and weaken collective values and cooperative practices. There is also the threat of commercialization of our culture because the cash economy is threatening the migrants with the choice as to whether they will sell their culture or die of poverty or of hunger. We still have to assert our own ways of life in the fast changing conditions of urban living. Assertion of our rights is also a tradition we have inherited from our forefathers. The maintenance of our indigenous identity is through our language and culture, yet if we would be provided with basic social services and if our rights were recognized as collective Igorots we would ensure the cultural diversity of the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera, or as indigenous migrants.

Though we have our own particularities and sometimes we are against each other because of tribal conflicts, there is still a sense of oneness and unity among the Cordillera migrants in Baguio city. This can be seen in the struggle against the destructive projects in the Cordillera like the Chico Dam and the logging by the Cellophil Resources Corporation in the 1970s, the protests against the Grand Cañao Festival in the 1980s. The migrants from Baguio city continue to stand alongside our brothers and sisters in their home provinces to protest against extractive

projects like the mines, dams and the logging (slide 36).
We hope that we can continue to assert our rights as Igorots!

Thank you very much!



Slide 36

Focus on the Philippines

Rune Paulsen, *Rainforest Foundation Norway*

Comments

Being asked to respond to Geraldine Doco's presentation is not a very easy task. There is a highly complex situation in the Philippines and I think there are few of us who even know what is going on there. We have Geraldine here to help us better understand what is going on in the Philippines and I think we should take the opportunity to learn more from her about the Cordillera area. Geraldine is portraying a picture from Luzon, which is very similar, in a sense, to many of the areas that I have seen in Southeast Asia over the years. Still, it contains elements that are very unfamiliar to me. The situation in the Cordillera is both culturally and linguistically complex and has been for a very long time, even before the Spaniards and the Americans colonized the land.

Geraldine talked about her people being victims of urbanization and did not focus much on the opportunities that urbanization might provide for the people. We heard about a situation of forced change which has been imposed from the outside; about companies and resources exploitation; about the government's strange way of behaving; about the churches she describes as fundamentalist; and about the introduction of cash crops for sale. I feel like in order for us to get a better grasp of what this is all about we might need to take a birds-eye-view perspective and see if we can elicit some more information from Geraldine Doco while she is here.

Some of the questions that strike me to ask are: Who are the Cordillera people and are they speaking the same language and did they arrive to Luzon at the same time? The reason for asking these questions is because the argument of being first is often used as the argument for being called indigenous. Another question is: Who all is living in Baguio? Are they mostly people from Luzon? Where are they from? Are they assimilated or lowland indigenous peoples, or do they come from the outside?

Also, there is a particular situation in the Philippines besides what is called the militarization of the countryside. It is highly disturbing and much more violent than most of us would even imagine and the reports of attacks on indigenous peoples are abundant which have occurred over a long period of time. Since 2001, after President Arroyo took over, we have seen an escalation in the level of conflict. This is connected to what has been termed "the war against the left." I would also like to know how this militarization affects the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera, as I understand there are continuous military harassment, intimidations, and killings. Can this be understood as the push factors into the town?

When it comes to the situation of the Philippines concerning the indigenous peoples and the militarization, it is extremely serious and I think that many of the people in the audience would be surprised to learn how serious this situation is right now because this information never gets to us here in Norway, and seldom can I find information on it internationally in the press.

Now let me take a moment to read a couple sentences from IWGIA's homepage on the Philippines, which concerns the Cordillera, among other places, so that the audience will have a better idea of what is going on. Let's trust IWGIA on this. It says:

-- Militarized indigenous areas are awash with relentless human rights violations, including: bombardment, burning and forced re-concentration of villages; imposition of food blockades and "free-fire zones" on certain areas; extrajudicial killings, abductions, torture, and sexual molestation; illegal searches and looting of homes and offices; violent dispersal of legitimate protests; and

psychological war types of intimidation. Most of the victims are non-combatant civilians, including leaders of legitimate organizations, tribal elders, women and children – (http://www.iwgia.org/sw16706.asp#516_13533).

I would like to know more about this, because if this is a reasonable portrait [of the situation in the Cordillera] there are certainly some profoundly disturbing push factors.

Another thing that strikes me as interesting when I compare it with my experience from Malaysia, Indonesia, and Papua New Guinea, is the level of self-organizing and resistance, which I seem to be able to read-between-the-lines of what Geraldine said. They are clearly suffering from all sorts of violence, but they seem to be more organized than in the case of indigenous people of Malaysia, where we see some of the same economic processes going on, like land being confiscated, forests being logged, lands being pounded by oil pumps, and people being pushed out of their traditional lands or to the outskirts of the cities. But there is very little resistance there in the sense that people are not able to organize in an effective way. It seems that in the Philippines the presence of support groups and indigenous organizations are much more prevalent than in Malaysia. I would like to learn more about that as well.

There is another thing to mention, which concerns a very paradoxical situation in the Philippines. On the one hand the legal framework concerning indigenous peoples and rights, as well as all the self-organizing, is far better developed than what we can see in neighbouring countries. But on the other hand, according to IWGIA, they have a government that is able to do all sorts of unmentionable things to their own people. Even since Arroyo came in as the new President, we have seen 100 or so direct killings of indigenous people, and maybe as much as 800 politically motivated murders over that same period. So there is a conducive legal framework, at least on the surface, but then there is this government that is obsessed with the political left and being able to squash the Maoists. So in the Philippines we find political and religious aspects and resource exploitation and mining laws that are very favourable towards all foreign companies and other companies who want to invest in natural resource exploitation.

Lastly, the Philippines is twice as big as Norway, but in a couple of years' time, there will be 100,000,000 people and there is substantial population growth per year. With this population pressure, there must be lots of landless people wanting to move into areas like the Cordillera who are not from there, but are searching for a better life with some arable land. Is this a problem for the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera or not? Is this also a push factor?

Focus on South Africa

Jean Burgess, *Ghonaqua Khoekhoe Peoples, Cape Town, South Africa*

IN DYING I BECAME ME!

I greet the Indigenous Peoples of Sápmi, the academics and all my brothers and sisters.

I was pondering very long about where to start. Do I start with the very first war of resistance that we fought against the Portuguese in 1495? How do I do justice to our story? Where does one begin to unravel what has happened, over all these years, and is still happening to us in the land of our ancestors?

Do I look back, or is my looking back actually running parallel with my now?

For the purpose of this story I have decided to start with this one incident that drastically changed our lives and set the tone for a rapid process of destruction for us—the Indigenous Khoekhoe Peoples of South Africa. We still feel and experience the impact and the consequent effects of this event. There was an urgent special meeting that was called by the *Heemraden* in 1770 and at this meeting it was decided to give ammunition to all civilians (whites) to shoot any Khoekhoe person on sight. At this stage we were called the *Hottentots*. This led to the hunting down of specifically the men and the assimilation of the women and children. The killing of our Khoekhoe men left women and children completely at the mercy of the white farmers. It was the beginning of an extreme onslaught on our physical, mental, spiritual and cultural ‘beingness.’ This vicious, murderous plan set the tone for us, the descendants. It was the beginning of us going into a place that was totally unknown. This is one reason why I could not decide where to begin, because the events of 1770 set a tone that remains with us today, where the past and the now can not be separated.

The displacement and assimilation of Khoekhoe women and children gave birth to a culture of single parenthood, orphans and displaced Peoples, which determined the beingness of many generations to come. It created the beginning of an imbalance that is continuing up to today. This imbalance will keep on tipping the scale to states of worthlessness, emptiness, frustration and hopelessness. Decades of genocide created generations of my Peoples being born into a culture of fear and pain.

This rule by fear did not end. More means of destroying us were implemented. In 1809 Caledon (British) passed a new law, which was called the Vagrancy Act, this is the first law that was put into legislation against us. This Act forced every Khoekhoe person to have a permanent place to stay, a permanent address, a physical address. By forcing us by law to give up our way of life, it meant the beginning of alienation from the most important part of our beingness—our connectedness to the land and the inaccessibility to our Sacred Spaces. This was the beginning of a rapid process of imprisonment of many of us, because we could be imprisoned for not having a “permanent” place to stay. We were turned into criminals and a prison culture was forced upon us, with a culture of dependency from being divorced from our soil which led to food insecurity. This prison culture is with us up until today.

This onslaught continued when three years later, in 1812 Caledon passed another Act, which he called The Apprenticeship Act. This law forced all Khoekhoe children from the age of eight to eighteen to work as labourers on the farms. The roof over our heads was our payment. Parents had no say over their children and the children became the property of the farmer. Children were not allowed to speak their Mother tongue, practice their culture, or be raised by their own

parents. These farmers introduced new way of childrearing where corporal punishment was used to control the children. It gave birth to a culture of violence and it seeped into our families. Families were torn apart. This murder of our culture, language and family system did not stop. This violence in childrearing became an integral part of us for generations to come. Our culture changed over time from a close knit family structure to a culture of violence, which extended to our communities.

A new system was also introduced on the farms as the food insecurity increased. If the parents worked on the farms, they would be paid with white wine. This was called the “dop” system. The children were paid with the roof over their heads, and the parents were paid with wine. The intake of alcohol became a way of living. It created a culture of alcoholism. The new strange way of living for those on the farms gave the farmer more and more control. We became alcoholics; our children belonged to the farmer; we had no food security because we were paid with the roof over our heads and with alcohol with no access to our natural resources.

Numerous wars broke out in our country until the British eventually took full control over us. By the turn of the 20th century, another vicious system was introduced, and it was called Apartheid. When it was introduced under the Afrikaner White government, we were already destroyed Peoples. Everyone should already be aware of what the content of Apartheid meant. Under Apartheid, our identity was then changed because we were not called Hottentots anymore, we were called Coloureds.

With the introduction of this new identity we were divided amongst three class structures as well. The Population Registration Act forced all mothers to take their newborn babies to the Field-cornet to be registered. The Field-cornets used a system called the “pencil test” to determine the identity of our children. A pencil was taken and put in the hair of the baby, if the pencil slipped out then the baby would be classified as a Cape Coloured; if the pencil stuck, then it would be a Coloured. If the pencil stuck or slipped and the skin was a bit darker than the other children’s, then it would be an Other Coloured. So in the same family one would find a Cape Coloured, a Coloured, and an Other Coloured, with the same mother and the same father.

The Group Areas Act was simultaneously introduced and ensured that we would be divided in colour lines, as well as class lines. This new class division was so monstrous that it divided families, the communities and the Peoples as a whole into separate groups based on skin colour. We were divided into separate geographical areas, but within this division the Coloured were then further divided: the Cape Coloured stayed in one area, the Coloured stayed in one area and the Other Coloured stayed in one area. Cape Coloured’s were taught to believe that they, with their straighter hair, were the highest class amongst us. This created divisions within families, where a child who would be classified as “Other Coloured” started to develop an inferiority complex. Coloured would be a class below and Other Coloured was a very low class. The education system, under The Department of Coloured affairs ensured that this colour and class division were maintained and engraved into our very existence. The education system was divided; there was the department of Coloured education, the department of Bantu education and the Department of Education, which was for the Whites.

The education system ensured that we were turned into the labour force of the country. Our school subjects were limited to every girl child taking sewing and cooking as subjects and every boy child had to do woodwork. This would prepare us to work in the factories or in the white man’s kitchen and raise the white children. The only profession that any girl child could continue her studies in was either in teaching or nursing and a boy child could continue his studies in teaching or go into the of building or carpentry trades.

Our education was mainly in Afrikaans, the language that we have developed as a *lingua franca* between us, the Dutch, and the slaves. This language was taken over by the Afrikaner White as their language to assert their identity as Afrikaner and to assert their authority under

the Apartheid government. We were not allowed to speak our mother tongue. If we were caught speaking our mother tongue on the farms, vicious acts of taking one of our grandmothers and killing her right in front of her children and grandchildren were common. Our grandmothers began to be fearful of speaking our language. Only under very sacred conditions did they dare to use our language. We were made to believe that it was a barbaric language and that it should not be spoken. We *had* to speak Afrikaans, but Afrikaans became known as the language of the oppressors and therefore, because we had to speak Afrikaans, it created the impression that the Coloureds were on the side of the oppressors.

It created another monster that we, as the Indigenous Peoples, did not even begin to address in our country: the question of re-classification. In certain areas of our country the “coloureds” applied to be re-reclassified as white people. In one family, one could find family members that were suddenly white. Families would be divided into Coloureds and Whites. They would move into white areas, get married to white people, and raise their children as whites. It became an embarrassment to be coloured.

Our colouredness became more than just a label. It became a way of thinking, behaving, and speaking; it became a way of being. We were totally divorced from everything that we were and we were moulded into a form that went beyond everything we could ever dream of becoming. The education system made us believe further that the Khoekhoe were savages, lazy, and ugly. We were moulded into colouredness that many of us are still stuck in and it left in us a level of pain that we could not begin to identify. This was aggravated with a culture of aggression. The family structure was totally destroyed—we were raised by the belt. What this meant was that when your parents speak you were never to ask questions, you were never to ask questions about your ancestors and history, otherwise you would get the belt. We could be beaten to a pulp. It was nothing for a father to take off his belt and beat his children. That was completely normal.

We were coerced into believing that using our own herbs and medicinal plants were barbaric and that we needed to use scientifically tested medicine. We lost faith in our healers and began to believe that our healers were inferior and we lost faith in our midwives and went to clinics and non-indigenous doctors to give birth to our babies. The burial of our umbilical cords became something of the past. The once important role that our men traditionally played in childbirth was taken away, as it was the men who had to bury the placenta. We were moved further away from the soil and we began to hide from one another the use of our indigenous knowledge systems, as it was not considered to be as good as this new knowledge. We became divorced from our spirituality and everything that we were. Our cultural and sacred ceremonies were frowned upon; we had moved into a very dangerous place.

Our colouredness kept us in limbo and we became strangers in our own land. During Apartheid we were further removed from our land. The homelands were introduced for Nguni speaking people but the Khoekhoe—by now Coloureds—that stayed in these geographically defined areas were moved to the outskirts of the cities and to areas that were dry and far from any natural resources. With no means of food security a culture of dependency developed. Our sacred spaces became a distant thought and we grew away from one another because different families would be moved into different areas.

Urbanisation was the last straw for us. Moving into the cities intensified the destruction of our culture and pushed us into the last phase. On the outskirts of the cities our children are still suffering. Drug abuse has become the new warfare; this chemical warfare is destroying a whole generation. The latest drug is manufactured in the kitchen and is known as “tik” and it is bringing our communities to their knees. Children, as young as five years old are using it; it is completely out of control.

In one major prison in Cape Town, the prison population is nearly eight thousand. Of that eight thousand, about six thousand inmates are Khoekhoe. All our prisons are filled to capacity with Khoekhoe children and youth. In one community, in a town called Klawer, a young boy of seven was axed to death by his two friends. The one friend is seven and the other one is twelve years old. In another town his friends drowned a seven-year-old boy because he refused to play with them. This is the order of the day.

Our young girls are being raped and murdered. Child-trafficking is happening on a daily basis. Our youth has replaced their identity with a gang identity. Gangsterism is the norm in most of our communities. Initiation into a gang has replaced our cultural initiation into manhood for most of our boys; initiation into a gang ranges from rape to murder. Hopelessness amongst our youth and single parenting has turned into a wave of suicide.

The story can go on and on, but by now I think we all have the picture.

But now what I would like to say to you is that there is hope. We have risen up. We have begun to initiate healing practices, our own traditional healing sessions. We came to the realization that we have our ancestors, we have the ancient knowledge, we have power, we have our beingness.

We are determined to heal and we have that ability.

By gaining the insight and understanding to what we have become, can we go back and be who we really are. In understanding our pain, we can begin to heal. In dying to what we have become, can we be who we really are. In dying I became me!

I thank you all.

Focus on South Africa

Ms Priscilla De Wet, *University of the Free State, South Africa*

Khoekhoe Language Revitalization in South Africa with Specific Reference to a Pilot Project in the Free State

Greetings to my fellow global academics and indigenous Sisters and Brothers!

As Jean has said, there is hope and we have revived to a measure. As a Khoekhoe activist and now indigenous academic, I would like to say that we in South Africa are embarking on healing and revitalization projects reaffirming our Africannes.

I find myself in a very exciting period of the ongoing cyclic evolution of our Great Mother Earth. We are currently living in a world where social and moral justice based on human values is being exalted as apposed to the focus on material gains as sole indicators of wealth and development.

As we search for a new paradigm in South Africa, based on Africanness and *!Khoena* (which means respect and care for one another) that is inclusive of the diverse cultural groups, the culture and knowledge largely missing from the South African domain is the Khoekhoe and San culture. The South African Government has established various institutions and departments as agents for social change. Khoekhoe and San peoples are currently engaged with these institutions for support to develop and restore the tried and tested knowledge their ancestors had of this specific Southern African geographical region.

I am sure you all know where South Africa is, I have not prepared a map. The project we are busy with is a revitalization or revival and retention of *Khoekhoegowab* (Khoekhoe language) in the heart of South Africa. To me it is a very nice space to start this expansion.



Slide 4a; Basil Coetzee, Rudolph Stavenhagen, Cecil le Fleur in Bloemfontein



Slide 4b: Leader of the Free State Griqua, Johannes Kraalshoek

As Jean said, we have experienced the demise of our culture; we have a whole history of colonisation, loss of land, heritage, language, and loss of being. What we have now is homeless children, drug abuse, a prison culture, and poor living conditions, like in the Townships. But as I said before, we are now living in an era of social justice in South Africa and there are lots of mechanisms that we, as indigenous peoples, can now use. I have decided to use a power point presentation with lots of people to show you that the Khoekhoe people do exist; our language is lost, we might not “look” how Khoekhoe are “supposed” to look, but we definitely still exist! The photos below represent various community leaders and representatives; and you may know the man in the middle between Cecil Basil Coetzee and Cecil le Fleur–the Special Rapporteur Rudolpho Stavenhagen–who came to South Africa and then we got to have our say (slide 4).

In contemporary South Africa, a growing number of people are reaffirming their indigenous Khoekhoe identities. To address this reaffirmation, a desire has developed for the reconnection

with Khoekhoe cultures, the learning of Khoekhoe languages, and the discovery of remaining speakers of Khoekhoe in South Africa. A project that we are currently working on at the



Slide 4c: San and Khoekhoe representatives at a National Heritage Council Conference



Slide 4d: ≠Khomani San Community Leader, Petrus Vaalbooi

University of the Free State, in collaboration with the University of Tromsø is the KhoeSan Culture and Memory Project, where we have a project leader who goes out into communities to find Khoekhoe speakers. There are two indigenous youth who accompany him, to be capacitated in way like what Linda Smith calls *Kaupapa*, which is Maori-centred methodology-indigenous-centred methodology-which we in South Africa also want to embrace and include a Khoekhoe methodology in Khoekhoe research.

Why revive a language? I am sure you all know why. As I look around the auditorium today I see lots of indigenous people and indigenous academics and indigenous students and I am sure that we all know that the loss of a language means a loss of knowledge of a specific worldview. I believe that there is no one set of knowledge, that is, there are different knowledges specific to geographical regions. These knowledges are not just to dance and perform for people in indigenous garb; they are also deep philosophical systems, social management systems, oral history, musical traditions, and environmental knowledge. As we are facing global warming and environmental breakdown, I believe that it is indigenous

knowledge that we need to recapture on how to manage our resources.

In 1928, a Korana leader named Benjamin Kats made an appeal for the revival of his language *!Ora* (the Korana dialect of the Khoekhoe language, or *Khoekhoegowab*). But it fell on deaf ears during the whole period or project of only promoting western ideas and western knowledge.



Slide 6: Make our children proud of their heritage

Racist assimilation policies in education were implemented and further caused the demise of KhoeSan languages by forcing children to speak Afrikaans or English and by forbidding them to speak their mother tongue. However, in the context of social justice of today, empowering mechanisms of restitution and reconciliation are now being used to address the dire situation of *Khoekhoegowab* and cultural revitalization.

There is a slogan I like to say: “May our language

and sense of belonging grow with our children.” We need to make our children proud of their heritage were we have nine national languages and various cultures. Today, with the revival and reaffirmation of Africannes, our children are proud of their heritage. The Khoekhoe children often ask: “But what about our culture, don’t we have a special language that we speak, don’t we have something special, we just speak Afrikaans?” We tell them and we show them, through history and through research within each group where the leaders will find pictures of how their group dressed for example, and they are recreating traditional outfits for the children. The children are learning dancing and songs, which are also a part of revitalizing the language (slide 6).

Another important institution in South Africa is the National Heritage Council which is holding various workshops at the moment because they are establishing a Transformation Charter on how to deal with heritage matters and issues in South Africa and how to accommodate all the diverse communities there. I have attended quite a number of these meetings and a salient question that often arises now as we seek to correct the imbalances caused by urbanisation is: “How do we transform within this dominant ‘modern’ world that only seems to acknowledge and respect money generating ventures as apposed to human values?” Modern ways are failing our societies which is evidenced in our cities in South Africa where we have homeless children; where our elders are not cared for; where people are self-centred and only having time to concern themselves with survival and not taking time for other people, all of which is totally against *!Khoena* –or caring for one another in Khoekhoe.

So how do we bring in our indigenous knowledge into this modern society? In South Africa we have rights of passage for our teenagers and during transformations in our lives where we have special ceremonies. The CEO of the National Heritage Council argued that the rights of passage for teenagers and indigenous knowledge systems could eradicate the social degradation and alienation in our children caused by urban migration, including the alienation imposed by the education system that further alienated our children from who they are.

We as elders in the Western Cape embarked on a project to learn our language, or one of the Khoekhoe languages called Nama, which is still spoken to a degree in Namaqualand in the Northwest of South Africa bordering Namibia. The decision was made through consultative processes with the South African Heritage Council and various institutions. It was not something they imposed; it was something that we took an active part in. The successes were limited however, because the truth is that after our classes we did not do much. A booklet and a CD were developed but there was nothing further. The Griqua National Council, they have choirs and the leader of these workshops–the Nama language training workshops–translated some hymns and the Griqua learned these hymns in Nama and on September 1st of this year they had a competition where different choirs sang in Nama, which was a really encouraging event. So language revitalisation is still on-going in the Western Cape.

I came to the Free State in July of last year to find a very exciting and encouraging arena. The Free State Griqua and Korana, which are the main Khoekhoe organisations and groups in that area, have formed the Free State KhoeSan Language Council which was officially launched recently and supported by the provincial Arts and Culture Department at very high profile event. This was quite encouraging because usually as Khoekhoe we are an afterthought and in this case, we were in the forefront. I do believe that the South African government is supportive, the mechanisms are there and we as indigenous people have to go through those doors now and use what we have. In the Free State they are doing that.

What has come out of the KhoeSan Culture and Memory Project is that it is not only the Coloured group that speaks Khoekhoe languages; there are other groups that speak these languages. According to the history of colonisation, many Khoekhoe sought refuge in neighbouring cultures. Diverse forms of interaction ensued between Nguni, Sesotho-Tswana

and the Khoekhoe and San speaking peoples through for example, trade, inter-marriages, cultural exchanges and conflicts; so the Khoekhoe are not only found in the Coloured group, they transcend all the various groups in South Africa.

In the Free State, the Griqua and the Korana had lobbied the provincial government and the Free State University where they were able to get lots of support there. The director of the anthropology department, in consultation with Khoekhoe leaders has created a unit for Khoekhoe and San Studies. At the moment this is still a virtual one; we are in the process of forming a board. Again, this is very exciting for us.

One of the projects that will be situated within the Khoekhoe and San studies unit is the Khoe San Early Learning Centre. This Centre was established because of the calls of Khoekhoe people. It is a pilot project with the following objectives:

- Create a teaching environment that respects the KhoeSan heritage and culture
- Design an indigenous friendly curriculum in line with the National Curriculum Statements
- To assess the effectiveness of ECD [early childhood development] in Khoe San language teaching for its revitalization and restoration

The curriculum would include indigenous content, Khoekhoe history, and language. Some people wonder if it would be separate from the current education system and the answer is “no” because in South Africa we have National Curriculum Statements within areas of learning. The early learning centre curriculum would interlock with those areas.

The project was to establish a community based early learning centre in Heidedal which is a Township in Bloemfontein. One of the many rights of indigenous people is to play an active part in the education of our children. As the project manager, I am actively engaging the parents and indigenous activist organisations involved in the formulation of this curriculum. The objectives are to create a teaching environment that respects KhoeSan heritage and culture. I am an ex-teacher, I used to be a primary school teacher and there were times when parents would come to me and ask: “What are you telling my child now?” Because a child at home would say: “Oh, I can’t do that because teacher says this.” There tends to be less respect for the parents than for the teachers, and the teachers are not usually from the area. In this Early Learning Centre, we want to create an environment that respects KhoeSan heritage and the parents. It is a pilot project because in the end we would like to assess the effectiveness of early childhood development of KhoeSan language teaching for its revitalization, restoration and retention.

A guiding principle of the curriculum plan is that education should integrate not alienate our children. Schools should not have a high fence which divorces it from the community. It is a must that it is a community-driven project and everybody must take ownership of their education.

There was a workshop held by the Free State KhoeSan Language Council. In the KhoeSan movement, about 80% of are male, which is changing. There were parents there and it was not just me or the chairperson just talking alone at people in the front– everybody was engaged. They could come up to the front, they could write their suggestions on the board, and they could say what they wanted to say. It was very nice that they felt like they could do that and they did not feel intimidated by the environment. The workshop was held at the public library in Heidedal. After this process, we will be having another workshop in the Heidedal community where more parents will come to give their input to drive this project, because after three years they will be taking the project forward.

Finally, the challenges of implementing the KhoeSan Early Learning Centre, or rather,

challenges that I was able to identify up until now, are as follows:

1. Free State KhoeSan Language Council need equipped administrative office with salaried staff
2. Nama speakers need translation techniques and training in Early Childhood Development
3. Provision made for KhoeSan language classes at Primary and Secondary Schools
4. On going lobbying to secure Government institutional commitment
5. Access to adequate ongoing funding

In my experience lots of our organisations fail because the members work as volunteers, they have full time day jobs and they are working in an organisation after hours. Needless to say, the workload becomes very great. The Nama speakers who have been identified in Heiderdal by the KhoeSan Culture and Memory Project need to be assessed for the quality of the Nama that they are speaking, but not for pure language in any strict sense. At this stage we need music and songs in Nama and poems, because the children would be 3-4 year olds. The Free State Language Council would also have parallel classes for youth, because there is about sixty youth who have indicated an interest in learning the language, as well as some parents and adults who want to learn. There is a great deal of support from within the communities themselves. The last challenge—adequate on-going funding—tends to sound like a swearword in South Africa.

The final photo I would like to share with you is of the Griqua and Korana elders and leaders and the word *Keisei gangangs* which means: “Thank you very much!” (Slide 13)



Slide 13: Free State Griqua and Korana

Focus on South Africa

Dr. Petro Esterhuysen, *University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa*

THE STORY OF ORANIA

Background

The processes of migration and urbanization are intricately part of the processes of culture change all over the world. The global movement of migrants, information images and flow, as well as the growth of multinational corporations across ethnic boundaries and states produce a much more complex and heterogeneous world where the local and global become entwined. The momentum of globalization in recent times has played a determining role in the resurgence of ethnic/indigenous consciousness, emphases on group rights, and movements towards self-determination.

In 1994, with the dawn of the new political dispensation in South Africa, the general climate was characterised by expectations and hope for a new South Africa rich in peace, reconciliation and prosperity in which all citizens would be free and equal. South Africa was again welcomed into the global community and the economic sanctions, disinvestment and academic, cultural and sports boycotts were something of the past. The ANC government started immediately with a deliberate process of building a unified nation with a constitution that enshrines the rights of all people. Symbols such as the concept of the “rainbow nation” were popularised, a new flag and anthem were created, and eventually a new coat of arms displaying two figures from a rock painting and the motto “Unity in Diversity.” Based on the principles of human rights, the ANC government also decided on certain strategies to ensure the recognition of the different cultural and religious groups within this unity as expressed in the following:

- The Constitution (Act 108 of 1996, Section 6) explicitly recognise cultural heterogeneity in that it makes provision for eleven official languages, the development and use of Khoi, Nama and San languages, as well as respect for Tamil, Hindi, Hebrew and other languages used for religious purposes (De Beer 2001:110).
- The Constitution (Act 108 of 1996, Section 211) deals with the recognition of customary law, traditional leaders and their courts (about 800 courts are still functioning in South Africa). Section 212 (2) allows for the establishment of provincial House of Traditional Authorities and a National Council of Traditional Leaders which extend the role of these leaders beyond their traditional areas of jurisdiction (Vorster 2001:121-122).
- Section 235 of the same Act (Act 108 of 1996) in the Constitution recognises “the notion of the right of self-determination of any community sharing a common cultural and language heritage.” However, this is an area that still needs much more debate and falls short of international conventions (cf. Geldenhuys 2006:443).
- Through various institutions such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and restitution of land to previously disadvantaged groups the present government have been able to create the image of a nation-state tolerant towards and accommodating cultural diversity.
- More recently the government also has underwritten the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Notwithstanding all the strategies, policies, and programmes to create unity, redress discriminatory practices of the past and follow international standards regarding human rights, a large group of commentators presently feel that the South African democracy is (after thirteen years) not yet successful. This is seen inter alia in the difficulties to apply the principles of equality, human dignity, and freedom and has even led to the criticism of the ANC-alliance partner, COSATU, that the ANC-government is becoming more and more authoritarian in its decision-making. The following examples would give abundant evidence of some of the other critical problems between government and citizens:

- Between 1994 and 2001 the proportion of workers in the formal sector fell from 69% to 49% and unemployment rises from 17% to 30% (Altman 2003). Many marginalized groups, especially women and the youth, are affected by this situation. Some of the commentators interpret the crime nightmares of car hijackings, armed robberies, rape and murder as the outcome of an economic struggle between the haves and have-nots. The high crime rate is seen as a symbolic indication of the loss of a lifestyle; of the individuals' right to have property. The constant fear, grievances, and mistrust of victims on the one hand and the seemingly incompetence of the police on the other lead to growing alienation between the government and citizens (Prinsloo & Wiechers 2006:406-407).
- One of the cornerstones of the New South Africa is the strong emphasis on non-racism and to rectify the unfair discrimination of the past based on so-called racial differences. Affirmative action is one of the mechanisms to ensure that individuals from previously disadvantaged groups could now be appointed and promoted in a fair way. However, members of the Coloured, Indian and White communities experience the practice of affirmative action as reverse discrimination or Africanization (Financial Mail 1996; Ravitch 1997; Mangcu 2003). Many African appointments are seen as motivated by nepotism and that the individual lacks the necessary qualifications and experience required for the job description.
- The Afrikaner community experiences the ANC government's almost irrational insistence on the changing of place names related to the history of the Afrikaners, as a conscious effort to erase an important part of the Afrikaner's conceptualisation of their identity and role in the history of South Africa. This is further aggravated by intolerance towards Afrikaans and efforts to exclude it as a medium of teaching at schools and universities.¹
- In stark contrast with the ideals of transparency, participation and justice, the local and provincial governments fail to deliver competent service and development and ignore, for the most part, meaningful participation by civil society in decision-making. The politicians and officials are accused of ineffective management and corruption with the result that sustainable development programmes struggle to maintain momentum and find only limited success.

The list could be lengthier but should be adequate enough to indicate that at the moment the government has problems on many levels. It is not foreseen that it will be addressed in any meaningful way before the power struggle between Mbeki and Zuma in the coming presidency election of the ANC party is solved. This unstable climate has an effect on all the democratizing projects in South Africa—also the recognition of and dialogue with indigenous groups.

¹ Since 1994, a third of the Afrikaans medium schools were transformed into parallel or double medium schools and about thirty have become totally anglicized (Giliomee & Schlemmer 2005).

The Concepts of “Indigenous” and “Identity”

When thinking about identity and indigenous I want to briefly state two essential ideas that guide me in my reasoning on this topic:

a) The first idea is that I consider the concept of indigenous as part of the broader discussion on identity. In an overview of the anthropological studies on identity, Linger (2005) made a useful distinction between two viewpoints which he called *representational* (or public) and *experiential* (or personal). The *representational* viewpoint dominated for a long time in the majority of studies in cultural anthropology and could be labelled as the symbolic approach because it focused on public performances, rituals, images and language to decipher and interpret, as carriers of identity. In the late twentieth century, the followers of this approach have adopted a more dynamic, discursive, view by analysing the discourses that have, according to them, a strong political and linguistic slant. As Linger (2005:189) puts it: “The chief concern of anthropology, therefore, becomes the ongoing *production* of meanings through ever-changing categories and narratives.” Identity is further depicted as unstable and strategic with multiple meanings.

The *experiential viewpoint* was originally held by psychological anthropologists who generally placed emphasis on “mental processes, individual particularities, experiential immediacies, and personal agency” (Linger 2005:187). The point of departure for proponents of this view is the self-conscious individual rather than collective representations (cf. Cohen 1994). One of the exponents is Rapport (1997:1) who promotes a person-centred approach that follows “the individual’s conscious and creative engagement with...socio-cultural environments.” In contrast with the representational discourse that treats identity as extra-personal and public, the experiential viewpoint deals with identity as the personal appropriation of identities. However, this does not mean that the individual lives in a vacuum isolated from cultural constructions. As Chodorow (1999) indicated with regard to gender identities, it is both cultural and personal.

Both viewpoints are present in what Linger called “three conspicuous genres” namely studies of gender, studies of nationality and ethnicity, and studies of postmodernism and globalization. Given this framework, I want to argue that being indigenous could be interpreted from both the representational and the experiential viewpoints and even though debates are normally founded in legal arguments or formulated with ideological and political intent, I think it could also be useful to study the ‘indigenous’ via the theoretical framework of identity studies.

b) The second idea regarding the definition and recognition of indigenous peoples follows the views of Barnard (2006), Hodgson (2002) and Saugestad (2001). Briefly, the following two viewpoints appeal to me because they have application in the South African context and they are broadly compatible with the theoretical framework regarding identity I have given.

- Firstly, it is important to define, examine and debate indigenous identity according to the local historical, political, social and economic context which was instrumental in the shaping of indigenous groups. For instance in the South African context, even the culture concept has a local interpretation and history. Of course, the international movements and decisions have informed the local, national arena, but ultimately it is within the local policies and legal structure that real recognition and self-fulfilment lies.
- Secondly, Saugestad (2001:56) and others emphasise the fact that ethnic identity (and by implication indigenous identity) is a relational concept with emphasis on the subjective self-ascription of members of a group (thus internally) and ascription by others (that is external to the group). Barnard (2006:2) has also observed that “the relation of dominance of one group over another, and especially the relation of different groups to the state” is

included in the above-mentioned view. I want to add a less prominent (and maybe even less popular) ingredient to the relationships within indigenous identity which is the personal relationship of the individual member with the group. In a modern changing world where we accept that the individual is making choices and frequently associates strategically with others, indigenous identity should be seen as both social and personal.

The Afrikaners of Orania

Orania² is a small town in the Northern Cape Province in South Africa which originated in about 1963 as a construction town for the employees of the Department of Water Affairs who were responsible for the building of a network of channels for a water scheme in the Orange River. By 1987, the channels were completed and the town was evacuated. When it was bought in 1991 by a private company of shareholders called Orania Bestuurdienste, (Orania Management Services) the prefabricated houses were mostly dilapidated and even though the original infrastructure was in place, everything was in bad repair. A cultural interest group called “Afrikaner Vryheidstigting” (the Afrikaner Freedom Foundation) together with other Afrikaner affiliates had a dream of a self-governing, ethnic state or “volkstaat” and they formed the main drive behind the purchasing of the town. They saw Orania as the beginning of a comprehensive plan to establish a *volkstaat* in the Northern Cape Province and therefore acquire, in the following years, three farms adjacent to the town area. Under the present political dispensation, Orania is not a proclaimed town and falls under the local government of the Tembelihle municipality which also includes the towns of Hopetown and Strydenburg. The Northern Cape Province has made provision for Orania to form a Representative Transitional Council that slot in at the provincial level only. The community is managed by an elected Board of Directors (Town Council) and a manager.

Since the establishment of the community the population has grown to about 500 permanent residents and represents people from all walks of life, although the core of shareholders have almost without exception tertiary education. De Beer (2006:109) identified four motivations for migration to this rather remote settlement in the Northern Cape Province:

- The opportunity to establish a volkstaat for Afrikaners
- The high crime rate and insecure life in the rest of South Africa
- Lower cost of living attracted retired people
- Unemployed, impoverished white Afrikaners find a refuge in Orania

The movement of Afrikaners to Orania is but one of the options in the large-scale emigration of South Africans since 1994. It is estimated (official statistics are not reliable because few people indicate on their travel documents that they plan to emigrate) that about 2000 people leave the country monthly—and of these the Afrikaners are in the majority (cf. Du Toit 2003). Du Toit (an anthropologist) made an in-depth study of migration patterns of Afrikaners in the history of South Africa and distinguishes between economic driven emigration and “diasporic” emigration. In his opinion, the majority of Afrikaners presently in the UK, New Zealand and Australia followed the diasporic model.

In contrast with economic emigration, people following the diasporic emigration pattern experience tension and anxiety in their home environment and see the emigration as an act of self-protection. The stress they experience is mostly related to the change and unreliability of physical, cultural, social and political resources that were considered to be determinants in

² Except if otherwise indicated, De Beer (2006) is the main source of information on Orania.

their identity. A further decisive reason for emigration (which the Orania Afrikaners share) is a pessimistic conviction that South Africa is going towards the same downhill road as the rest of Africa and that it will not provide a save and prosperous future for their children.

The people of Orania call themselves “Boere,” “Boere-Afrikaners,” “Oraniërs” (Oranians) or “Afrikaners.” Most of the characteristics of their identity are shared by Afrikaners outside Orania, but people of Orania considered their identity as more “pure” and faithful, based on principles that outside-Afrikaners were prepared to discard or change. To name a few:

- Practically all the inhabitants are active Christians (divided in seven church denominations) and education is strongly based on Calvinistic doctrines. One of the most influential leaders and the original founder of the settlement, Carel Boshoff, is an emeritus professor in theology and is also one of the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church in Orania.
- Afrikaners of Orania maintain a strong consciousness and knowledge of the history of the Afrikaner in order to remind themselves of high and low points that influenced the unity and freedom of Afrikaners. For this reason, they commemorated Founders day (6 April), “Bittereinder Dag” (Hardliner day – 31 May) and Language day (14 Aug).
- Rooted in this fervent belief in “remembering the past” the Oranians find their passion for self-determination and freedom. Even though there is ample evidence that they will not be able to establish a volkstaat in the coming decades, their grip on the vision does not abate.
- Being white and of so-called Caucasian/European descent is important for people of Orania. All residents have to apply to the Town Council for the right to stay in the settlement and only “whites” are allowed to live and work in Orania.
- The people of Orania have an equally rigid rule of what they call “volkseie arbeid” which means that they should do their own work or employ only fellow Afrikaners as labourers.
- A number of explicit symbols such as the “Ora,” the local currency, the Freedom Flag with the boy walking to work, the garden of sculptures (mostly of Afrikaner leaders of the past) on top of a nearby hill and the deep respect for Afrikaans as mother tongue, are a reflection of the emotional unity and commitment of the people of Orania.



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Afrikaners as an Indigenous Category

The possibility as to whether the Afrikaner could be considered indigenous has been briefly addressed in the debate on the definition of indigenous by various authors (cf. Kuper 2003; Barnard 2006). It is not my intention to continue with this debate, because from a theoretical point of view, I have already made my position clear. What influences me to put Orania and the Afrikaners on the agenda was a letter written in May this year by Carel Boshoff jnr, addressed to the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues of the United Nations to request a “constructive debate on the definition of ‘indigenous peoples.’” In the letter he also made it clear that they took cognisance of Special Rapporteur Stavenhagen’s viewpoint, but that the Afrikaners could, nevertheless, reason that there are substantial arguments to confirm their indigenous status in South Africa. Given the content of this letter I ask myself why they have taken this step and what do they hope to gain? Why is it so important to be recognised as an indigenous group?

My feeling is that recognition by an international body will predominantly have the benefit of a stronger political acceptance, also internally in South Africa. In other words, the highest ideal of self-determination is being pursued. However, I want to argue that it is far too early for cultural communities such as Orania and similar ethnic enclaves in South Africa to follow the political route. My observation of indigenous communities in South Africa is that they mostly need to consolidate, need to find themselves culturally and especially become more stable as economic units. Within the present local government structures there are various possibilities to gain an economic foothold, but because of the demands of a democratic decision-making process, communities like Orania feel themselves powerless and almost non-existent as far as government is concerned. Given the experience in the old South Africa, when ethnic identity was used as the principle for structuring society, one can understand the reluctance and even ambivalence of government to come out too strongly in favour of the ethnic/indigenous issues. Simultaneously, there is no doubt in my mind that the young democracy of South Africa is a dynamic process and that cultural diversity will always remain a challenging point on the agenda.

Thank you.

Aspects of Migration and Urbanization

Lily Muñoz, AVANCSO (*Guatemalan Association for the Advancement of Social Sciences*) & Tomás López, *K'iché Language Community, Guatemala*

The Indigenous Population in Guatemala and Migration to Urban Areas

Good morning everybody!

Before I begin I would like to thank the Forum for inviting me here to participate in this important event. I would also like to thank all of the participants because I think that a lot of us depend on these gatherings where we can exchange ideas about how we can contribute to a better world.

As the chair already mentioned, I am here representing the Association for the Advancement of the Social Sciences (AVANCSO) in Guatemala, which is a social research centre whose research agenda is composed of topics that are necessary for the Guatemalan social movement, one of which is the indigenous movement and the *campesino* or peasants movement. The reflections I will share with you are the results of a joint institutional effort of the Ethnic Relations Team of AVANCSO.

I would like to begin by telling you a bit about the Guatemalan context. It is a highly diverse country, where four main peoples have been recognized in the constitution: the Maya, the Xinca, the Garífuna, and the Ladino. The last category– the Ladinos–consist of *mestizos*; they are what is referred to as a mixed population as the children of descendents of Spaniards and indigenous peoples. Within the Maya people we have twenty-three linguistic groups; all of them are within the Maya people, one of the four main peoples. Guatemala has almost 12 million inhabitants and at least 50% of them are indigenous. The twenty-three linguistic communities that I referred to that are of Maya origin historically have lived in the north-western territories of Guatemala. Those departments have the highest rates of poverty in the country, according to the different maps that have been made concerning poverty and the National Report on Human Development of the UNDP. According to this report, 60% of the population of Guatemala lives in poverty and 20% of the population lives in extreme poverty, of course, the most affected part of the population are the indigenous peoples.

Today we are in a period of post-conflict in Guatemala. In 1996 the internal armed conflict that had lasted for thirty-six years came to an end. This civil war cost approximately 200,000 deaths and extrajudicial disappearances. According to the Guatemalan Commission for Historical Clarification, 83% of the victims that were fully identified by this committee belonged to the Maya people and the Guatemalan State was indicated as being responsible in 93% of the violations. This commission talked about genocide and there are also people in Guatemala who have talked about an ethnocide because of the special characteristics of the conflict.

What is certain is that the indigenous peoples of Guatemala are still suffering the consequences of the horrors of this war. In the period of 1981 and 1982 alone–which was the bloodiest part of this war– 80% of the inhabitants of the departments of El Quiché, Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango and Alta Verapaz (approximately 1.3 million people) were compelled to migrate to other parts of the country, many of them to urban areas, in order to survive. Thousands of other people had to go to neighbouring Mexico as refugees or to the mountain areas, like the *Comunidades de Poblacion en Resistencia* (CPR) [Communities of Population in Resistance].

When we speak of internal migration in Guatemala today we are focusing on the last decade and are not taking into consideration the forced migrations that were the result of the political

repression committed by the State during the conflict years. This caused a migratory wave towards the nearest urban zones in the central region of the country. With that focus, we fall into a pattern of only considering it as an element of the past, without taking into consideration the thousands of families that still suffer the consequences of forced displacement and that the war substantially modified the demographic composition of the Guatemalan territory. It is necessary to “unearth” this evidence, above all because in Guatemala there has not been sufficient analysis of the dramatic impact that the terror, which was used as a tool of power, has had on the lives of the indigenous peoples. Also, deterritorialization was a mechanism to break social frameworks and with them the possibility of constructing collective projects that would go beyond mere resistance. Perhaps we should investigate further the implications that the “geographies of terror” have had on the indigenous peoples of Guatemala. As mentioned by Ulrich Oslender, “the transformation of places and regions into landscapes of fear, which breaks down the social, local and regional relations, has particular relevance today given that indigenous peoples of Latin America are fighting for a process of re-territorialisation.”

I will not go into any deeper analysis here, but I wanted the audience to have a certain idea about how the “geographies of terror” broke up the daily lives of thousands upon thousands of Guatemala’s indigenous families who had to settle in other parts of the country and re-make their lives and all that implies. Because of that, I have asked my indigenous brother, Tomás López—a Guatemalan indigenous person of the *K’iché* linguistic community and the member of a family that was displaced and forced to move towards the cities—to speak to you in his own voice because his personal story has great value as a testimony about his and his family’s experiences. He has been living in Norway for some years, and lives in Bodø with his Norwegian wife. They have two children, and he, his children and his wife speak Spanish and in the first years of his children’s lives, Tomás taught his children *K’iché*. He is now studying towards a Master’s in Economics at Bodø University College.

My experiences of internal migration as an Indigenous Guatemalan

Tomás López

Thank you, Lilly. (Tomás gave a greeting in the *K’iché* language)

First I would like to tell you that it was very strange and difficult to write part of my history on paper. Firstly, because there are so many details that can not be included, there are many stories that can not be told in this context because of time-limits. If I am to read part of my own history I would do so not because I have forgotten parts of my own history, but because it would be easier for me.

I was born in a small village in Guatemala, a small village called Uspantán, in the department of El Quiché, in the western part of the country. In the beginning of the 1980s, my father, my pregnant mother, and my two older brothers and I lived in a house close to school and close to where my grandparents and my uncles lived and we had very strong social ties at that time. We had chickens, hens, and sheep, and my father grew some things, which covered part of our daily needs. My father worked as a social worker. He gave health courses and family planning courses and also taught the community how to improve the traditional harvest in the area. My parents were active within the Catholic Church where they did social things, sang and did other religious things. But in the 1970s, my father and grandparents wanted to start a credit cooperative with the intention to promote the economic development of the region. I think that was part of the reason why we had to flee for a long period of time, all over the country.

In 1980, the growth of repressive violence forced many families to migrate to different parts of the country; some went into the mountains, others were found murdered in rivers and ditches. That was the kind of environment that we lived in during the 1980s, so my father decided that we had to flee from my village, partly because he had received threats to this life. So we left early in the morning. The night before, my father had come to the house and told my mother “you must pack your most necessary things because we have to flee in the morning.” Many years later, when we returned to the village, my grandmother told us that on that day when we fled, in the morning she came to see us and she found all of our things were intact—the corn, the hens, animals, the sheep, everything was left behind—and that was a very sad sight for her. That moment, when she discovered that we were not there, I think that has always been a very sad moment for her.

We went towards Huehuetenango and my mother was crying the whole way. But she had to cry in silence because she did not want to attract any attention from the others that were travelling with us. We asked our mother: “Where are we going, when are we going to go back to our toys and our school and to our grandmother?” She lied to us; I think that she herself wanted to believe in that lie when she said that we would go back soon. She said we were just going to make a short trip, a short excursion. When we arrived in Huehuetenango, we went from one place to another looking for a place where they usually could keep people safe, in the small hostels. In each place they told us: “No, no we have no place available for refugees.” We were also “dirty and did not speak the Spanish language,” that’s what they told us. When we did find a place in a hotel—it was one of the simplest places in Huehuetenango—a room that measured 3 by 3 meters. That was our home and our prison for three months. It was our prison because they did not even let us leave this little room; we could not even go out into the backyard, not to mention the street. The only one who was allowed to go out, or who had to leave, was my father who had to go out to buy our food.

Fortunately, after some time my father got to know a priest because he had been active in the Catholic Church and he got to take us to another place. We moved to a place called San Lucas Tolimán, close to one of the most beautiful lakes in the world, but we could not stay there for a long time either because we had to move, we had to move frequently so that they would not find us if they were following us.

After fleeing through Guatemala for about two years we came to a place called Chimaltenango, it is about an hour from Guatemala City. We rented a house there and soon we started to have a life of hope and at the same time, a hellish life. There was hope because after such a long time having our baggage packed, ready to flee at any moment, at least we found that we could stay in this province and that the city was sufficiently big enough to hide in. But it was hell too because my mother and us children did not know how to speak Spanish, we only spoke K’iché. In the beginning, my mother used the traditional robes of the K’iché people, but when we went to Chimaltenango, she had to change the way she dressed; she had to dress the way the locals did. They prohibited us from speaking the language outside of the home and they prohibited us from telling anyone where we came from.

It was a bit easier for us as children to integrate into the local society. We started to go to school, but I do remember one thing that I always carry with me and that was my schoolmates making fun of me. Maybe they did not do it with bad intentions, but they made fun of me when I made grammatical errors when I spoke Spanish. During the breaks when I found other children speaking my language we spoke in very low voices because we did not want other people to discover that we were different from them. But I think they knew anyhow.

The one in the family that suffered the most was my mother, and I think that she is still suffering today. She was far away from her family and was cut off from the social ties and because she was a bit older it was more difficult for her to learn Spanish. I can mention that the first time she went to the market to shop she noticed that there were many things that she did not know and if there

were things that were known to her, she did not know how to ask for them in Spanish. Another problem we had was the problem within the family, the communication between my mother and us children. In our village, we did not know these modern things, the refrigerator, the radio, the TV, etc., which were modern at that time. My mother did not know how to say those things in Spanish and we do not have those words in our K'iché language, so she called all those things *ch'ich* which means iron or metal in our language. To communicate with us, she said: "Give me that metal, no not that metal, the other metal!" Many times we did not understand what "metal" she was talking about so we were trying to find what she was talking about and many times she hit us because we did not understand what metal or iron she was talking about.

At the same time, this complicated the communication with our father. We were disintegrated and far away from our family and the social ties of our village and in Chimaltenango our family started to disintegrate very much. Because of the frustration and the pain of this situation, my father sought refuge in alcohol. He started to get drunk. His drinking made the situation of our family much more difficult. We became extremely poor. In addition to that, there were eight of us. My family really fell apart. My father began to beat and mistreat my mother; as I said, we were poor, we disintegrated as a family, and we were far removed from the social ties of my village. I began to look back into my life and I began thinking: "What would things have been like if we didn't have to leave our village?" "What would have happened to me?" "Would I have had a more healthy childhood, would I not have been hungry?" "Would I have avoided an identity crisis?"

I do not know and I will never get to know the answers to those questions. But I know one thing 100%. I do not want to live the same things again, I do not want to feel what I felt as a child; the feeling of waiting, of being afraid and feeling ashamed, of being hungry, and above all, feeling this tremendous loneliness in your soul.

Thank you very much.



-Cont. Lily Muñoz-

Thank you very much Tomás for your testimony. I would like to tell you that Tomás' story is not an exceptional story within our country. It is one among thousands upon thousands of stories of indigenous families forced to migrate in our country as a consequence of the war.

So far we have talked about this internal migration because of political reasons, but we have many types of migration. In the past few years, the largest part of the indigenous migration towards cities in Guatemala is a forced migration, but this time because of economic reasons. As you must know, Guatemala is one of the most unequal countries in the world and neo-liberal globalization has made this inequality even worse, with the exclusion of a large majority of the people. There is high vulnerability, for example, generated by the drop in the price of coffee in the international market. There are many in marginalized situations that also face the national disasters that are ever worsening in the country. This so-called "democratic" government has only implemented public policies that exclude people from all walks of life. For instance, they have an agrarian policy that only takes into consideration the hegemonic sectors. They have reduced social spending; they have signed the free-trade treaties that are only to the benefit of transnational capital. The peasants and the indigenous people can barely survive. At AVANCSO we recognize that survival in these conditions is almost dying because it does not recognize that surviving on the margins of death is not a worthy or dignified human life. So the criterion by which the system operates tolerates material death, of course, caused by the living conditions of the lower sectors of society. Another important dimension of the rationality of this death, if seen from an institutional perspective, is due to the point that more attention is paid to the majority population and to their needs and their rights. The indigenous population is considered "cheap labour" –we are not considered to be citizens or considered to be persons. What we have termed this at AVANCSO is "death by being made invisible."

This systematic logic of death forces the indigenous population to have to look for alternatives for survival, one of them being migration, both internally as well as externally. We have large numbers of people who go to Mexico and the USA to find work. One example of internal migration is what we see because of territorial conflicts that indigenous communities have with international or transnational companies that want to extract our natural resources at any cost. This is the case of the company ENEL which is found in Quiché, where several communities were displaced for the installation of a hydroelectric power plant in that region. This has been documented by the Ethnic Relations Team of AVANCSO, together with CONAVIGUA and the Myrna Mack Foundation in a joint project called "Promoting the Collective Rights of Indigenous Peoples."

As for the non-forced migration, it is mostly migration because of economic reasons; whether people are looking for work, better opportunities, or living conditions. This kind of migration may be permanent or temporary. In several cases, it is often the men who migrate towards urban areas so that they will be able to provide necessary financial support for their families' survival. In less frequent cases, indigenous people migrate towards the capital to study, for instance, in Guatemala City. Only 4.7% of the population has tertiary education and of this, I do not know exact numbers, it is perhaps less than 5% that are from the indigenous population. In all of these cases, we believe that poverty is an expression of the structural violence of the Guatemalan State. We can state that the so-called "non-forced migration" is in fact "forced migration" because people who leave their communities to find new horizons do so because of the conditions of poverty and lack of opportunities in their local communities.

The urban centres are principal recipients of internal migration from the indigenous and

peasant population. In 1993, the population census stated that 67% of the inhabitants of the department of Guatemala originated from other areas of the country. According to the 2002 Census, in the metropolitan area there is an average of forty-three new inhabitants coming to the city from other parts of the country each day. The consequence of this migratory flow is that it creates excessive growth of marginal areas and urbanization of poverty, like in Guatemala City, Escuintla, Chimaltenango, Sacatepéquez and Quetzaltenango. These cities do not have the sufficient capacity in the local market to absorb all of the available labour.

According to the study conducted in 2004 by the Institute of Economic and Social Studies, the principal characteristics of people who migrate internally to urban areas are that they are young, the majority being between 17-18 years old, with a primary education and have worked in agricultural activities; some of them are married and have children. So it is not difficult to imagine the conditions in which these people will live in the cities and the kinds of work they will be able to find and in what conditions they will face in order to survive. Many of them will join the lines of the unemployed, others will be forced into the informal economy, and the most fortunate will find jobs in the lowest positions in the labour market in assembly, which is almost slavery. In short, the system will continue to assign them to the margins of survival, changing only the setting.

Within this dynamic, we must consider the role of migration as it pertains to the reconfiguration of identities. We must recognize that identities are not static and that they are not exclusively defined by the group. Identities are not only defined by certain elements such as speaking one's mother tongue, by wearing traditional dress, living in the local community or by maintaining traditional customs; if you stop complying with one of these elements it does not mean that you lose your indigenous identity. We have to consider the idea that when indigenous people cease to live in their traditional territories it does not mean that they stop being indigenous or give up a central aspect of their identity. The findings in the work of the Ethnic Relations Team of AVANCSO demonstrated that we can construct new forms of relationships with land and territories. For example, many of the migrants return to their lands or territories for family and community occasions. So we can say that identities are reconfigured spaces in constant negotiation, which means that there is a constant negotiation of identities. The social anthropologist Santiago Bastos states that "despite spatial displacement, the indigenous identity has been able to transcend space and surpass it as an exclusive and closed category. Indigenous identity can be understood to be "symbolically inclusive" and we may therefore today speak about a "transterritorial" and "transpatial" identity. We can not discuss identity without considering a process of negotiation and reconfiguration of identity—that is given the framework of internal migration—which has the potential to strengthen the indigenous peoples' identities and provide the basis for social and political organization based on the new conditions in the migratory process.

Obviously, this process is not exempt from conflicts and tensions, which we see in different areas in relation to the consequences of the political and significations and economic changes. An example being the change that migration has implied for the women, providing redefinitions of terms and roles, as much for those who left the indigenous communities as those who remained. The women who stay behind become the heads of the family, but with restrictions, both from the inside and the outside, because they are monitored. Another investigation of the Ethnic Relations Team of AVANCSO in San Martín Jilotepeque, found that the so-called "white widows" are monitored, both by the community and the families of their husbands because they have the status as women who are alone with their husbands far away. In spite of this, the women are modifying the rules and roles traditionally assigned to women.

The internal migration has also had an important role to play in terms of new leadership. Based on economic indicators, these new roles have been a source of conflict and tension in relation to the traditional leadership in indigenous communities. We have to look at the process

of transculturation and negotiation in indigenous communities, especially in the cases of those who return to their communities after having lived in other parts of the country. These are only a few of the examples found in the processes of negotiation and reconfiguration of the identities of indigenous peoples within the framework of internal migration.

Thank you very much for your attention!

Aspects of Migration and Urbanization

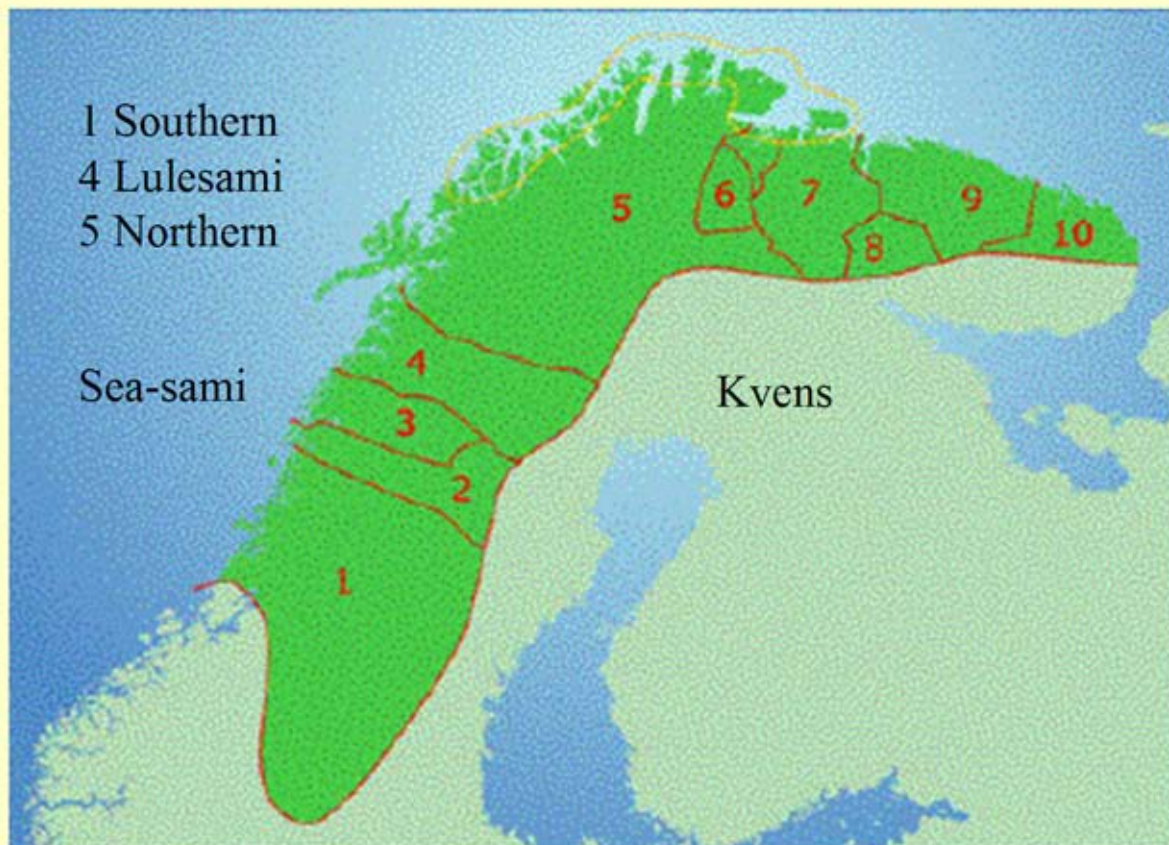
Professor Bjørg Evjen, *University of Tromsø*

A Sea Sami's story. From fishing-farmer to miner, from "Sea-Sami" to "Norwegian"?

We are going now from Guatemala to Scandinavia, specifically to Norway. This story is going to be quite different from what you have heard, to a great extent it has been a success and almost without exception it has been a peaceful history or peaceful process.

This story is about the Sami people. When we are talking about success and the Sami history it depends on where you focus your attention. Success here is measured in broad terms as a people or an ethnic group that over time has been ethno-politically and/or ethno-culturally visible or has become visible through a process of revitalisation. In such a context we could say that the success of the Sami started as a process in the inland and in the north of Norway. It was like a wave that went forth from the north, but also in the Lule Sami area—and to some extent in the Southern Sami area. Then the wave started to move out to the coastal Sami areas and again first in the north, then in the south.

Sami dialectes/languages/groups



The Southern, the Lule and the Northern are the three main Sami areas. I also included the Kven, who are another minority in the Northern part of Norway who today are struggling to be accepted, maybe as an indigenous group, or to have their rights and their own culture be visible. I will take you back in history and up through today, and the coastal Sami area will mostly

be used in my examples. How did modernisation processes in the society in general influence the story of the Sea Sami? I will be looking at the Sea Sami people and the history of how they became invisible and how today they are becoming visible again.

Special Sami allodium rights, 1700-

Starting with the 17th and 18th centuries, the Sea Sami peoples in the areas south of Tromsø had a special Sami allodium right to land. This allodium had to do with taxes; they did not have to pay the same amount of taxes that the Norwegian farmers had to pay. This shows that the Sea Sami were indeed a visible society. These special tax rights were later taken away in the 18th century by the national authorities.

To me, as an historian, that means that because they had this special allodium one can find them in the historical sources and then when the allodium was taken away, we can no longer find them in the sources. Back in the 18th century another thing happened to these Sami people, there was a Christian mission coming up from the south into the northern areas, which was especially directed towards the Sami people; they were then Christianized. Of course they had been Christian earlier, at least by name, but this was an intensive Christianization. I will not go into that, but I will mention that after the missionaries had left a lot of effort was put into teaching the Sami how to read from the Bible. In one sense this can be seen in a positive way, because they had a higher education than the others. On the negative side, after this the Sami language was weakened.

In addition to being small-scale farmers, people were living off fisheries. In the fisheries there was a seasonal migration that had been going on for a long time. During some of the winter months the men went up to the Lofoten islands to fish cod and during the springtime they went to fish in Finnmark. There was a pattern of seasonal migration in the population.

Norwegianization, 1850-

In the 1850s, the Norwegianization policy was introduced and directed towards the Sami and the Kven. This was quite harsh; it was an assimilation policy. However, if you go to the area that I am focusing on, the official policies were not enforced. That is, they were allowed to speak Sami in the schools, they were allowed to have teachers that spoke Sami, but of course, there were no schoolbooks in the Sami language. A lot of the teachers were Norwegian and did not have a command of Sami. There was an official nation-wide assimilation policy, but in this area it was not as strongly enforced from the local authorities. Nevertheless this policy did lead to the language eventually going out of use in the Sea Sami area.

Back in the 1900s, some researchers tried to get back to this language and write it down. Some words were found and there was an attempt to write it down in a book, but we really do not know a lot about their language. Their clothing was also out of use sooner than any other group of Sami in this area which we have also tried to find. As you may know, the Sami clothing varies and it shows where you come from geographically. We have not been able to find any Sea Sami clothing from this area in the sources or in old pictures.

The photo below is a picture of a Sami in an urban area and it is called “curiosity.” As you can see there are men sitting on the stairs curiously looking at us and also at the Reindeer Sami here. We do not know if any of them were Sea Sami decedents (slide 6).



Slide 6



Slide 7

So what I want to tell by showing you this photo is that it was quit common that the Sea Sami and Reindeer Sami and the Norwegians interacted with each other, it was much more seldom to see a photographer in the city street than it was to see this reindeer herding man. On the topic of interaction, we of course also find a great deal of inter-marriage.

Industrialisation, 1900-

The photo below (slide 7) is of a woman named Gelotte from Sørfold in Nordland County. In the census from 1900 she is registered as an ethnically mixed person. We do not what her mixed background was from this record: she could be Kven, Norwegian, *Lapp*, or *Finn* (Norwegian names for the Sami people). But going into her family history, by using genealogy, and going back to the lists of the Sea Sami allodium rights we can find that several of her relatives going back to the 18th century were Sea Sami, so we know that her mixed background has something to do with being Sea Sami. She was living during the period of industrialisation in this area, when mining sites and other industrial sites were established and eventually mining cities and more dense societies developed. A large workforce was needed leading to migration into urban areas in the modern industrial societies.

Did the Sami participate in migration during the period of industrialisation? I have looked at different groups, firstly, the nomadic Sami. I could not find any information to indicate that the nomadic Sami participated in migration during industrialisation. If they did they had been settled farmers for a period and then they went into industry. The Lule Sami, that I pointed out on the map who were descendents of both Sea Sami and Swedish and Norwegian nomadic Sami, took very little part in the industrialisation, so it was the Sea Sami then who participated the most in industrialisation. When I looked into the

percentages, I found that the percentage of Sea Sami participating in the industrialisation was higher than for the Norwegians.

There are a lot of myths claiming that the Sami did not participate in industrialisation– that they could not work by the clock and that they could not have gone down into the pits or mines– but that is not true. So who were these Sea Sami who were participating in the industrialisation? It was the young men who became miners and carpenters in the industrial areas and the young women became cooks and cleaners and they took care of children. Gelotte and her husband stayed in the traditional area. They belonged to the generation that did not participate in industrialisation, a pattern I could find in many places. But Gelotte's daughters and sons, they participated in the new industrial life.

I wondered about who Hilda was so I went into the censuses and could find that her father was registered as an ethnically mixed person. And again I went back to her family history and into the Sea Sami allodium lists and found that her ancestors were also Sea Sami. I checked with other couples as well and I found that this was a pattern. I asked myself if they had an awareness of or consciousness about being from the same culture or from the Sea Sami culture. Was this process conscious or unconscious to choose a partner with the same background as themselves? I have not been able to answer that, but I think that they had a common culture and that is partly why they chose their partners as they did.

Of course when they moved into the industrial areas, it meant that they had a more prosperous life, economically and in terms of their living conditions. But there was a change in their working conditions as well when they were working in the mining pits.

They did not wear any helmets or protection for the stones that fall down into the pits. However, after WWII they all would be wearing helmets to protect their heads. There were Sea Sami coming from the fishing/farming areas to work in the pits. Many of them did not enjoy this kind of life with no fresh air and no open-air fishing boats.

When reading in the historical sources from the leaders of these mining areas, we can find that when the fish came in both Sami and Norwegian miners would leave the pits to fish for the season and then in the fall be coming back.

Labour movement dominance

In this new society it was not only the working conditions that were new to them but there was a whole new system that guided their lives which was the labour movement. It was very strong in Norway especially after the Second World War when the labour party was in leadership. For example, Gelotte's grandsons were participating in the national conference of the labour party at this time.

What can this tell us about the labour movement in connection the Sea Sami? The labour movement led to better working and living conditions, and their wages increased. As I mentioned, this system was also a part of their everyday life. You can see that they were given flyers in Norwegian; they had working class literature, songs, music, newspapers and theatre. They learned how to be active leaders; they learned how to be part of the Norwegian society. According to my informants they never spoke about who their ancestors were.

The golden age for housewives, 1950-

We are coming now into the 1950s and 1960s, looking at gender at this stage, it was the golden age for housewives. The wives stayed home while the men left home for wage labour to provide for the family. So the women did not participate in this egalitarian movement in the same way

as the men. We find that women who stayed home kept the traditions and kept telling the old stories to a greater extent than the men, who were out in the public world. One person who I interviewed said: "If it was not for grandma staying home while my grandfather commuted to work in the industry, we could never have learned about our Sami history." What we see is that the husband, who is out in the official world, is turning from Sami to Norwegian and the wives are staying home and they continued to be registered in the censuses as Sami. At this stage the Sea Sami population was still a silent group of the Sami people.

Going back to the Reindeer Sami, the nomads, who lived in the same area but up in the mountains and seasonally migrating over to Sweden, they did not experience the same degree of change as the Sea Sami. They went on migrating with the reindeer, and of course there were some changes there too, but not at the same level as the Sea Sami. There has always been trade between the settled and the nomadic people. The nomadic sold meat and cheese, and they were also keeping custodial reindeer for the settled people. We see that with the development of infrastructure—roads and railways—it became easier to get food from other places than from the reindeer and the Sami. Freezer technology, which came into every household about this time, was also a factor that led to less trading with the nomads. To take this point a bit further it could be said that this caused a greater distance between the settled and the nomadic Sami.

Social democracy, modernisation and urbanisation, 1950-

In the 1950s there was a large migration southwards to urban areas. This included Norwegian, Kven and all kinds of Sami people. I should also mention that during the Second World War there was an evacuation of people from Finnmark and Northern Troms to the south, some were Sami and some were Kven. Those who were evacuated to the Oslo area became an urban Sami people and it was in Oslo that you find the first Sami society in Norway towards the end of the 1940s. In addition to this urbanisation, a society was growing based on the Labour party's ideas of a social democracy. Equality was one of the main pillars in this politics; this could be seen in both a positive and a negative way. A lot of researchers have been underlining that the idea of equality in policy was such that everybody was supposed to live in the same kind of houses and wear the same kind of clothes and this resulted in the ethno-cultural features eventually vanishing, at least in the official society. But on the positive side there was education, everyone had the right to an education if they wanted it, whether rich or poor, whether they were Sami, Kven or Norwegian.

So Gelotte's descendents were given the tools to have a higher education and to find a way back to their history. That became even more important in the 1960s and 1970s when the Sami ethno-political revival took place where the educated Sami could participate in it. There has been a lot of research done that demonstrates that it is often the educated elite that starts ethno-political revivals, which is also the case in Norway.

This was not the case with the Sea Sami though because they went on being silent. It was not until the 1990s that we began to see Sea Sami ethno-political organisations. It began first in the Northern parts of Norway, and only recently it has begun to take hold in the southern part of Nordland.

The Lule Sami were a success in this ethno-political and cultural revival. As the descendents of the Sea Sami and the Swedish and Norwegian nomads they took a leading part in the ethno-political revival. In 1994, in the picture below they were able to open their own cultural centre, in the presence of the king of Norway. His presence tells that the Norwegian society had welcomed this and given their economic support to build the centre (slide 16).



Slide 16

What was it about the Lule Sami that made them successful in the ethno-political revival if we compare them with the other Sea Sami groups? The Lule Sami did not participate in industrialisation, they were able to maintain the use of their language, they also kept their own clothing in spite of Norwegianization, and they had very close contact with the nomadic Sami. Contact with the nomadic Sami was an important part because they kept the traditional culture and showed this traditional culture and through interacting with them all the time it was a reminder that it was all about their own history. The Lule-Sami also had a high level of education and a strong identity, both within the area but also from the Norwegian society, who viewed them as a strong group with a strong identity.

The Sea Sami group started to be visible in the allodium tax lists, and then through Christianisation, Norwegianization, industrialisation, urbanisation and migration, they started to be invisible. More recently they have started to become visible again. The great-grandsons and great-granddaughters of Gelotte are spread out today and mostly living in urban areas. Some have a high education. I found that two of her descendents are registered in the Sami census to be able to vote in the Sami parliament elections. That brings us to numbers and the Sami people and organisation.

The first number from 1987 says that 7000 or more Sami in Oslo could understand the Sami language which was from an official report. We do question that number because it can not be verified and it seems to be quite high. The other numbers from 1995-1997 are numbers taken from a speech by the state secretary Steiner Pedersen, who in 1993 found that 200 Sami were living in Oslo and in 1997 there were 300. Here in the Tromsø area, which may be the urban area with the largest Sami population, there are approximately 500 Sami that are registered in

the Sami census. These numbers are from the Sami census lists to be able to vote in the Sami parliament.

This presumably represents only 3% of the total population of the registered Sami. It is difficult to find the exact number of Sami. I took these numbers from 7,000 down to 300 to show you that the amount of Sami is given in a rather diffuse number. There is some research going on to try to get to more specific numbers, but they have not been completed yet. So the register and the “real” number is a challenge for researchers.

If we use this Sea Sami woman Gelotte as an example, she and her husband had eight children, they had forty grandchildren and today there are 100 of their great-grandchildren living in Norway. Only two of them are registered in the Sami census.

Although the numbers are not given, the Sea Sami from Nordland today are in a process of becoming visible, partly because of the ethno political and cultural revitalisation, and partly from acceptance in the society in general of a more pluralistic population.

Thank you.

Forum Update

Ellen Marie Jensen, Sami Academic and Indigenous Activist, (Minneapolis, MN/Tromsø)

Recognizing the Passing of an Urban Indigenous Leader of the American Indian Movement

I asked the organizers to be able to say a few words today about a very important indigenous activist from Minneapolis, MN—where I currently live most of my life. Vernon Bellecourt passed away on Saturday, October 13th, 2007 he was from the White Earth Reservation (Anishinabe/Ojibwa) and was a champion of urban indigenous peoples' rights and one of the earlier urban indigenous activists in AIM—the American Indian Movement. AIM is a rather present urban indigenous movement in Minneapolis; in fact, the place where AIM was born is close to where I live in an area where indigenous people and activism are visible.

I wanted to say a few words about Vernon Bellecourt because on Wednesday evening at the same moment that we were talking about the theme for this conference being tenacity he was being buried and memorialized at a ceremony held in his honor on the White Earth Reservation.

Vernon Bellecourt's brother Clyde Bellecourt was one of the founders of AIM and shortly after AIM was founded, Vernon quickly became involved. He was one of the activists who negotiated the settlement at the occupation of Wounded Knee, and ever since then he was an important figure in urban indigenous cultural revitalization, but also as an activist who fought on the local level for the dignity and rights of indigenous people in Minneapolis and elsewhere.

Some of the important recent work that AIM does is to prevent police brutality. There are a lot of Native people in Minneapolis who are often referred to as “inebriates,”—people who are drunk almost all of their lives— and they are subject to a lot of brutality, oftentimes by the police. There have been some high profile and disturbing incidences of police brutality. Reports of intoxicated Native people getting locked in the trunks of police cars, urinated on, and generally humiliated are not uncommon; some of these incidences have been caught on camera. So AIM goes out into the streets at night to try to protect indigenous people from assault.

Vernon Bellecourt was also an international figure, I am not sure if any of you have heard of him, but I know that Professor Henry Minde has probably mentioned him or AIM in some of his courses on the history of the global indigenous movement. Vernon Bellecourt met with controversial leaders throughout the world, perhaps representing the White Earth Reservation as a sovereign nation. Some leaders included Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega, Libya's Moammar Gadhafi, Palestinian Leader Yasser Arafat, and recently he went to Venezuela to talk with President Hugo Chavez about supporting his program for providing heating oil assistance to American Indian reservations.

The word for “thank you” in the Anishinabe/Ojibway/”Chippewa” language is Miigwetch, so I would like to say “Miigwetch” to Vernon Bellecourt and to all of the urban indigenous leaders and activists who came before us and who, like Vernon Bellecourt, are responsible in some ways for us being able to meet here today.

Forum Update

Mattias Åhrén, *Saami Council*

An adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples – finally a major breakthrough?

As I presume most of you are aware, after more than twenty years in the making, on September 13th, 2007, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. I have been asked to answer the question as to whether the adoption of the Declaration constitutes a major breakthrough.

It was often stated both prior to and after the adoption of the Declaration that the Declaration does not introduce any new rights, but merely affirms already existing rights. (Interestingly, prior to the adoption of the Declaration, it was predominantly indigenous representatives that made this point, whereas following the adoption; it is chiefly the state camp making this claim.) Should that be true, certainly it would be an exaggeration to refer to the Declaration as a “major breakthrough.” At the same time, how could it take more than twenty years to negotiate a Declaration that contains nothing more than rehashed already existing international law?

One can perhaps suspect that at least some of the indigenous representatives’ statements prior to the adoption of the Declaration, as well as state representatives’ mantra following the adoption, concurring that the Declaration contains nothing new, were and are, to some extent, politically motivated. In the final analysis, whether one perceives the Declaration as something to create new rights, or merely affirming already existing ones, obviously depends on how one interprets existing international law. I would submit the following.

In my opinion, a substantial part of the Declaration adds little to existing international law. The majority of the provisions merely affirm that already recognized rights apply equally to indigenous peoples and individuals. That is particularly true for the individual rights the Declaration enshrines. Most of these can already be found in instruments such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and in particular, in the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination.

In fact, I would submit that minority rights, as well as all indigenous individual rights, i.e., rights applying to indigenous individuals and not the people as such, are essentially the same thing as rights to non-discrimination. Rights of minorities and indigenous individuals, for example, are the right to use one’s own language and in other ways express—and receive respect for—one’s cultural background. But these rights are already encompassed in the fundamental right to non-discrimination, which entails not only that equal cases be treated equally, but also that different cases be treated differently. Consequently, the right to non-discrimination demands that states take positive measures to ensure that minorities and indigenous individuals can enjoy the same human rights to language, culture, etc., guaranteed to members of the majority population. And that, of course, means the right to effectively use one’s own, and not the majority’s language. A Saami person has the same right to use the Saami language as a Norwegian person has to use Norwegian, and that follows already from the right to non-discrimination, and is “merely” affirmed by the Declaration. In conclusion, from a legal point of view, the individual rights the Declaration proclaims add little to already existing international law.

One should stress, however, that is not to say that these provisions are redundant. The indigenous struggle is to a large extent a struggle against discrimination. From a political perspective, and for the effective implementation of these rights, it is certainly imperative that the Declaration reaffirms—in black and white—that these rights also apply to indigenous individuals

and that they have to be implemented. But this is perhaps not enough to label the Declaration “a major breakthrough”? If the Declaration is to be viewed as a breakthrough, this conclusion must probably be based on the parts of the Declaration that address peoples’ rights, to which we shall now turn. Before that, I just want to underline that I view indigenous individuals’ *sui generis* rights to land, territories and resources (LTRs) to constitute an exception to the general rule that the individual rights enshrined in the Declaration are already fully fleshed out in international law. We shall get back to this shortly.

Turning to the collective rights that the Declaration encompasses, in 1956, in an often used quote, Ivor Jennings suggested that the notion that the people shall decide is ridiculous since one must first then decide who constitutes a people.

Jennings’ position reflects well many peoples’ understanding of conventional international law. It is true that several international legal instruments enacted during the early era of the United Nations refer to peoples’ rights, most notably in the context of self-determination. However, when scratching on the surface, it appears that with the term “peoples” in these documents—at that time—were not understood to be “peoples” in the true meaning of the word, but rather the population of a defined area, regardless of ethnicity. In other words, it seems that international law of that epoch concurred with Jennings. If it was not possible to decide who constitutes a people, it was perhaps simpler just to administratively decide that a “people” shall equal the sum of the inhabitants of a state (or certain other forms of territories, with whom we need not bother ourselves here), regardless of whether the state is made up of more than one ethnic group.

However, during the last twenty years or so, the notion that a “people” equals the sum of the inhabitants of the state has become increasingly challenged. And the discourse on who constitutes a “people” under international law has essentially been driven by the indigenous peoples’ movement, whose primary message and demand since its inception has been that indigenous peoples constitutes peoples, equal in dignity and rights with other peoples. I will not bother you with the all of the details of this debate. In brief, it has been increasingly recognized that the traditional perception that a “people” equals the sum of the inhabitants of the state is outdated. More and more states, UN institutions, and legal scholars have come to conclude that the term “people” should rather be understood to mean “peoples” in the true and ethnic meaning of the term, i.e. ethnic groups with a common language, culture, livelihood, spiritual beliefs, and way of life and with a distinct and intrinsic connection to a fairly defined territory.

Regardless of this clear and tangible development, quite a few states and legal scholars continue to object to this understanding of “people.” So even though the indigenous interpretation of “peoples” was gaining momentum, and our legal arguments were convincing, politically speaking the case had not been finally settled, and without the Declaration, perhaps would not have been settled for a considerable period of time. Even though indigenous lawyers—myself included—argued that international law already confirms that indigenous peoples constitute peoples in the true and legal meaning of the term, it was extremely difficult to gain recognition in practice for this position against some states’ and a few legal scholars’ opposition. Politically, on a grass-roots level and as history has proven, it has been extremely difficult for indigenous peoples to get recognition as peoples against this background. Due to the lack of recognition on this keystone issue, it was in turn difficult for the indigenous movement to make headway on other matters as well.

The adoption of the Declaration changes all this. It reasonably settles the debate on the legal status of indigenous peoples, once and for all, and confirms that indigenous peoples are indeed peoples, also for legal purposes. This achievement alone, in my opinion, renders the use of the words “major breakthrough” an understatement.

A now-retired Danish diplomat, Ambassador Tyge Lehman, once stated when the clouds on the Declaration sky were at their darkest, that one should delete all articles in the Declaration,

except Article 3, proclaiming indigenous peoples' right to self-determination. And I concur that the Declaration would have been a very useful instrument even if containing only that single article (now we ended up getting a bunch of other provisions as a bonus). The right to self-determination is of course the most fundamental of all peoples' rights. Consequently, the battle on who constitutes "peoples" under international law has most often been fought in the context of self-determination. The importance of achieving recognition that this right not only applies—but applies equally—to indigenous peoples, can not be exaggerated. There is no time to go into details here as to what this right implies in the context of indigenous peoples, but the implementation of this right will, I am sure, prove to be a turning point in the post-colonial history of indigenous peoples. Suffice it to say that pursuant to the right to self-determination, indigenous peoples have the same right as other peoples to decide what our societies should look like, without outside interference, including the same right to control and decide over the natural resources in our territories; a breakthrough indeed.

The Declaration, hence, successfully challenges Jennings' claim that peoples cannot hold rights because one must then first define who constitutes a people. But the Declaration does not solve Jennings' dilemma, since notably absent in the Declaration is a definition of who constitutes indigenous peoples. In particular, the African, but also to some extent the Asian states, pushed for a definition, but as such never made its way into the Declaration, which was surely for the better.

One should note, however, that even though the Declaration includes no explicit definition, a definition is perhaps still to some extent implied. And if so, the definition is rather narrow. When it comes to the beneficiaries of the Declaration, the Declaration is surely more limited in scope than e.g. the ILO Convention No. 169, which applies not only to indigenous peoples, but also to indigenous and tribal groups. "Indigenous and tribal groups" is an undefined concept in international law, but presumably the ILO Convention applies to a fairly large number of ethnic indigenous groups with varying characteristics, but who need not necessarily constitute peoples under international law.

As a comparison, the fact that the Declaration undoubtedly proclaims peoples' rights, most notably the right to self-determination, may be interpreted to suggest that the Declaration only applies to such indigenous groups that qualify as "peoples" under international law. This is presumably a narrower group than those that qualify as indigenous and tribal groups under the ILO Convention No. 169. If this interpretation is correct, in the same vein it might be suggested that the individual rights the Declaration proclaims only apply to individuals belonging to such indigenous groups that qualify as peoples. Thus understood, the Declaration calls for a greater scrutiny as to which indigenous groups qualify as peoples than has perhaps previously been the case.

I do not think, however, that the scope of the Declaration necessary needs to be understood in such a narrow manner. The setting for the negotiations of the Declaration was unique and complex, which placed limitations on e.g. to what extent the Declaration could explicitly define who the beneficiaries of the rights the Declaration contains are. Clearly, the peoples' rights encompassed in the Declaration—such as the right to self-determination—will and can only apply to such groups that constitute "peoples" under international law. In my opinion this does not, however, preclude that the other rights contained in the Declaration—such as collective rights that are not necessarily peoples' rights—can apply to such groups. In the same vein, the individual rights encompassed in the Declaration can apply to individuals belonging both to groups that qualify as peoples and those that do not. This is a more reasonable interpretation of the Declaration.

The Declaration does not only bring the indigenous rights movement into a new era; it also challenges the paradigm of international law. Conventional international law, as previously

indicated, primarily concerns itself with state-to-state relations, and when it comes to human rights law, with state-to-individual relations. The Declaration, however, confirms peoples as international legal subjects, which calls for international law that regulates both the state-peoples, as well as in the longer term, peoples-individuals, relationship. This implies a re-drafting of the most fundamental building blocks in international law.

As indicated above, one area where one could view the Declaration to constitute a major breakthrough beyond collective rights is with regard to indigenous peoples *sui generis* LTRs. Article 26.2 of the UN Indigenous Declaration proclaims that “*Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources, that they possess by reason of ... traditional occupation or use...*”. And Article 28.1 stipulates that “*Indigenous peoples have the right to ... restitution or, when this is not possible, just, fair and equitable compensation, for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally ... occupied or used, and which have been ... taken ... without their free, prior and informed consent.*”

On the face of it, these provisions mention only indigenous peoples as beneficiaries of the rights, but must nonetheless reasonably be interpreted to encompass also the rights of other groups as well as for individuals. Contrary to the other individual rights enshrined in the Declaration, which, as discussed earlier, essentially only reaffirm already existing international law, particularly on non-discrimination, I would submit that the LTRs articles contain new elements. That is so because LTRs are *sui generis*, so both indigenous peoples and individuals. These rights are a result of a recognition of the distinct cultural, material, and spiritual relationship indigenous peoples have with their lands, and as a result constitute rights of their own kind; they are unique to indigenous peoples and can consequently not be found in already existing international legal standards that proclaim rights for peoples and/or individuals in general. It only makes sense to introduce rights on LTRs in an instrument specifically addressing indigenous rights since they cannot apply beyond an indigenous context. (That said, one can view these rights as aspects of the general right to property, but we do not have time to explore this matter in this context.)

To evaluate whether the LTRs articles constitute a major breakthrough, one can consequently only compare them with the other international instrument that specifically addresses indigenous peoples' rights, e.g. the ILO Convention 169. If one matches Articles 26 and 28 with the corresponding provisions in the ILO Convention No. 169, one would note that the Declaration goes much further. In particular, the ownership right is fairly ambiguously expressed in the ILO Convention wherefore it has proven to be quite an ineffective tool for protection of indigenous peoples' land based activities when used against competing interests. But even more groundbreaking is the right to restitution, which is essentially absent in the ILO Convention. The Declaration's crystal clear recognition in Article 28 that lands taken shall be returned, will surely prove to be of major importance to indigenous peoples, as will the affirmation that indigenous peoples have the right to own the lands, waters, and natural resources they have traditionally used; a breakthrough, I would say.

The Declaration of course includes many more imperative rights which I, however, do not have time to go into here. Several of these are intrinsically connected to, or can even be said to constitute a part of, the right to self-determination. Some that are worth mentioning here are the obligation of states to negotiate with indigenous peoples for the purposes of achieving their consent before enacting any laws affecting them and the provisions calling for respect for and recognition of indigenous peoples customary legal systems.

Finally, I would also like to offer a few remarks with regard to the legal status of the Declaration. A few states have been very quick to dismiss the Declaration as non-legally binding. This is to make things too easy for oneself. It is undisputedly true that the Declaration is not legally binding *per se*. No UN Declaration is legally binding. But it is—I submit—equally undisputable that the Declaration is highly reflective of binding international law on indigenous peoples'

rights. The Declaration distinguishes itself from other UN Declarations by being crafted in a very concrete and precise manner. Most of the provisions proclaim rights in “black and white” fashion, and leave limited room for interpretation. Even though, technically speaking, the Declaration is not a legally binding document; it is in practice crafted as a legally binding treaty. This of course does not change the formal legal status of the Declaration. But at the same time, it cannot be dismissed that the way the Declaration is crafted is of significant importance as to what extent the Declaration mirrors legally binding international law. Let us use the right to self-determination as an example. International law firmly establishes that all peoples have the right to self-determination. This is undisputed, and not a matter for interpretation. Article 3 of the Declaration proclaims that “Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination.” International law is formed by the will of states. An overwhelming majority of the UN member states supported the adoption of the Declaration, including, of course, Article 3.

In conclusion, a vast majority of the UN member states—who decide what constitutes international law—have declared as their position that the right to self-determination undisputedly exists and applies also to indigenous groups that constitute peoples. In conclusion, the Declaration as such is not legally binding, but its adoption is conclusive evidence that the legally binding right to self-determination applies also to indigenous peoples.

I would hence submit that the Declaration affirms that indigenous peoples constitute peoples for legal purposes, and therefore enjoy e.g. the right to self-determination. Moreover, the Declaration proclaims that indigenous peoples have the right to own the lands they have traditionally used and have the right to the return of lands that were taken. For these reasons, September 13th, 2007 will be marked in the indigenous calendar as the most important day so far in the post-colonial period in the recognition of indigenous peoples’ rights.

Thank you.

Forum Update

Simon Rye, *NORAD*

Indigenous People in Norwegian Development Cooperation

First of all I would like to thank the forum for inviting us, NORAD, to be here today.

I want to pick up on some of the points that would be raised over the course of this conference. It has only been a short while since I took up my current position with NORAD. I am in a learning mode, and my participation here is part of my learning. This is an important meeting place for NORAD, the Norwegian Development Cooperation, and also obviously for other organizations that are here today and for researchers. We would like to see this sort of meeting continue.

I came from out of our embassy in Addis Ababa just a few months ago. While I was there I had the privilege of working quite closely with the African Union and had the opportunity last night to speak about that with some of the participants that are here today, in particular Mattias Åhren, about the process of addressing indigenous peoples in the African Union as a policy area in African governments. And we can see the turn of events leading up to the adoption of the Draft declaration which gave me the privilege of a clear understanding of what this is all about in Africa, which is not where we have worked the most diligently on the indigenous peoples agenda up until now.

These issues addressed today are only one of the areas that my department is responsible for, which is called Peace, Gender and Democracy, which as the name suggests is pretty much everything under the sun. Indigenous peoples are listed in this family of huge issues, in terms of global issues, rights based issues, human rights, and democracy.

The connections that I have made at the conference and since I arrived here, regarding migration and urbanization, forces of social and global change, raise very complex issues and questions related to identity and representativity, which to me are very important and I would like to do some more thinking about them. I see where these issues challenge some well established concepts or paradigms about indigenous peoples and indigenouness and what it is all about. The challenges are perhaps somewhat naïve; the ideas that connect people to their natural surroundings. It also challenges the way we approach indigenous peoples in development, which should have implications for priorities, outcomes, goals, channels and anticipated results.

I want to challenge the Forum a little bit on this point. If the indigenous world, as it were, has become more urban and has changed in its very nature in relation to those images that often capture what it is, and if fewer people remained on ancestral lands, what implications should that have for development thinking and practice? I think it should have some clear implications, some of which I have not thought through yet, but I would challenge the Forum to formulate and clarify these issues a little bit further. That is, to link those very concrete lived experiences with bigger issues and the development policy issues that they might have. This is interesting from an anthropological point of view, but also very interesting from a relevant political point of view.

I think it is important to say a few words about how the development cooperation is organized and set up in Norway. Rune has already mentioned the budgets and the ministry's priorities when it comes to development in his introductions. It's important to have a clear picture of who does what and what mandates what. Up until March 2004, all development cooperation was handled by NORAD, which is the government's international development agency. However, all budget decisions, all policy decisions remain within the government under the ministry of foreign affairs and the director of NORAD is within the Ministry of Foreign affairs.

Development cooperation has been allocated to NORAD from the ministry of foreign affairs.

Almost all development has been allocated to the embassies in cooperating countries where we have development cooperation. What is important for this Forum and for this issue is that what remains in NORAD is civil society support.

I want to give you a few figures from 2007: 20.7 billion Norwegian crowns makes up the total global Norwegian development cooperation budget, which amounts to around 3.7 billion US dollars divided up between 110 countries in 2007. Out of this, NORAD manages roughly 2.2 billion Norwegian crowns, amounting to about 400 million US dollars, out of which 1.1 billion goes to civil society, out of which the figures were mentioned earlier. We are working on making the figures more clear, we need some clarity about some of these figures. There are a few things we can do in order to rectify some of the weaknesses that Rune alluded to. First is the use of NGO partners, and second to do work on the statistics to make those figures right, and thirdly to strengthen our overall work with organization partners on the content and direction of the priorities of their work with indigenous peoples. This work is ongoing and we are very much aware of the report that Rune alluded to.

Before we go into a debate about priorities we need to make sure that we have the figures right at the outset. This is certainly something that we want to contribute to and we want this to be right and we would like to see increased priorities or increased cooperation with organizations that do work with indigenous peoples. The ministry sets the priorities and the policy and the global direction of Norwegian development and cooperation and budgets that we have at our disposal which goes towards six technical departments and one of them is the one that I am the head. Those departments are important. The main challenges or tasks that NORAD has when it comes to support for indigenous peoples is to work with the embassies that manage bilateral development funds and direct support from NGOs in countries with indigenous peoples. It is our goal to support the embassies in their endeavours towards implementation of ILO 169, the UN Declaration and in whatever it is that they do on the ground with development funds targeting indigenous peoples.

I am going to end with a few words about the Declaration. It is our task to support the work of our embassies in implementing international commitments on the international level. I learned a lot from listening to Mattias and from the other conversations I had last night—it was illuminating. I learned a lot about the process and the very nature of the Declaration. As to the whole issue of it being “legally binding” or not, we consider it to be a very important reference, like the ILO 169, in our work with indigenous people and development cooperation. Later on in my appointment I might be able to say more about that, but my feeling is that it might provide the firm ground that we can stand on to build up partners and for the countries we support to build the moral capital and an arena for critical dialogue on indigenous peoples in development cooperation and various concrete events—like conventions and the courtroom—also provide an organized space where a new agenda can be developed. I think we are all going to have to make use of those open spaces. It goes without saying that Norway gave its support to the Declaration and the spirit of which is already very much in the sort of cooperation that we are already involved in through organizations and local governments.

Let me mention the guidelines from 2004; they provide the key reference plus, and explicitly some of the key references from ILO 169, and the goals of development cooperation with indigenous peoples. If you do not have a copy of the guidelines, I think you should, and they are available to all from NORAD.

I think it is fair to say that this area will remain a priority of Norwegian development cooperation. I think it will probably change, however, because the whole complex is changing. What I am thinking about here is global change and the concerns that we are all faced with which call for a much more coordinated effort and more linkages between the rights of indigenous peoples, natural resource depletion, biodiversity, climate change; all of these need to be worked

into our cooperation priorities. With that, we have not gotten to where we need to be in seeing the interconnections between these priorities. Now we have a minister of development and the environment to contribute to strengthening those interconnections, both conceptually and operationally. To mention one example, there is a program that NORAD is responsible for called Oil for Development, which is a program that I think would benefit from a clear linkage with the indigenous peoples' agenda and it would benefit from other connections and cooperation with a broader human rights agenda. So, we are working on these things both conceptually and operationally within the political context where it needs to be located.

To end then, speaking for NORAD and my department within that agency, we will continue to do what we can to try to live up to our country's level, to our embassies, and what we have to contribute to international processes, the ILO 169, and the Declaration, which is the most recent development. It would be useful to hear from someone who has worked within the NGOs focusing on indigenous peoples; it could help us to anchor what it is we do more broadly with our bilateral development cooperation and to lift us out of the civil society box. But this box will have to remain a very clear focus on civil society cooperation with indigenous peoples' rights and promotion. But we also want to see more integration, in a much more ambitious way, in the area of development cooperation bilaterally in our partner countries.

Thank you

Forum Update

Rune Paulsen, *Rainforest Foundation Norway*

Indigenous peoples: A Marginalised part of the Norwegian Development Sector?

Indigenous peoples have for a long time been an important target group in Norwegian aid. This statement can be supported by the following few facts:

- a) Indigenous peoples have quite explicitly been talked about as a separate and clearly defined category in Norwegian aid or development cooperation.
- b) Norwegian authorities back in 1983 established a separate aid program focusing on indigenous peoples—especially in Latin America.
- c) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs developed guidelines for aid to indigenous peoples which also covered aid going through NGOs. I would say that these guidelines were built rather explicitly on ILO 169.
- d) Norway has, in general terms, been instrumental in getting indigenous peoples rights high on the agenda in various ways, for instance, when the ILO 169 was developed and in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and when the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues was developed.

Now, unfortunately, looking at how this focus has translated into real and tangible action in terms of direct aid or financial support to indigenous peoples we became very surprised to find out that little of the money allocated for indigenous peoples has actually reached the target groups. Also, and something which is more worrisome, is that it seems to us that indigenous peoples are not prioritised in the same way today as had been the case in the past.

In 2006, the Rainforest Foundation together with Norwegian People's Aid and Norwegian Students' and Academics International Assistance Funds (SAIH) commissioned a study by The Norwegian Institute for International Affairs (NUPI) in order to look behind the figures to find the facts about aid to indigenous peoples which were based on available material. The report sought to answer the following questions:

- a) How is Norwegian aid to indigenous peoples divided between regions, over time, as bilateral versus multilateral aid and which channels are used in the distribution and management of the funds?
- b) Does the documentation indicate or reflect that the support is in fact directed at indigenous peoples?
- c) Does the documentation show us whether or not the support is so-called integrated or specific—in line with the guidelines produced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

In the study pertaining to aid to indigenous peoples between 1999 and 2005 an alarming and highly striking picture emerged based on the data available. The team found the following self evident percentages:

Only 19% of the aid coded as aid to Indigenous People can be documented as such. In other

words; 81% of aid to Indigenous Peoples – or coded as such – lack documentation or are incorrectly termed or coded as having Indigenous People as a main target group.

The study does not contain any appraisal as to whether The Ministry of Foreign Affairs own guidelines are followed or if a rights-based focus is central in the aid given. That is a job that still needs to be done.

In the recent National Budget we read that Norway's aid focusing on indigenous peoples has increased from 259 million Norwegian crowns in 2003 to 336 million in 2004 and 408 million in 2005. In 2006 it decreased somewhat to 377 million Norwegian crowns. However, this report clearly shows that the figures conceal more than they reveal and reflect a gross exaggeration in terms of how much money is, in fact and in real terms, directed towards indigenous peoples.

There are certain things that indicate that the present government fails to see how important it is that indigenous peoples have a special and clear focus in Norwegian Aid. I would like to mention three things in particular:

- a) Indigenous peoples are no longer explicitly emphasized as a special target group for Norwegian Aid. This is in a sense surprising as long as we can see that within the field of environmental aid indigenous peoples are mentioned as being very important as custodians and protectors of natural resources.
- b) The Norwegian program for indigenous peoples is fragmented by the fact that responsibility is shared between various embassies and NGOs without any apparent overall steering. They have even talked about closing down the Norwegian embassy in Guatemala which has been part of the Norwegian Program for Indigenous Peoples.
- c) We cannot see that there have been any real initiatives to fix up all the problems revealed in the NUPI report—despite its alarming conclusions.

This has happened despite that the Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs made the following remark in the national budget, this is my own translation "The majority in the committee are satisfied with the fact that the strengthening of indigenous peoples' rights is stressed in the description of Norwegian environmental aid and are seen as a precondition for fighting poverty. The majority will emphasise that indigenous peoples should continue to be a central target group and that strengthening of indigenous peoples rights shall continue to be a prioritized theme in Norwegian Aid in general" (B.innst.S.nr.3 [2006-2007]).

The three organisations commissioning the above mentioned report have launched three demands to the Norwegian Authorities in connection with the national budget and that is as follows:

- a) Indigenous peoples and the strengthening of indigenous peoples' rights shall continue to be prioritized in Norwegian aid.
- b) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs needs to put in place measures so make sure that aid to indigenous people have high quality, that it takes place based on locally formulated needs, that it is rights based and that it is culturally sensitive. This is in line with ILO 169 and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs own guidelines and in accordance with NUPI's recommendations in the report.
- c) Aid to indigenous peoples should be at least 400 million Norwegian crowns for 2008. The 2007 National Budget made reference to earlier budgets claiming that the 2005 level of support was roughly 409 million – even though we now know what that really means. The real support for IP should in 2008 be at least 400 million kronor.

The Norwegian Rainforest Foundation believes that in order to increase the pressure on the Norwegian Authorities to establish high quality support to indigenous peoples, we–this Forum and the institutions taking part in this Forum–should raise this issue and discuss it directly with the Norwegian authorities.

In addition to the three demands raised by the Rainforest Foundation, Norwegian People's Aid and Norwegian Students' and Academics International Assistance Funds (SAIH) we should also consider demanding that support to indigenous peoples are mentioned in particular by, for instance, having a separate budget line in future national budgets. We believe this will ensure that support to indigenous peoples continues to have a clear focus in Norwegian development cooperation.

Thank you.

Summary of Conference

Jennifer Hays, *University of Tromsø*

The topic of *urbanization* is, as both introductory speakers noted, an unconventional one in discussions about indigenous peoples. Traditionally, the focus has been on issues related to land—deep connection with land, and its loss, often through forced evacuation. The concept of urbanization usually falls outside of the popular imagination of ‘indigenous peoples.’ But it is a crucial topic in our changing world, for today *all* indigenous peoples are affected by processes of globalization and urbanization—even the most remote, isolated and intact groups. As Broderstad points out, if we focus only on cultural “purity” then soon we will have no indigenous peoples left. Focusing on urbanization entails a new way of looking at indigenous peoples, for we are talking about an identity as *indigenous* that exists even when peoples are not living on their traditional land, and even when they may not be recognizable as ‘indigenous peoples’ according to others’ expectations of how they should ‘look.’ In this summary of the conference, I would like to return to the issues of *land* and *indigenous identity*.

The session on southern Africa raised the question of who has the right to claim the status of indigenous peoples—an issue that is especially complicated in the African setting. The recent (2007) ‘Advisory Opinion of the African Commission on Human and People’s Rights on the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples’ explicitly avoids giving a definition of indigenous peoples, opting instead to ‘try to bring out the main characteristics allowing the identification of the indigenous populations and communities of Africa’ (p.3). Though this document is specifically about Africa, the issues I would like to raise here are pertinent to indigenous peoples everywhere, and very relevant to the theme of the conference. Article 12 lists three ‘constitutive elements or characteristics, among others’ that the concept of indigenous embodies:

- a) Self-identification;
- b) A special attachment to and use of their traditional land whereby their ancestral land and territory have a fundamental importance for their collective physical and cultural survival as peoples;
- c) A state of subjugation, marginalisation, dispossession, exclusion, or discrimination because these peoples have different cultures, ways of life or mode of production than the national hegemonic and dominant model.

In this description lies the fundamental conundrum that faces indigenous peoples throughout the world. On the one hand, indigenous peoples are defined by an exceptionally close and long-term relationship with their land, a relationship that is central to their physical and cultural survival. Simultaneously, however, an important characteristic—and common lived experience—of indigenous peoples everywhere is *dispossession*—primarily of that very land. As (c) above indicates, this dispossession is frequently justified by the mode of production employed by indigenous peoples—i.e. hunting, gathering, herding, or small-scale agriculture—which appeared to incoming invaders as non-use.

The no-win situation that indigenous peoples are confronted with today is thus: in order to be “real” indigenous peoples they must be closely connected with their land, and yet very many (or most) have been alienated from that land. This dispossession is *also* part of the characteristic experience as indigenous peoples—yet those who have been dispossessed—a substantial proportion of whom are the urban indigenous that this conference has focused on—find their legitimacy as

indigenous peoples challenged.

There are a few points related to this emphasis on land, to the loss of land, and to questions of identity that I would like to raise here. First, while the emphasis on land is critical, as has been pointed out in this conference, we must move away from making it the sole or primary identifying marker for “real” indigenesness. Taken to the extreme, such an emphasis could mean that simply removing people from their land divorces them from their indigenous status within a generation or two, or that people who choose, as individuals or groups, to migrate elsewhere must in so doing relinquish their indigenous identities.

Secondly, as has been made clear in presentations here, indigenous identity can remain long after peoples have lost their land and most of their traditions. The examples of the Khoe (Burgess, De Wet, and in the visual presentation by Øvernes) are striking. After 300 years of explicit and deliberate attempts at eradication (physical, cultural, linguistic) *the Khoe identity persists*. They are a stunning example of the remarkable tenacity of indigenous identity, even in the face of horrific violence.

A difficulty with focusing primarily upon identity, however, is that it seems to throw the whole concept of indigenesness “up for grabs,” so to speak. This is well-illustrated by the claim of Afrikaners (or of specific groups of them), that they are indigenous peoples, as presented by Esterhuysen. This claim strikes many of us as absurd—and potentially very harmful for indigenous peoples’ movements in Africa and elsewhere. The Afrikaners certainly have a right to self-identity, and they may feel themselves to have both a special relationship with the land and feel themselves to be persecuted and “dispossessed” in modern South Africa—it is possible to imagine how a definition of “indigenous peoples” could be stretched to fit them. But to do so would stretch the definition far beyond recognition or usefulness for those whose lived experience for generations has been—and continues to be—one of violence at the hands of incoming colonizers.

Finally, by moving away from the requirement of continuing use of traditional land for indigenous identity, as has been discussed here, we do not want to go so far in the opposite direction that we minimize the importance of the deep connection with land that many indigenous peoples today *do* maintain and rely upon for cultural and physical survival. I will return to this a bit later.

In the opening talks of the conference it was suggested that the emphasis should be on the vitality of culture in the face of drastic change and urbanization, on the maintenance of identity, on the keeping of traditions—on the ways that indigenous peoples are shaping their own circumstances—even in urban areas. Many presenters here have described beautifully the ways in which this is happening.

But far more time in the presentations was devoted to describing the devastating processes through which indigenous peoples have been ‘pushed’ to the urban centres. Although the city may offer some attractive possibilities, by and large, from what we have heard here, indigenous people migrate to the cities *when they have no better option—or no other options at all*. We cannot know for sure what kind of ‘pull’ the city would exert for indigenous peoples whose economic options included maintaining their traditional hunting, gathering, fishing, herding, or agricultural livelihoods in relatively intact communities. Surely, a substantial proportion would *not* choose to remain as day labourers and squatters in an urban area if they had secure options on their traditional lands. What pull factors there are to urban areas remain elusive to most indigenous peoples—the electricity promised by the dam their lands were flooded to build remains unavailable to them; the houses that they are hired to use their carpentry skills to build are beyond reach of the squatter communities. The urban economic opportunities that they have are mostly illegal, insecure, dangerous or otherwise unsustainable.

As Doco and others pointed out, one positive result of urbanization has been increased solidarity among indigenous peoples in their common struggles, and many indigenous

individuals and groups are turning current changes to their advantage in a variety of ways. It is important to acknowledge and celebrate this, but without losing sight of the fact that, overall, the developments that have led to the process of urbanization have been devastating to indigenous communities.

A critical question then for this conference is the one posed by Rye: What does all this mean for development efforts? What can we *do*, as academics and as international aid organizations? There were some responses; Saugestad points out the need to continue support for the establishment of indigenous organizations, who can then spearhead their own projects. De Wet calls for better dissemination of information about issues affecting indigenous peoples and about their rights. Support for such efforts will be crucial for urban indigenous groups. As many participants noted, this is an ongoing discussion in the midst of changing circumstances; involved donor organizations must be willing to adjust priorities to accommodate the shift.

It is important that this not be done *at the expense of* attention to land and land issues—for this is one of the most urgent and critical issues faced by many indigenous groups today. Though we do not want to ascribe “victim” status to all urban indigenous, we don’t want to lose sight of the fact that many who have moved to urban areas have done so because it was their only or best option in the face of loss of traditional land and / or livelihoods. Where situations like this are imminent and possibly preventable, and where it is possible to support non-violent resistance to it, this should also remain a priority for academic and donor assistance.

This conference has brought to the fore the urgent issues of urbanization and migration that confront indigenous peoples everywhere. While the conference itself was not meant to be conclusive, it has made a very important contribution to the ongoing dialogue.

Jens Dahl, IWGIA, *Denmark*

The theme of the meeting this year had its background in the fact that an increasing number of indigenous peoples live in cities and urban areas. In the near future we will see that in some countries the majority of indigenous peoples will have left their homelands to live in the cities. However, development assistance to indigenous peoples is primarily being given to indigenous peoples living in rural areas. This reflects preferences among the public and many NGOs. In this situation, the Forum meeting focused upon migration and the development of identity and organization among indigenous peoples in cities and urban areas. The Forum is an advisory to NORAD.

Of the four conference sessions, three were dedicated to the theme and one session on general issues relating to indigenous peoples in development.

One session focused on the Philippines with two presentations: Geraldine Doco from the Cordillera Peoples Alliance and Rune Paulsen from Rainforest Foundation Norway. Geraldine Doco reported on the historical background of the strong indigenous movement in the Cordillera and the urban organizations. Rune Paulsen commented on this presentation.

The second session focused on South Africa. Presentations were given by Jean Burgess, Ghonaqua KhoeKhoe Peoples, Cape Town; Priscilla De Wet, University of Free State; Petro Esterhuyse, University of Free State; and Siv Øvernes showed her film “Street living and Khoe San identity.” Jean Burgess gave a historical overview of the origin and development of indigenous identities in relation to factors such as oppression, apartheid, class development and urbanization. Priscilla De Wet focused on the conscious work to re-construct and reconfirm indigenous identity in post-apartheid South Africa. Siv Øvernes’ film addressed the same theme based upon the life of an indigenous woman that had lived on the streets of Cape Town. Petro Esterhuyse talked about the endeavours of 500 Afrikaners living in the community of Orania to

be recognised as an indigenous group.

There was a general session “Aspects of Migration and Urbanization” with presentations from Lily Muñoz and Tomás López from Guatemala and Bjørg Evjen, Tromsø. The presentations from Guatemala dealt with the human rights situation in the country. Bjørg Evjen dealt with a group of Sea Sámi who, in a historical perspective, have successfully developed from a visible over to an invisible to a visible position again in the society.

In the last session, Mattias Åhrén from the Sámi Council reported on the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, its significance and the way in which it is a major breakthrough. Simon Rye from NORAD talked about indigenous peoples in the Norwegian development cooperation and Rune Paulsen reflected on the marginal position of indigenous peoples in Norwegian development aid.

All presentations dealt with identity and reconfiguration as an integrated part of the identity of indigenous peoples who have been suppressed and urbanized. The rural-urban linkages seem to be key to most indigenous peoples and the existence of an indigenous homeland as ever-present; there is also a development from stressing control of land to reconfiguration and control of identity in the urban areas. Historically, indigenous peoples are victims of colonisation, but all presentations also focused on indigenous peoples and individuals as actors in their own futures. As groups, indigenous peoples must organise themselves and as individuals they must remake their own lives. There has also been a tendency to put too much focus on the essentialist part of the urban and revived identity, and too little relational thinking that limits or provides for new types of organizational structures. In the South African case as well as in the case from the Sea Sami it was strongly emphasised that in spite of hundreds of years of suppression there remains an indigenous identity. The circumstances predict the specific markers that will take the key positions in a reconfigured identity.

The history of indigenous peoples moving into urban areas is characterised by social upheaval. The push factors are well-known: evictions from land, poverty, and not the least violence and militarisation. In all of the cases, except in the Sámi area, indigenous peoples have been victims of violence against their human rights. In some regions the pull factor drawing indigenous individuals into towns have become stronger than the push factors. The need for education is significant in this respect. The social life in the towns is often complicated and the indigenous individuals face new types of discrimination. In some places indigenous migrants are treated as squatters who do not speak the language of the city, implying that they are without the same rights (voting) and possibilities (member of labour unions) as other town dwellers and they end up being cheap labourers. In other countries like South Africa, the indigenous peoples have been victims of racism that classify them as a category of their own.

Social upheaval opens for a process in which old traditions are given new meaning. Examples were given from the Philippine Cordillera in which the elders were given a new role of mediating in tribal conflicts based upon an old tradition, and in South Africa where traditional sharing of food (‘nau’) achieved a new (ethnic) significance.

With reference to a small Afrikaner community, Orania, Petro Estherhuyse took up the issue of the definition of indigenous peoples. Although the issue of indigenous peoples in Africa is controversial, the response of the audience was that the situation of the Afrikaners was not the point of departure to discuss this issue.

Simon Rye (NORAD) and others took up the implications of the conference on NORAD’s policy on indigenous peoples. The overall conclusion of this debate seems to be that there is a great need to focus on policy implementation. It was highlighted that only 19% –nineteen per cent–of the earmarked NORAD funding for indigenous projects actually reach indigenous peoples. It was also mentioned that the adoption of the UN Declaration might have or should have implications for NORAD’s policy. The perspective in this was highlighted by Matias Åhrén

in his presentation where he stressed that the Declaration, in a number of respects, was a major breakthrough, not least in matters relevant to development issues.

Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples

Forum Conference 2007 Program

"Indigenous Peoples - Migration and Urbanisation"

Wednesday 17.10.2007

20.00: Reception at Árdna, the Sámi cultural building located at the University campus, close to "Labyrinten", The Sámi turf hut and the Administration building.

22.00: Bus departure from the University to Radisson SAS hotel

Thursday 18.10.2007

Opening of conference

08.30: Bus departure from Radisson SAS hotel to the University

08.45-09.15: Registration, at University Campus, Teorifagbygget, Hus 1, Auditorium 1.

09.15-09.25: Opening by Else Grete Broderstad, Head of Administration, Centre for Sami Studies, University of Tromsø.

09.25-09.45: Georges Midré, Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples: "Indigenous Peoples - Migration and Urbanisation"

Focus on Philippines

09.45-10.15: Geraldine Doco, Cordillera Peoples Alliance, Philippines: "Indigenous Peoples Migration and Urbanization: The Cordillera Peoples Experience".

10.15-10.30: Comment by Rune Paulsen, Rainforest Foundation Norway.

10.30-10.45: Discussion

10.45-11.00: Coffee

Focus on South Africa

11.00-11.30: Jean Burgess, Ghonaqua Khoekhoe Peoples, Cape Town, South Africa: "In dying, I became me!"

11.30-12.00: Priscilla De Wet, University of Free State, South Africa: "Khoekhoe Language revitalization in urban SA with special reference to a pilot project in the Free State Province".

12.00-12.30: Discussion

12.30-13.30: Lunch

13.30-14.00: Petro Esterhuyse, University of Free State, South Africa: "The Story of Orania"

14.00-14.15: Discussion

14.15-15.15: Coffee

15.15-15.45: Siv Øvernes, University of Tromsø: "Street living and Khoekhoe San identity: short visual introduction to urban realities." Filmed material will be presented.

15.45-16.00: Discussion

16.15: Bus departure from the University to Radisson SAS hotel

19.00: Dinner at Radisson SAS hotel

Friday 19.10.2007

Aspects of Migration and Urbanization

08.45: Bus departure from Radisson SAS hotel to the University campus.

09.15-09.45: Lily Muñoz, AVANCSO (Asociación para el Avance de las Ciencias Sociales en Guatemala), Guatemala and Tomás López, K'iché language community, Guatemala: "The Indigenous population in Guatemala and migration to urban areas".

09.45-10.00: Discussion

10.00-10.15: Coffee

10.15-10.45: Bjørg Evjen, University of Tromsø: "A Sea-sami's story. From fishing-farmer to miner, from "Seasami" to "Norwegian"?"

10.45-11.15: Discussion

Forum update – Indigenous Peoples in Development

11.15-11.30: Ellen Marie Jensen, Sami academic and Indigenous activist: "Recognizing the Passing of an Urban Indigenous leader of the American Indian movement."

11.30-12.30: Lunch

12.30-12.45: Mattias Åhrén, Saami Council: "An adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples – finally a major breakthrough?"

12.45-13.00: Simon Rye, Norad: "Indigenous Peoples in the Norwegian development cooperation."

13.00-13.15: Rune Paulsen, Rainforest Foundation Norway: "Indigenous Peoples – A marginalised part of Norwegian Development sector?"

13.15-14.15: Discussion

Summing up

14.15-14.45: Summary of the conference by Jennifer Hays, University of Tromsø and Jens Dahl, IWGIA, Denmark.

14.45-15.00: Closure of the Forum Conference 2007

Participants

SYNNØVE ANGELL	University of Tromsø
TONE BLEIE	University of Tromsø
MARIA BORDA	University of Tromsø
KRISTINE TJÅLAND BRAUT	University of Tromsø
JEANINE BRUUN	Oslo University College
ROSA CARDENAS INQUILTUPA	University of Tromsø
RUTH JIMENA COPA MARTINEZ	Red Tinku-Bolivia/Latin-Amerika Gruppene
KATARZYNA ZOFIA DOMINCZAK	University of Tromsø
LAURENCE JUMBO EKALE	Destinee charity foundation
ELIJAH KOMBIAN FANT	University of Tromsø
OLE-BJØRN FOSSBAKK	University of Tromsø
HOLGER HAGAN	Baha'i-samfunnet
JENNIFER HAYS	University of Tromsø
SVEN-DONALD HEDMAN	Centre for Sami Studies
THOMAS HILDER	University of Tromsø
CECILIE HIRSCH	Latin-Amerika Gruppene
INGRID HOVDA LIEN	University of Tromsø
MD. RAFIQUL ISLAM	University of Tromsø
GEORGE JAWALI	University of Tromsø
TURID JOHANSEN ARNEGAARD	Norad
EVELYN LANDERER	University of Tromsø
KAISA MALINIEMI LINDBACH	Landslaget for lokal- og privatarkiv
MIRIAM LÄNTA	University of Tromsø
OCEAN MARAMBANYIKA	University of Tromsø
RAMI MUHTADI	Univeristy of Tromsø
THUY NGUYEN	University of Tromsø
VELINA NINOVA	University of Tromø
ROSMERY QUISPE CONDORI	CEADL-Bolivia/Latin-Amerika Gruppene
ARNE KJELL RAUSTØL	Norwegian Mission in Development
SANDRA ROJAS	University of Tromsø
SIMON RYE	Norad
ANNE CATHRINE RØRHOLT	University of Tromsø
CHRISTIAN SCHØIEN	Norwegian Church Aid
KATRI SOMBY	University of Tromsø
RODMIRE TAYLOR-SMITH	University of Tromsø
TROND THUEN	University of Tromsø
SONTOSH BIKASH TRIPURA	University of Tromsø
RIE YAMAMOTO	University of Tromsø

Forum Advisory Board

JENS DAHL	Forum Advisory Board IWGIA
LILL TOVE FREDRIKSEN	Forum Advisory Board University of Tromsø
KIKKI JERNSLETEN	Forum Advisory Board University of Tromsø
GEORGES MIDRÉ	Speaker/Forum Advisory Board University of Tromsø
RUNE PAULSEN	Forum Advisory Board Rainforest Foundation Norway
GEIR TOMMY PEDERSEN	Forum Advisory Board Saami Council
SIDSEL SAUGESTAD	Forum Advisory Board University of Tromsø
MATTIAS ÅHREN	Speaker/Forum Advisory Board University of Tromsø

Speakers

JEAN BURGESS	.....	Speaker Ghonaqua KhoeKhoe Peoples, South Africa
PRISCILLA DE WET	.....	Speaker University of Free State, South Africa
GERALDINE DOCO	.....	Speaker Cordillera Peoples Alliance, Philippines
PETRO ESTERHUYSE	.....	Speaker University of Free State, South Africa
BJØRG EVJEN	.....	Speaker Centre for Sami Studies
ANN-KRISTIN HÅKANSSON	.....	Speaker Consejo SamiMaya
TOMÁS LÓPEZ	.....	Speaker Bodø University College
LILY MUÑOZ	.....	Speaker Avancso
SIV ØVERNES	.....	Speaker University of Tromsø
GEORGES MIDRÉ	.....	Speaker/Forum Advisory Board University of Tromsø
MATTIAS ÅHREN	.....	Speaker/Forum Advisory Board University of Tromsø

Interpreters

IVAR EVJENTH	.....	Interpreter Spansk Translatørbyrå
NILS OLE GAUP	.....	Interpreter
JOHN RICHARD STOKBAK SCIABA	...	Interpreter
SILJA SOMBY	.....	Interpreter

Staff

ELSE GRETE BRODERSTAD	.....	Staff Centre for Sami Studies
BERIT MERETE NYSTAD ESKONSIPO		Participant Centre for Sami Studies
BJØRN HATTENG	.....	Staff Centre for Sami Studies
PER KLEMETSEN HÆTTA	.....	Staff Centre for Sami Studies
ELLEN JENSEN	.....	Staff Centre for Sami Studies
SIRI JOHNSEN	.....	Staff Centre for Sami Studies
TERJE G. LILLEENG	.....	Staff Centre for Sami Studies
LILLY MARTINSEN	.....	Staff Centre for Sami Studies
CARINA SANDVIK	.....	Staff Centre for Sami Studies