



FORUM FOR
DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION
WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

CONFERENCE REPORT 2005

Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples

“Globalization, Cultural Resources and Indigenous Peoples”



Centre for sami studies
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Table of contents

Henry Minde

Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples:
“Welcome and Background for the Conference” 1

Jon Bech

NORAD: “Indigenous peoples, poverty and rights in a global development framework”. 6

Russel Barsh

Center for the Study of Coast Salish Environments, Anacortes, USA:
“Trade and intellectual property rights: How do they affect indigenous knowledge,
local plant varieties, and the other “ecological and intellectual resources” of indigenous peoples”. 4

“Globalization and Indigenous Peoples: Poverty and Education”

Focus on Nicaragua

Ray Hooker

URACCAN University: “Poverty and Social Justice: Nicaragua and the Autonomy Process” 8

Alta Hooker

URACCAN University: “Education as empowerment: Building a University for Indigenous Peoples” . . . 20

Arja Koskinen

URACCAN University: “Intercultural Multilingual Education for the indigenous and
afrocaribbean people on the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua - challenging the globalization” 26

Erika Satta

University of Tromsø: ““For the Love of thy Mother Tongue”.
Indigenous Language Revitalization” 30

“Globalization and Indigenous Peoples: Poverty and Education”

Focus on Guatemala

Kay Warren

Brown University, USA: “After the Peace Process and the Referendum: The Prospect of Democracy and
Social Justice in Guatemala” 34

Demetrio Cojtí Cuxil

San Carlos University, Guatemala:
“The relation between higher education and the indigenous movement” 40

Forum update

Lars Løvold

Rainforest Foundation Norway: “Culturally and linguistically tailormade education: an important element in
the fight for Indigenous Peoples rights. Lessons from Brazil” 43

Angel Valdez

IDEI: Capacity building and university co-operation. The case of Maya Competence Building. 46

Keitseope Nthomang

University of Botswana, the Collaborative Programme for San/Basarwa Research and Capacity Building:
“Challenges for minority education and capacity building in Botswana”. 49

**“Globalization and Indigenous Peoples: Poverty and Education” continues
Focus on Guatemala**

Eduardo Enrique Sacayón

San Carlos University, Guatemala: ”Higher education and multicultural society. The case of Guatemala”. 55

Pablo Rangel

University of Tromsø: “The Unfinished Mission: The History of the ILO Convention 169 concerning
Indigenous Peoples in Guatemala” 58

Juliana Turqui

University of Tromsø: “Indigenous Workers in Guatemala City and the Mayan Movement. Exploring the
Representation of Ethnic and Labour Demands”. 62

“Cultural resources documentation and mapping”

Hans Petter Hergum

Norwegian Church Aid: “A culture and heritage program - an example from Southern Africa” 67

Liv Skaare

Norwegian Church Aid: “Behind the pictures - encounters with paintings from the Kuru project” 71

Karine Rousset

Kuru Family of Organization: “Mapping as Development Tool – Experiences and lessons learnt through
mapping and cultural programmes of Kuru”.81

Anetta Bok

‡Khomani San (South-Africa): “Mapping in the sand – The experiences of the ‡Khomani with mapping in
the Trans Kalahari Transfrontier Park that led to a successful land claim”. 84

“Cultural resources documentation and mapping” continues

Collin Tshima

‡Heku Trust, Chairman of the Regional WIMSA board. (Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in
Southern Africa): “Our Land is Our Life – The NG 13 Project in Northern Botswana”. 87

Forum update

//Hoeseb

Otjovondjupa region (Namibia): “Government commitment to San education”. 88

Svein Ørsnes

Namibia Association of Norway: “Our experiences from Namibia”. 91

Geir Tommy Pedersen

Saami Council: “Indigenous to Indigenous Cooperation”. 93

Sidsel Saugestad

Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples:
“Status and the way forward for the Forum” 95

Professor Henry Minde

Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples:

'Welcome and Background for the Conference'

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen! Good morning and welcome to you all! I hope you will have an interesting stay in Tromsø.

This session is organized by the Forum for Development Cooperation, and in cooperation with the University of Tromsø, which includes The Maya Competence Building program, the Nicaraguan Cultural Revitalization and Resource Management Program and Norwegian Church Aid.

First and foremost I will welcome our overseas guests from Nicaragua, Guatemala and the United States. Further I will mention the people from NORAD, the NGOs indigenous and non-indigenous people, men and women, and of high importance are the students following the Master Program in Indigenous Studies at our University. We are succeeding in meeting one of the objectives of the forum. This forum is meant to be a meeting place for academics and activists.

The establishment of this Forum came as a package from the Ministry of Foreign affairs six years ago which was called "*plan for the follow-up with indigenous peoples as part of development assistance*". The funding for this forum comes from NORAD, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the University of Tromsø and Norwegian Church Aid.

The organizing of the Conference is as usual in the hands of the capable people at the Centre for Sámi Studies.

The board has up to this conference consisted of Sidsel Saugestad, Kristin Jernsletten, Georg Henriksen from the University of Bergen and IWGIA, Hans Petter Hergum of Norwegian Church Aid, Leif Halonen from the Sámi Council and myself. Very regrettable Georg Henriksen has been forced to leave the board because of illness.

Each year we have selected a special topic for examination at the forum:

- On the first conference, four years ago the topic was competence building and indigenous peoples;
- Three years ago the focus was on the European Union for strategies of support for indigenous peoples;
- Two years ago we focused on the UN system and international human rights involvement for indigenous peoples at some spot places around the world;
- Last year's conference was focusing on the role of indigenous women.

This year the conference will focus on "Globalization, Cultural Resources and Indigenous Peoples". To give us an overview of the subject matter of this broad field I will welcome **Russel Barsh**, who is Director at the Centre for the Study of Coast Salish Environments in Anacortes, the state of Washington in the United States. He combines both the activist and academic in one person. He is one of the most prominent and prolific writers and scholars on indigenous peoples in international law among other things. He has been law consultant for many First Nations peoples in the United States and Canada from 1970s, and he actively participated in framing the ILO Convention 169. I look forward to listen to how trade and intellectual property rights affect indigenous peoples.

The sub-themes are this year two:

1) "Globalization and Indigenous Peoples: Poverty and Education"

Data from the United Nations published in 2003 reveals that in Guatemala 87% of the indigenous population is poor, as compared to 54% of the non-indigenous population, that ratio in Mexico 80 % vs. 18%, in Peru

79 % vs. 50 %, while in Bolivia 64% vs. 48 % (UNICEF News Note, November 2003). But according to indigenous peoples such numbers are seldom available because what is presented is the general average. Referred to indigenous peoples, that makes them invisible.

The last years meeting in Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues stated accordingly that it was “*concerned that, unless the particular situation of indigenous peoples are adequately taken into account*” their situation would deteriorate even more since they are the poorest of the poor.

Thus, the sub-theme is of current interest with regard to the Millennium Development Goals most exposed is: “Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger”, and also, another goal: “Achieve universal primary education”. The problem of poverty and education is, of course, intermixed, an aspect which will also be depicted by the speakers who will focus on Nicaragua and Guatemala.

A very special welcome to the speakers from the University of Tromsø’s co-operative universities in Meso-America. That means the Urraccan in Nicaragua and San Carlos in Guatemala.

Urraccan in Nicaragua:

- **Mr. Ray Hooker**, a leading Nicaraguan scholar within the Atlantic region of Nicaragua and one of the founding fathers of the Urraccan University
- And Mrs. **Alta Hooker**, a founding “mother” and rector of that university;
- **Arja Koskinen**: “Intercultural Multilingual Education for the indigenous and afrocaribbean people on the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua - challenging the globalization”
- The Master student in Indigenous Studies, **Erika Satta**, will speak about indigenous language revitalization.

About Guatemala:

- Professor **Kay Warren** at Brown University, US has as a researcher followed the development of the Mayan movement in Guatemala from the early 1970s. And lately it is interesting in our context to know that she is studying the Development Aid from Japan to the Latin-American countries. At this conference she will evaluate the prospect for democracy and social justice.
- The former vice-minister of education in Guatemala and an outstanding Mayan academic, **Demetrio Cojti**, will describe the problems of the higher education in relation to the indigenous peoples.
- The Director of *Instituto de Estudios Interétnicos* **Eduardo Sacayón**, who is now a Visiting Fellow at the University of Austin, will talk about the higher education and multicultural society of Guatemala.
- **Georges Midré**, Professor, University of Tromsø: ‘Education and Poverty Reduction’.
- The Master student in Indigenous Studies, **Pablo Rangel**, will talk about the History of the ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous Peoples in Guatemala.
- The Master Student in Peace Studies, **Juliana Turqui**; University of Tromsø speaks about Indigenous Workers in Guatemala City and the Mayan Movement.

We welcome as well two prominent scholars from outside our co-operative institution who have different kind of experience about the recent development in Guatemala. In addition, we also welcome other scholars and master students present here today who have participated in NUFU supported cooperation between Urraccan University in Nicaragua and San Carlos.

2) “Cultural Resources Documentation and Mapping”

Documentation of culture and “cultural resource documentation and mapping” are very important in connection with ownership and rights to own history, traditions, identity, land and culture. A huge cultural land mapping program is going on in Southern Africa and partly this will be presented at this conference. Culture is not only important, but it is also believed that personal development depends on recognizing and honoring one’s own specific identity and heritage. Therefore it is of great importance to pay attention to various cultures when working with indigenous target groups as we shall see from the following presentations:

- **Hans Petter Hergum**, Norwegian Church Aid: “A Culture and Heritage Program - an Example from Southern Africa”
- **Liv Skaare**: “Behind the Pictures - Encounters with Paintings from the Kuru Project”
- **Karine Rousset**, Kuru Family of Organization: “Mapping as Development Tool - Experiences and Lessons Learnt through Mapping and Cultural Programmes of Kuru”
- **Anetta Bok**, ‡Khomani San (South-Africa): “Mapping in the Sand - The Experiences of the ‡Khomani with Mapping in the Trans Kalahari Transfrontier Park that Led to a Successful Land Claim”
- **Collin Tshima**, Chairman of the ‡Heku Trust, Chairman of the Regional WIMSA Board (Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa): “Our Land is Our Life - The NG 13 Project in Northern Botswana”

Finally, we will have a session that we called “Forum Update”, which provides brief up- to-date presentations of current activities.

- **Lars Løvold**, Director, Rainforest Foundation Norway: “Culturally and Linguistically Tailor Made Education: an Important Element in the Fight for Indigenous Peoples Rights. Lessons from Brazil”
- The vicarious Director at the *Instituto de Estudios Interétnicos*, San Carlos University in Guatemala **Ángel Valdez** about ‘Capacity Building and University Co-operation. The Case of Maya Competence Building’.
- **Keitseope Nthomang**, University of Botswana and Coordinator, South, of the Collaborative Programme for San/Basarwa Research and Capacity Building: “Challenges for Minority Education and Capacity Building in Botswana”.
- **//Hoeseb**, Inspector of Education, Otjozondjupa region (Namibia): “Government Commitment to San Education”
- **Svein Ørsnes** will inform us about the Namibia Association of Norway’s experience in their development aid.
- And likewise an up-date on the cooperation that Saami Council is currently involved in. These dialogues always bring us some new perspectives.

I hope this conference will consolidate the Forum as a meeting place for researchers, bureaucrats, development workers and Sami organizations engaged in a co-operation with indigenous peoples in the South.

Last but not least, I will thank NORAD and the University of Tromsø for financing the Forum conference as well as other Forum activities.

Most welcome and thank you!

Jon Bech, *Director of Information, NORAD:*

'Indigenous Peoples, Poverty and Rights in a Global Development Framework

On behalf of Norad, I would like to thank the organisers for this opportunity to address the Forum. We welcome that the Forum has chosen to focus on indigenous peoples' issues related to globalisation and poverty. In this presentation I would like to address the issue of indigenous peoples, poverty and rights from a donor's perspective, within the framework of the global efforts to reduce poverty.

Allow me first to make some personal comments: in 1961, my elder sister was a teacher in the Saami community of Kautokeino. While my sister at first did not understand one single word of the Saami language, the local children were all taught in Norwegian – a language most of the children in the area at that time did not understand.

Ten years later I was myself Deputy District Judge in Eastern Finnmark, in an area where a significant part of the population used Saami as their first language. All the forms used by the Court were in Norwegian, and I suggested to the Ministry of Justice that the forms should also be made in the Saami language. This was promptly turned down – according to the Ministry of Justice this was not necessary, as all the people in the area could understand Norwegian.

This was almost 35 years ago. Although much still remains to be done in relation to the rights of the Saamis in Norway, I am glad to see that some significant progress has been made during that period.

With the **Millennium Development Goals** the world has an historic opportunity to make real progress towards reducing poverty. However, the outcome of the recent UN Summit has led to widespread disillusionment with the process. The lack of engagement by the world society contrasted with the situation five years ago when the Millennium Declaration was agreed upon.

The first of the ten Millennium Development Goals is to reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day, by 2015. It is broadly recognized that there are many more dimensions to poverty than lack of income and financial resources. The non-income dimensions of poverty include social aspects such as access to services, education and health, as well as less tangible dimensions such as decision-making power, social and political exclusion, vulnerability etc. It is common in many countries to measure poverty as "unsatisfied basic needs" by looking at different indicators mentioned above.

We know from various sources that indigenous peoples the world over are among the most marginalized and dispossessed sectors of society. In many countries poverty and social marginalisation have a clear ethnic dimension. A recently published World Bank study on indigenous peoples in Latin America concluded that "poverty among Latin America's indigenous population is pervasive and severe". The poverty map in the region coincides with the areas where indigenous peoples live. Statistics in Guatemala, where indigenous peoples constitute more than half of the population, show that 55 % of them are poor and 30 % extremely poor.

In many other countries, national statistics do not readily provide disaggregated data on indigenous peoples. It is therefore difficult to make a visible and direct correlation between indigenous peoples and poverty. The poverty picture in a given country, and its ability to reflect indigenous peoples' poverty situation, will be shaped by crucial questions such as:

- What definition of indigenous peoples is applied?
- How is poverty defined and which indicators are applied?
- What data is collected, and how it is collected?
- How are these data interpreted?

Disaggregated data are crucial to understand patterns of inequality and the gaps in well-being between clearly defined groups, for instance along the lines of ethnicity. Very few countries can present specific information on the poverty of indigenous peoples. However, the collection of such data by ethnic identity is both necessary and important i.a. in order to gain a proper understanding of the poverty situation.

It is, however, understandable that indigenous peoples in some countries are questioning the reliability of such data. The criteria for identifying and defining indigenous peoples are often political tools in the struggle for identity and rights. Some governments are even reluctant to acknowledge the existence of indigenous peoples. They fear that this might have implications for the recognition and allocation of collective rights, for example to land and territories.

Like many national strategies, the MDGs do not explicitly address the poverty situation for indigenous peoples and poverty structured along ethnic lines. Nor are the difficulties facing indigenous peoples in achieving social, economic and cultural rights addressed. But the MDGs cannot be understood without the **Millennium Declaration**, which recognizes and reaffirms human rights treaties. That is, a state cannot achieve the MDGs while disregarding fundamental human rights, including the principle of non-discrimination. If the world's indigenous peoples are not reached and do not benefit from the MDGs, the general efforts to achieve the MDGs by 2015 are likely to fail in many countries.

Norway has in different international fora, amongst others at the Permanent Forum's fourth session in New York in May this year, expressed its concern that in some countries, indigenous peoples may even be left out of efforts to achieve the MDGs. This might happen if poverty reduction strategies fail to sufficiently take into consideration the particular challenges faced by ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples. Many are fearful that this might increase the inequality felt by these groups.

Special efforts are therefore needed to identify and reach indigenous peoples and to be able to address challenges in their communities in a cultural adapted way, so that development efforts will promote indigenous rights and raise their standard of living. This is often much more complex than working with other marginalized groups.

There are increased efforts in many countries to align the MDGs with the national **Poverty Reduction Strategy** as laid down in the various Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). These strategies are the main tools developed by national governments, in collaborations with the multi-lateral and bilateral donors for reducing poverty in the poorest countries. The implication of the globalized mainstreaming of development tools is that donors often base their work on a common analysis of the poverty situation in a given country, plan their interventions within a common framework and follow common strategies for overcoming poverty.

The poverty reduction strategies could have provided an opportunity for addressing issues of structural inequalities; however few of them do so. A recent "ethnic audit" of a number of PRSPs undertaken by the ILO has shown that most PRSPs do not take the ethnic dimension of inequality into account. The poverty situation of indigenous peoples is not addressed in the PRSPs studied. Nor do these PRSPs address the obstacles that indigenous peoples meet when it comes to participation.

Indigenous peoples are struggling to control their own development as peoples, and are generally politically marginalized. Therefore, indigenous peoples are not necessarily included in the dialogue on national development priorities. Their specific concerns may not be reflected in the national sector approach (for example intercultural bilingual education and indigenous health practices), their institutions are seldom involved in the implementation of projects, and they are not often consulted.

In this context it must be emphasised that indigenous peoples, as distinct peoples, often hold their **own concepts of development**, based on their own values, aspirations, needs and priorities, and that these concepts often differ from other parts of the national population. For most indigenous peoples it is difficult to talk about development without talking about basic rights to land and resources and self-determination.

Indigenous peoples can also have **specific perceptions and indicators of poverty** and well-being. For indigenous peoples, poverty may be expressed as loss of access to land or lack of political participation. There is a widespread consciousness among indigenous peoples that **land** is the main resource in order to avoid poverty. **The lack of access to land** is not prominent in the MDG discussions and in the PRSPs, even though this is one of the main contributors to the poverty situation of many marginalized groups. And some big development projects may even displace indigenous peoples from their land.

The approaches by indigenous peoples are not usually taken into account in government policies and programmes. Such programmes may even have adverse effects on indigenous peoples, further eroding their rights. Therefore there is a need to tackle indigenous peoples' poverty through right-based strategies, which include considerations of collective rights and cultural integrity.

Thus, there are some inherent contradictions between the centralized development approach implemented by most donors and governments, and indigenous peoples' struggle for their rights as peoples. If the specificities of indigenous peoples are not acknowledged and addressed, there is a risk that the development efforts to achieve the MDGs may lead to homogenisation instead of equality of enjoyment of rights. Recognizing indigenous peoples' right to self-determination implies establishing methodologies for the entire development process that respects this right.

The recognition of indigenous peoples' right to define their own priorities for development is reflected in a number of **international human rights instruments**. It is crucial that the strategies to achieve the MDGs and poverty reduction for indigenous peoples are based on these international standards and made operational with the full participation of the indigenous peoples themselves.

The MDGs do not identify indigenous peoples' priorities for development. What is also lacking is efforts to qualify the MDG indicators with regard to indigenous peoples' specific priorities. Nevertheless certain indigenous rights, such as the promotion of **intercultural bilingual education** in primary education may be addressed within the context of the MDGs. Measuring not only the net enrolment of indigenous children in primary education but also the children having access to special bilingual education programmes tailored to them is qualifying the MDG indicators with regards to indigenous peoples' rights and priorities.

Let me add that it is important to look at education in a holistic perspective as the various levels of education are interdependent of each other. Although the MDGs only cover primary education, secondary and tertiary education are essential elements in order to achieve the best possible systems of education.

A right-based approach is a key issue for achieving the MDGs for indigenous peoples and for strengthening the self determination and level of participation by indigenous peoples.

The focus globally should also be on how to interpret and operationalise the MDGs within the framework of human rights and as related to specific indigenous rights to land and natural resources, bilingual education, culturally appropriate health services etc. Making these rights possible, a right-based approach must be integrated into the international and national plans to achieve the MDGs and reducing poverty.

Some development agencies, both multilateral and bilateral - including Norway - have recently adopted specific policies and strategies addressing and supporting indigenous peoples. These policies reflect an increasing recognition that indigenous peoples are central to the objective of poverty reduction. However, there remains a lot of work in further exploring and documenting how the concerns of indigenous peoples can be specifically addressed in national poverty reduction strategies.

As already mentioned the linked issue of development and the rights of indigenous people are a very important one. The subject matter covers a wide number of these encompassed by several key disciplines – economics, law, political science and public administration. This means that the subject requires more dialogue and discussion across different disciplines that have been the case so far.

In focusing on development and indigenous peoples' rights, special efforts are required to attempt to bridge two gaps. First it is important to learn more from indigenous peoples themselves both of their understanding of what is important in development and where opportunities might exist or be opened up to accelerate the development process for them and to address major impediments to progress.

Secondly, much work need to be done to analyse the changing nature and role of the state, especially in relation to different groups and group interests, of minorities and majorities and the interaction between them.

While there is considerable donor interest in the issues of development and indigenous people's rights, there are still large gaps in policy and orientation which need urgently to be filled.

Framing the MDGs as a human right-based agenda is essential. The different perspectives and recommendations offered by indigenous peoples provide new challenges, especially in rethinking mainstream development. All different actors in the development field, and especially governments, should reconsider development frameworks and policies that have negatively affected indigenous peoples and should espouse different ones that will face the challenges posed by the situations and visions of indigenous peoples. If this is done, the remaining ten years can make a difference in changing the poverty situation for indigenous peoples.

Director Russel Barsh:

'Trade and intellectual property rights: How do they affect indigenous knowledge, local plant varieties, and the other "ecological and intellectual resources" of indigenous peoples'

The story I wanted to tell about was why I left the UN after 20 years of work on the indigenous peoples' issues in Geneva and New York. It is because of something I saw when I was on a UN's mission in the Philippines in 1997. I was sent to the Philippines by the International Labor Organization to evaluate development air programmes for indigenous peoples in that country. One night after visiting with indigenous leaders on one of the islands in the Philippines and talking about the UN and European aid that was being sent to them to strengthen their communities and to promote their human rights, I found myself sitting in a café at the next table from a group of Canadian and European mining engineers, who were discussing how they were going to dig all of the territory of the same indigenous peoples. And it struck me as very strange that there we were, a bunch of foreigners, of Europeans and North Americans, sitting at two tables in a café in the Philippines, and I was there to look after human rights projects and they were there to take everybody's land. And we came from the same countries, yet there was nothing to address the contradiction in our missions. The same countries that were providing the aid, the assistance for development that I was looking at, were the countries that were planning to mine in the land. The contradiction has got to be addressed and that is what I would like to make a small suggestion about this morning.

I agree that the UN work on human rights and particularly on the rights of indigenous peoples has strengthened the confidence of indigenous peoples and strengthened the visibility of indigenous struggles around the world. That has certainly been a good thing. However there is very little evidence of such change in the actual material conditions of indigenous peoples in most countries. We have not adequately addressed the real economics situation. We have not addressed the economic motivations that continue to displace and marginalize indigenous peoples. So we have strengthened a sense of what is right and what is wrong, but we continue to do wrong on a global scale. We have clearly begun a search for better mechanisms to defend indigenous peoples, better than the human rights machinery of the UN – one of them was presented earlier this morning, and that is targeted development assistance, getting resources to indigenous communities rather than simply talking about how unjust it is that they are being oppressed. I think targeted assistance is very important now rather than just words. But even so, the amount of money that is available globally to assist indigenous peoples is very very very very small compared to the amount of money that is made by oppressing indigenous peoples and we must deal with that contradiction. I do not think that it is a one-sided argument, one where the only area for discussion is how to increase development assistance. I think we must also directly address the economic machinery, the economic incentives that continue to accelerate displacement of indigenous peoples, destruction of the territories in which indigenous peoples live.

Globalisation has been attacked in many conferences as a bad thing, as something which has exposed indigenous peoples and all peoples to greater economic exploitation. At the same time, globalization means that when an indigenous nation is exploited, when it loses its land, and loses its minerals, its waters, its timber, its livelihood, that people everywhere in the world profit from those losses, we have globalized the problem, so have also globalized responsibility because we blame a single country for what happens within its borders and pretend that no one else in the world is responsible or profiting from what is happening in that country. By globalizing the economy, everyone profits, everyone loses; we are all sharing the economic process that are directly destroying the communities that human rights organs of the UN are telling us that we should protect and defend and respect and honor. Land is the clearest example of what I am talking about. If an indigenous people is displaced for mining zinc or copper, that zinc or copper will end up everywhere in the world and the money that were made from that mine will certainly end up in many different countries. It will, in fact, be a subsidy to encourage more mining, because what is happening in so many places is that governments protect and invest in their favorite industries, in their favorite entrepreneurs, by giving them free access to indigenous peoples' land and resources. It is a very cheap way of helping your friends by giving them land that you do not have any rights to. And after the land is gone, indigenous peoples become workers in industries where they are not protected, their labor is cheap and that becomes a hand-shake, a gift to the industries that exploit the labor of indigenous peoples.

These are not new insights. There are not new facts in the International Labor Organization system in which I have worked. All of this was discussed 50 years ago, half a century ago. Particularly in the context of Latin America. And yet we have not get addressed this knowledge, we have not yet acted on this knowledge. In the context of World Trade, which is so important to nation states, to government on the whole than human rights or social justice. In the context of world trade, the continued violation of indigenous peoples' rights has global economic effects. Global economic effects in the form of subsidizing, profiting particular countries. Taking indigenous peoples' lands, or exploiting their labor, or stealing their knowledge is not only unjust to the indigenous peoples' concern, but involves what I would like to call unjust enrichment, unjust trade. Indigenous peoples loose, but somebody profits. We spend a great deal of time talking about how terrible the loss is, but we have avoided dealing with who profits. We have accepted a division of the problem by international institutions into a rights debate which kept hermetically sealed and separate from the issue of profit. We have continued to address indigenous peoples' situation through human rights mechanisms when the mechanism of destruction, the machinery of destruction of indigenous peoples is more properly discussed at the World Trade Organization, where the issue of who profits and what kind of trade, what kind of world economy we have is the central issue. So we have the UN in one room talking about how terribly indigenous peoples are treated, and we have governments/states in another room talking about how to manage the world economy. And these are two separate discussions. But they are not really separate. Globalization means that they have to be the same discussion. The UN has tried to get into the economic debate, but the governments have agreed to keep the economic debate at the World Trade Organization separate. But is it separate or we are just missing the point that a new international mechanism is being built, which needs to begin to confront indigenous peoples interests, rights and demands? Perhaps we have given up on dealing with the World Trade Organization too quickly because it is too obvious what its purpose was. That it was about promoting enrichment, profit, rather than promoting rights. But perhaps we have become part of the problem by allowing it to deal with the consequences. I would like to argue for a moment here that the legal Constitution, the legal framework of the World Trade Organization requires it to deal with indigenous peoples' rights and with other peoples' rights. It is just that the rights issues are not being raised by governments or by social justice groups at the WTO. The World Trade institution has been criticized rather than there being serious efforts to get it caught in its own contradictions and forced to deal with the trade consequences of injustice.

Let me talk for a moment about one part of the WTO legal framework called 'The Subsidies and Countervailing Measures Agreement'. It defines what kinds of subsidies governments can lawfully give to industries or regions within their country. It is basically an agreement not to subsidy industries except in very very special cases. Interestingly, it is written carefully so that subsidies that are part of social justice programmes are exempt. Governments however must explain exactly how a particular subsidy, for example, giving money to a mining company or giving money to northern cities like Tromsø is a social justice subsidy, it is part of a social justice programme, not simply a way of helping their friends make a profit. So within the European framework, a policy of providing economic advantages to poor regions of Europe or Northern areas in the Nordic countries are defined by the WTO as non-subsidies if they are trying to achieve a balance of employment, education, well-being, between the richer and poorer parts of European countries and so in any other country. A legitimate re-distribution of wealth to achieve social justice is defined as a legal subsidy, whereas giving money, property, special treatment to any region or company in a way that has an effect on trade and is not legitimately aimed at achieving social justice, is illegal and can be a basis for trade debate. This gets very interesting, let us talk about things like – and I will choose this example with a particular real case in mind, but will leave it to your imagination: consider the construction of a hydro-electric dam. If the intention and the result is to improve the life of the people in that region of the country and that is objectively approvable, a government can say that that is not a subsidy, that is a legitimate social investment. Even if it makes the exports of that country cheaper to have cheap electricity. But if the only apparent effect of building the dam, other than displacing people, or taking their land, is to make the exports from country cheaper, by reducing the costs on electricity, then there might be a problem. There might be a very big problem if there is a trade effect and a very big injustice combined with profit. And particular industries tend to benefit from cheap electricity, such as the aluminum production industry. Aluminum exports get cheaper when electricity is cheaper. Canada has done this speaking from my own region of the world. So within the terms of the legal framework of the WTO, a framework that most countries have agreed to play by, it is quite clear as a matter of law that taking the indigenous peoples'

land, displacing them and doing it with the principle effect of improving the state's export situation, its trade situation, helping one of its key industries make more money, is unfair trade. It is not legal. And any other country that doesn't like it because it affects their trade and their income can launch a trade dispute.

Trade unions and some environmental organizations have already argued in policy meetings of the WTO that trade must be harmonized with human rights conventions and the environmental treaties that governments have already ratified. That would include, for example, the ILO Convention on the Rights of Workers, for example, Convention of assuring workers some form of social security, some form of old age pension. It would include the Convention on biological diversity because that has been almost universally ratified and is an environmental treaty that says that governments must do certain things to protect the environment. Well, if they must do things to protect the environment, they must do certain things to protect workers, and then they cannot be criticized or punished by the WTO for doing those things. It seems logical and consistent with the international legal framework that anything that a government is required to do by international law is free to do. And, the other side would be, if it does not do those things, and does not do it in a way that enriches it, and enriches its friends, that could be a violation of international law, not just a violation of, for example, the Convention on biological diversity, but a violation of the World Trade Organisation agreements. A violation of trade law as well as a violation of the underlying human rights or environmental law. This is not pure theory. I have been involved in testing this as a proposition at the WTO. A number of us in North America worked together on getting involved in the dispute between Canada and the US over Canadian lumber exports to the United States. Canada is a major producer of lumber. So is the US. The US government agreed that Canadian lumber was artificially cheap because the Canadian government was providing subsidies, payments to the Canadian lumber corporation.

Canadian aboriginal people intervened in that case and argued that the real reason Canadian lumber was cheap was because the land was stolen. A group of environmental and human rights lawyers, including myself, were involved in preparing those arguments. Simply saying that Canada had violated international law by giving away indigenous peoples' land and trees without their consent and without paying them for it. There were two interesting surprises: the first surprise was that the US government agreed. They suddenly realized this was a great way of helping win this case and once they agreed, indigenous peoples in the US got interested in it and began to ask why the US was not protecting their trees. So it heightened awareness that this was a genuine issue, that both the US and Canada, to some extent, were making profits off not protecting indigenous peoples' land. In that particular case it was Canada that was at fault, but everyone can find examples whether the US was also at fault with other minerals and resources than timber. The second surprise was that the WTO, the dispute resolution panel that was set up to hear the case, agreed to consider the argument. Even though it was not done by a government. It is now a matter of WTO practice that relevant facts prepared by a non-governmental organization will be considered. So if two countries are arguing about copper exports and a non-governmental organization located in the country concerned knows a great deal about where the copper came from, and perhaps which indigenous people was displaced in order to get the copper, that is considered a matter of fact which a WTO panel, the judges, should consider because it helps them figure out which country should win the trade dispute. So that is a procedural opening that could at least bring the true nature of the problem to the trade panel and raise awareness on the trade panel and other groups in the countries concerned about where the money is really going. Bringing the human rights and indigenous rights issues into the trade issue and turning it into more than just a human rights case, but into an economic case, which is what ultimately, at the bottom, these cases really are.

There are few things to consider as potential cautions about doing this, one of which is that, for instance, all governments to a greater or lesser extent are responsible for violations of indigenous peoples' rights. There may be no government with what an English speaking lawyer would call clean hands. All governments, to some extent, come with unclean hands to such a dispute. However, this is not judging governments in the whole. When a trade panel considers one of these cases, it is considering the particular dispute in the context of a particular industry. So one government may be stealing indigenous peoples' timber, while another government is stealing indigenous peoples' minerals, and another government is stealing labor. But each of these issues

will be considered as a separate issue in a particular trade dispute. So when we brought this soft wood/lumber attack on Canada's land policies, the focus was timber, but for indigenous peoples in the US, it would be over water – which would be a different dispute. In that case the US would be vulnerable because it has not provided full protection for the water used by the indigenous peoples in the US. This is an evolutionary problem because all governments have something to hide, all governments have some improvements to make, but if dealt with in focusing on particular disputes over the just trade, in particular commodities, it really allows indigenous peoples' issues to be raised by some government in almost any trade dispute, because somewhere in the world there were going to be some governments that were profiting by stealing that commodity from the indigenous peoples that live within their borders. So that is why I say that this is evolutionary. This is a programme of raising the political awareness and attention to the economic basis for the destruction of indigenous peoples' communities and territories. A consistent background music in the WTO's search for harmonized fair world trading system and ensuring that the issue of fairness is really in there. Not just making more trade, but making trade that is consistent with governments' other obligations, including their human rights obligations. Even if it is rarely possible to win a trade dispute in the sense of having a government so punished through the WTO's machinery that it has an economic incentive, an economic necessity of doing something about the way it has acquired, the way it has stolen land, or resources, or labor from indigenous peoples.

I personally believe that bringing indigenous peoples' interests into the realm of trade and trade policy is important in order to make sure that everyone in the world who benefits, even if they don't know it, from the exploitation of indigenous peoples and other peoples, results in profits and - frankly – in cheap goods, consumer's profits too, some consumers in some countries, then we know where the real responsibility ultimately lies: with investors, with stockholders and with consumers in every country, with a lot of us who were in this room including me, not to buy stolen goods, not to invest in companies that steal. There is a lot of power in mobilizing that particular mechanism, of making people take responsibility for what they consume and what they invest in. There have been attempts to do this through private actions such as boycotts, fair trade, cooperatives, which purchase goods directly from people in the Third World, directly from people who otherwise would not be able to earn a livelihood, through social investment schemes which were particularly popular in the UK and in the US right now, where investors get together and check to see what the companies that they have investments in are really doing and disinvest if the company they have money in are doing nasty things to human beings or to the environment. But these are all private mechanisms that have tended to emerge as a cultural matter in particular First World countries. They are good. I have actually seen them do a lot more good than many of the international debates at the UN. One of the only success stories in terms of real recognition of indigenous knowledge involved the threat of disinvestment by a number of major investors in the Pfizer Corporation located in New York. If you try to make money off indigenous peoples' medicinal traditional knowledge, we will pull our money out of your company. They immediately stopped because it affected their money. Not their conscience, but their money. But private schemes are not enough. Just as I would suggest that development assistance is not enough, not enough investments arrangements, fair trade arrangements, private social arrangements. Boycotts are not enough to put pressure on those who profit from or benefit from the destruction of other peoples' lives. It seems to me that we take it directly to where the rules are made, which is the World Trade Organization, and tie it up in a contradiction of its own legal framework which says very explicitly that governments cannot do or pay or allow violations of human rights or other international responsibilities just in order to help some of their friends make a profit. But that is not free trade, it is not fair trade. It is basically trying to fix the game. All our governments are trying to fix the game all the time, but part of having rules that prevent governments from stealing from each other or stealing from their people just in order to make more trade. Let us hold them to it! Let us follow the money! Let us take the profit out of violating anyone's rights rather than simply reminding ourselves over and over again that people have rights, which we should already know.

That has been on my mind since I left the UN and I give it to you in the hope that perhaps it will at least begin a debate about whether this is something which we should be doing together, in our own way, in our countries. I work now as a Director of Environmental Research Organization for indigenous peoples in my corner of the world, in the west coast of North America. We do marine biology, we deal with fish. I spend my time looking

at fish. But somebody catches those fish and they sell them elsewhere and lots of indigenous peoples argue about whose fish they are. So even in my science centre, I cannot avoid the question of fair trade.

Thank you very much!

Professor Ray Hooker

Urracan University: *'Poverty and Social Justice: Nicaragua and the Autonomy Process'*

Throughout most of Nicaragua's history, two main streams of nationhood, sometimes flowing parallel to one another but many times savagely clashing with the other, have struggled to impose their patterns of culture upon each other. A cultural stream emerging from the tropical rainforest of the Atlantic and another spouting forth from the volcanic plains of the Pacific.

When the cultures of Europe clashed with those of America during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the way of life of the Indian population on the Pacific region of Nicaragua was destroyed. Spain imposed its religion, its language, its oligarchic form of government and its patterns of production upon the peoples of the Pacific. Many of the vital sources of these Indian cultures were extinguished. This brutal imposition of Spanish way of life upon an Indian cultural background which took place on the Pacific Region of Nicaragua and in most of Latin America has been one of the two conflicting sources of Nicaragua's nationhood. Spain imposed upon its new offspring not only its language, religion and oligarchic institutions, but also the rivalry and antagonism it then felt to everything British.

The systematic extermination of people and culture carried out by the Spanish on the Pacific was widely known to the peoples of the Atlantic, where the clash of cultures was with the British. In this conflict of cultures two of the three Indian peoples of the Atlantic, the Sumu-Mayangna and the Miskitu, were able to retain many of the fundamental characteristics of their way of life such as language, patterns of production and social organization. The other tribe, the Ramas, has virtually lost its language but has retained many of its patterns of production and social organization. Vital features of these cultures survived because all members of these communities, young and old, male and female, fought with all their might against the Spanish attempts to destroy their way of life and because the British needed their help to try to conquer the Atlantic seaboard of Central America. The British found a very fertile ground in which to cultivate their "grapes of wrath" against everything Spanish, against Catholicism.

Against its will, the cultural wealth of Africa became intermingled in this volatile milieu, introducing diversity, strength and complexity into the Atlantic source of Nicaragua's nationhood.

A short while after the voyages of discovery an intense rivalry was unleashed among the European powers to be first to discover the natural waterway linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Further expeditions proved that no natural route existed and that the most feasible location for the construction of such an interoceanic waterway was across the territory of Nicaragua. Once the colonial powers became aware of the strategic importance of Nicaragua, an intense struggle was unleashed to acquire control of this country. Initially, the struggle was between Spain and England. Later, between England and the United States. This savage struggle among the colonial powers for control of this interoceanic route has been a continuous source of suffering for the peoples of Nicaragua and has intensified and deepened the destructive and divisive interethnic conflict bequeathed to us by different colonial powers.

In the eighteenth century England and the United States helped most of the Spanish colonies of North, South and Central America to gain their political independence, from Spain. This was how the Pacific region of Nicaragua, in 1821, formally but not in reality became an independent country. Nicaragua changed one master for another, a Spanish viceroy for an American consul. This was the beginning of the "Monroe doctrine", "America for the Americans".

The Atlantic region of Nicaragua remained a British Protectorate until 1894. The British deliberately instilled in the collective mentality of the peoples of the Atlantic region hatred and mistrust of Spain, of Spanish-speaking peoples and of Catholicism. It was not difficult to do this, in fact it was relatively easy to accomplish this because the genocide which the Spanish had inflicted upon the indigenous peoples of the Pacific at the moment of contact was ever present in the minds of the indigenous peoples of eastern Nicaragua. In their storytelling-sessions around the campfire, the description of the savagery inflicted by the so called "conquistadores"

at the moment of conquest, upon their indigenous brothers and sisters from the Pacific, is repeated over and over again, and is in this way transmitted from generation to generation. This terrible wound has never been healed. This genocide is alive.

In 1894, Jose Santos Zelaya, the President of Nicaragua, organized an army to conquer the Caribbean region of Nicaragua. This army was defeated in Bluefields and expelled from the region by the people of the region. Faced with such a military disaster, President Zelaya asked the United States Government for help. Naval units of the United States were promptly dispatched to Bluefields. These combined forces of the United States and Nicaragua conquered the region in the name of Nicaragua. The Atlantic Coast then became a colony of the Pacific Coast of Nicaragua. To be the colony of a country is to be in a very unfavorable position. But to be the colony of a colony is much worse. Remember that in Nicaragua at this time it was the United States Ambassador who decided what was to be done in the country, who would do it and when it should be done.

For more than fifteen years all schools in the region were closed. The policy of the government was to keep the people ignorant and illiterate in order to more easily impose upon them the selfish aims of the ruling clique.

The best lands in the region were distributed among the ministers of the government, the friends and relatives of the President and other high ranking governmental officials and officers of the army. All jobs and positions of any importance in our homeland were assigned to the Spanish speaking elite from the Pacific region of Nicaragua.

Spanish was imposed as the official language of the Atlantic and all transactions, had to be carried out in this language.

The abundant mineral and forestry resources of the region were given in concession to American companies. In a fifty year period of time these Mineral and Forestal Resources were virtually wiped out. The indigenous and Afro-Caribbean people of the Atlantic Region became a poor landless people in their own land. A people deprived of their freedom, their language and of hope. A people without a future.

For the people of the Atlantic Region this was a period of suffering as they had never suffered before. They became alienated from their true selves. A life protecting mask was imposed upon their natural spontaneity. They were forced to constantly live a lie. This experience deepened the division between the peoples of the Pacific and the Atlantic.

The Atlantic Region was regarded by the ruling clique in Managua as a backward but valuable reservoir of camouflaged wealth which they could rely upon after they had squandered the treasures derived from their own territory. During this period of occupation of the Atlantic by the Pacific, no roads were built to facilitate the exchange of goods and the mutual interaction of people and ideas. Education and health services depended upon the limited capacity of the different churches established in the region. Unfortunately, the main area of concern of these churches was the quality of life after death and not the present human predicament. Therefore most of the people were illiterate, infant mortality was very high and in the few schools which existed it was taboo to question the justice or injustice of the situation. The people were isolated from the population of the Pacific and had practically no contact or knowledge of the outside world.

The people in government, the ruling class, coveted the gold, the silver and other natural resources of the region but regarded the indigenous people and Ethnic Communities as a disturbance, an obstacle, a threat, a plague which should be exterminated.

Beginning in the 1930's The Somoza family took control of the government of Nicaragua. They ruled Nicaragua as their private farm. The Somozas became one of the richest families of the world. They ruled Nicaragua with an iron fist for more than fifty years.

After a long-lasting and bloody struggle, the Sandinistas overthrew the Somoza dictatorship in July of 1979. Most of the people of the Atlantic Coast did not participate in the war to get rid of the Somozas. They felt that

this was a conflict between two Spanish speaking groups, mutually exterminating one another, in order to seize control of the instruments of power of the country. The majority of the people from the Atlantic Coast felt that for them, this was a no-win situation.

After the triumph of the Sandinistas, the people of the Atlantic Coast did not know what to expect from the Sandinistas. They had no illusions about the new government. After a year's experience with Revolution, most of the people were pleasantly surprised by the new policies and programs. The number of teachers doubled. Schools were established in the most inaccessible villages of the tropical rainforest. Scholarships were provided to all students who needed them. Mobile aquatic health programs were made available to all communities on a pre-arranged schedule. Community development programs were initiated. Both land and aquatic transportation was improved and ambitious programs of industrial development were started.

Then Ronald Reagan won the presidential elections of the United States in November of 1980. Immediately after his inauguration in January of 1981, he unleashed his program to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution. Attacks were launched upon targets chosen by officials of the United States Government. Most of these targets were health clinics, schools, agricultural cooperatives, boats taking food and medicine to different communities, doctors, nurses, teachers working in the different programs to provide a better way of life for the people. The towns established along the Wangki River were especially targeted by groups trained, armed and equipped by the United States government.

The revolutionary leadership did not know how to respond to these murderous attacks. After an intense debate within the party, it was decided to respond militarily to this situation. The decision was taken to resettle in the mining area, the communities established along the banks of the Wangki River, which serves as a natural boundary between Nicaragua and Honduras. This was the biggest mistake made by the Sandinistas in their dealings with the peoples of the Atlantic Coast. The Sandinistas had made other mistakes, but none with the devastating repercussions as this resettlement program.

All resettlements programs are violent. This program was carried out with a minimum degree of physical violence. Eleven people were killed, four Sandinista soldiers and seven of the people who were being resettled. Emotionally and spiritually it was a very cruel and heart wrenching experience for the people involved. They were provided, in the resettlement area, with better housing, better schools and health facilities, than they had in their communities. But in spite of these benefits the people were always dissatisfied with their situation.

After the elections in 1984, when they were allowed to choose whether to stay in their new towns or to return to their communities, the great majority decided immediately to return to the Wanki River.

By the year 1984 the territories of the Caribbean Region of Nicaragua was an immense battleground. The revolutionary government controlled only the cities of Bluefields and Bilwi.

At the end of 1984, after an intense process of introspection, the revolutionary leadership acquired a better understanding of the reality of the Atlantic Coast and came to the conclusion that the military response was inadequate, that a new and more ambitious approach was needed in order to have any possibility of introducing qualitative changes in the way of life of the people of the Atlantic Coast, and to pacify the region. This was the birth of what we have called "The Autonomy Process", the process through which, for the first time in our dealings with the Government of Nicaragua, it was legally recognized that the peoples of Caribbean Nicaragua were entitled to exercise special political, social economic and cultural rights in the territories where they have traditionally lived.

By political rights we mean that the peoples of the Atlantic region will actively participate in the law-making-process, in the election of their own leaders in honest fair and free elections and that they will also be entitled to occupy positions of leadership both at the regional and national level.

By economic rights we refer to the prerogative of the people of the Caribbean Nicaragua to rationally and intelligently participate in the management on a sustainable basis of the natural resources of the region and also for the first time in our history, to enjoy the benefits from the correct management of these resources.

We define cultural rights as the direct participation of the peoples of the Atlantic Coast in the creation and establishment of an environment, a way of life, in which the daughters and sons of the Atlantic will learn to be proud of their physical and spiritual characteristics and of their culture, without being ashamed of their essence as was the case before July of 1979. A program of bilingual-intercultural education is an essential ingredient in the establishment of this environment in which self-worth and high levels of self - esteem are nurtured.

Autonomy should not be understood as a backward plunge into something inferior. Rather, it must be a leap forward to a higher stage of human fulfillment.

The conviction is that Autonomy for the peoples of the Atlantic Coast must lead to greater self-pride resulting from the strengthening of the weakened identity structures of our people. The presence of positive self pride, of high levels of self esteem is absolutely necessary if qualitative transformations in a society are going to be introduced. Without an abundance of self-pride the creative forces of human beings are repressed. When creativity is absent it is very difficult, if not impossible, to carry out revolutionary transformations. The task of making a better human being requires new ways of doing things, new approaches. The job of transforming second class human beings, whose identity system has been ravished by the impact of centuries of oppression and exploitation into first class citizens, is a task that requires intelligence, creativity, dedication and national sacrifice. Autonomy has been foreshadowed as a dim anticipation and hope in many instances of our history. It is a new awakening, a renewal of growth. We are struggling to make of autonomy an end of decadence and decay, and the beginning of a better tomorrow.

We did not delude ourselves in believing that Autonomy would magically solve the problems of our people and their territories. We were aware that there are deeply entrenched barriers to effective communication and mutual understanding among the peoples of Pacific and Caribbean Nicaragua.

Because Autonomy for many Nicaraguans is a journey into the unknown, certain apprehensions related to separatism exist. It is natural that this be so.

The exercise of the rights of Autonomy by the people of the Atlantic Coast is an integral part of the quest for national unity, nurtured by the cross fertilization of ethnic diversity. True culture must always respond to the social requirements of the times. In the case of Nicaragua, genuine national unity is indispensable if we are ever going to be able to successfully respond to the challenges of this selfish and cruel unipolar world in which a few, mostly from the north, enjoy the benefits that are harvested from the toil and sweat of workers, from both south and north.

One of the fallacies of many thinkers has been to regard the presence of ethnic diversity within the nation state as inimical, as antagonistic, as the enemy of national unity. We sustain the contrary. We affirm that a new national harmony will emerge from Autonomy. We know that genuine, authentic national unity, in which mutual understanding and ever-increasing levels of self-respect and esteem are continuously nurtured and encouraged, cannot be achieved through the barrel of a gun.

We also know that the exercise of political or economic rights in isolation is not sufficient to heal the physical and spiritual wounds of a people who have become alienated from their true selves as a result of historical oppression. We are convinced that only a comprehensive program in which political, economic, social and cultural rights are simultaneously carried out will have any possibility of successfully building a better homeland. Such a program is very expensive, but it is even more tragic and costly not to do so.

One of the main tasks which must be accomplished by such a comprehensive program is the eradication of the slave mentality out of those who have had to live under such terrible circumstances. It is relatively easy

to legally abolish slavery. What is much harder to do is to extinguish the slave mentality out of the minds of people who have never enjoyed the fruits of freedom. The task is made more difficult because not only must we struggle to extirpate the slave mentality out of those who were previously enslaved, but simultaneously, we must also find a way to extinguish the master mentality out of the minds and lives of those who were taught to regard themselves as masters of their universe, as superior human beings.

The Human Condition in the Autonomous Regions

Since 1894, there has been a constant deterioration of the human condition in the Autonomous Regions. Before the forceful annexation of our region to this country the people of Caribbean Nicaragua were prosperous. There was food in abundance; every family had its own home. The minerals had not been depleted. Verdant forest extended over the entire territory, and there was an abundant supply of Marine life. People and ideas moved freely from community to community and the extended family was a tightly knit unit. The bringing up of children was the responsibility of the entire community and not solely of a single family unit. The communities were self-sufficient and the people lived in harmony with their environment. Conflict and differences among peoples and ethnic communities existed. But in the majority of cases these differences were solved through dialogue and compromise. Members of the community were elected to positions of leadership, not because they were the sons and daughters of leaders, but because in the different daily tasks that were carried out to satisfy the needs of all members of the community they were able to prove to their peers and to the community as a whole, that they were the best at that specific task. The best hunter was selected as the leader of the hunting expedition. The best fisherman was chosen to lead the fishing expedition and the best warrior was the chieftain in times of war. Usually the wisest governed. Elders were held in high esteem.

One hundred and ten years, after this forceful annexation, what is the situation of the human Condition in the Autonomous Regions? This region is now a disaster area.

1). The municipalities of Nicaragua with the greatest levels of poverty and extreme poverty are those of the Autonomous Regions.

2). The highest levels of illiteracy in the country are those of the Autonomous Regions.

3). The highest rate of joblessness in Nicaragua is that of the Autonomous Regions.

4). The region of the country with the least amount of paved highways is Caribbean Nicaragua.

5). The region of the country that has the least access to the National electricity grid is the Atlantic Region.

6). The cost of living in the Autonomous Regions is higher than that of the rest of the country.

7). The tropical rainforest of the region has been savagely devastated.

8). The marine life is being wiped out.

9). The seaports of the region which should be the best in Central America, are the worst in the country.

10). The overwhelming majority of the people of the region does not have access to safe drinking water.

11). The consumption of drugs and the drug trade is proliferating in the communities.

12). And the main sources of income for many families of the region are the remittances sent to them by their children and relatives who were forced to leave our region and country because of the generalized situation of joblessness in the Autonomous regions.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a true portrait of the human condition in our region. This is the savagery that the central governments of Nicaragua has inflicted upon us and this is what we have allowed them to do to us.

What can be done? What must we do to remedy this situation? What can we do to help provide the opportunities to our people's and ethnic communities to build a better life, a more prosperous Atlantic Coast? A region where we'll re-establish the harmony that once existed between Mother Nature and our people. First: We who are legally entitled to the rights of Autonomy must fully understand that the people from the Pacific Region of Nicaragua or from other parts of the world are not going to build a better Caribbean Nicaragua for us. It is we the Miskitu, the Mestizo, the Sumu-Mayangna, the Rama, the Creole and the Garifuna who must immediately begin the difficult task of building a brighter future for our children and our children's children.

Secondly, we who are legally entitled to the rights of Autonomy must fully understand that the task of transforming our regions into a land of wealth and opportunity is a very difficult task which government alone cannot do; which private enterprise cannot do; which a single people cannot do; which foreign companies are

not going to do; which political parties cannot do and which the churches alone cannot do. This is a complex, difficult and a long term undertaking which will require sustained unity of effort from us all. This is a life or death task for our cultures which will require a certain degree of help and support from the rest of the country and from our friends from abroad and intelligent, long range policies of the regional and central governments, which promote sustainable development and discourage abuse, corruption and irrational exploitation of our human and natural resources.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the task of building a better homeland is a difficult task. It is a task that has to be completed by more than one generation. It is a task which requires levels of multiethnic unity that we have never had before. It is a task which requires unheard of levels of trust and mutual understanding among all our peoples and ethnic communities.

It is a task that can only be accomplished by all of the people of both Autonomous Regions, those actually living in the region, and those, who in most cases against their will, are now living and working in other parts of the country, in other parts of the world. The Costeños and Costeñas, who are now living out of the region, have acquired skills, knowledge experience and economic resources that are indispensable in the building of this better homeland. Many of these Costeños and Costeñas living abroad, probably understand the world of Globalization better than we do. On the other hand, we who have remained, probably understand the actual conditions of our region better than they. We complement each other very well. Certain barriers of Mistrust, which has developed between those who have remained in our region, in spite of the difficulties, and those, who in many cases, against their will, decided to leave, must be extinguished. These differences, which keep us apart, must be obliterated. The ties that bind us together must be strengthened. Our common heritage and our never ending commitment to a better Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua, must be accentuated and reinforced. Differences will persist, but the lasting ties of sisterhood and brotherhood must knit us tightly together, so that we can jointly build this better homeland.

Thirdly, we who are legally entitled to the rights of Autonomy must immediately assume all of the responsibilities which must be carried out by us according to Nicaragua's legal framework. Laws such as the "Constitution of Nicaragua", The "Law of Autonomy and Its Rules and Regulation", "Law 445 or the Law of Land Demarcation of the Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Communities of the Autonomous Regions"; the "Law of Languages" and other laws of this country, which have been passed by the National Assembly of Nicaraguan since 1986. In no other country of Latin America are the legal rights of Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Communities as well protected as they are in Nicaragua. Nicaragua's legislation in protection of the rights of Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Communities is very progressive. Our problem is not a problem of Law. Where we have failed is in the implementation of the Laws which have been passed by the national assembly to protect our rights. The Central Government is partly responsible for the failure of implementation of these laws. But we, who are entitled to the rights of Autonomy, are also to be blamed. We who are entitled to the rights of autonomy have not sufficiently taken advantage of the opportunities opened to us by these laws. If we were to fully embrace these opportunities we could begin to build this better homeland. If we were to intelligently take advantage of these opportunities we would elect honest, capable and responsible leaders to the regional council, to direct the affairs of the Municipalities of Caribbean Nicaragua and to represent us in the national assembly.

We would begin to manage our forest and marine resources in a sustainable manner. We would stop the destruction of our forest and we would not allow foreign fishing boats to fish illegally in our waters. If we were to intelligently take advantage of these opportunities, we would be managing and regulating all air, sea and land transportation in our region. We would be building the roads and highways in the land of autonomy.

If we were to intelligently take advantage of these opportunities, we would be managing the health and education programs, with their respective budgets, in our territory. We would be participating decisively in all planning of programs that the different Ministries of the National Government carry out in Caribbean Nicaragua. We would have already established a special fund for the development of the Atlantic Coast and we would be hard at work defining the boundaries of the lands of our communities and the extension of the territory of Autonomy, and not be talking about the need to take these measures.

Ladies and Gentlemen, one of our major responsibilities is to make sure that our people begin to take advantage of these opportunities and to begin to build a better future for our peoples.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Major accomplishments have also been achieved as a result of Autonomy.

1). Two vibrant centers of Higher Education, Bicu and URACCAN, have been established and are now functioning in our region with campuses and programs in Bilwi, Bluefields, Nueva Guinea, Siuna, Rosita, Bonanza, Waspam, Rama and Pearl Lagoon, providing higher educational opportunities to our people, practically free of charge.

2). Regional Political Parties, such as YATAMA, are now successfully competing for the minds and hearts of our people against the major National Political Parties.

3). As a result of pressures exerted by the people from the Autonomous Regions major legislation has been enacted by the National Assembly of Nicaragua in protection of the right of the peoples and ethnic communities of the Autonomous Regions.

4). Civil society in the region has been strengthened by the establishment and successful functioning of regional Non-Governmental organizations such as PANA-PANA, CEDEHCA, ADEPHCA and FADCANIC.

5). The Bilingual Intercultural Educational Program has been strengthened in spite of opposition from the Central Government.

6). Progress has been made which hopefully will lead to the functioning of the Regional Autonomous health and Education Systems.

7). Support for Autonomy is much greater today than it was in 1984. All major National Political Parties functioning in the region claim that They support Autonomy. All Regional Political Parties are Committed to Autonomy.

8). Constant pressure is being exerted upon the Central, Regional and local governments and upon elected regional officials to make them do more, to forward the cause of Autonomy.

9). The Professionalization Program of Untitled Primary Teachers that is being carried out with the support of SAIH in the South Autonomous Region, is a great success.

10). The Agroforestral Program that is being supported by NORAD is also becoming a model for the restoration of our rainforest and for the fight against poverty in our region.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have begun to look for and to find solutions to the challenges of unity in diversity.

Ladies and Gentlemen: We have begun to travel upon, and to occupy strategic positions in the territory of unity in diversity, but the road ahead is slippery and dangerous and we are going to be challenged as we have never been challenged before.

Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for your attention!

First of all I really want to thank the University of Tromsø for the invitation that made my participation possible in this "Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples". It is really a great pleasure for me to be able to be here and share with each one of you our dreams, aspirations and experiences developed in the construction of the Intercultural Community University.

I would like to begin then by sharing with you a brief context of the country from where I come. Nicaragua is one of the biggest of the five Central American Countries, and it is considered within the poorest regardless of the existence of natural resources. It has a population of approximately 5 million inhabitants, and a territorial extension of 130 square km. From its political constitution and its reform in 1995, Nicaragua is recognized as a multiethnic and multicultural country and at the same time recognizes the existence of the indigenous peoples and ethnic communities that live in this territory. For administrative purposes it is divided into two Autonomous Regions and fifteen departments.

The two Autonomous Regions together, constitute the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua, which covers 50 % of the national surface. This territory has approximately 700,000 inhabitants, mostly indigenous Miskitos, Ramas and Sumu-Mayangnas. In this territory live also African descendants, Creoles and Garifunas, and Mestizos, or Spanish-speaking people. Each one of the indigenous and afro-descendants maintain their language, social organization and way of living, culture, production, spirituality and cosmo-vision, there own way of seen the world.

The two regions of the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua have special rights within the Nicaraguan legislation through the Autonomy Law passed in the year 1987 by the National Assembly. This law establishes that the governments of the Autonomous Regions shall be the ones responsible to administrate education, health, justice, transportation and community services, according to the reality and needs of the indigenous peoples and ethnic communities. The Nicaraguan government has not yet signed the International Labor Law (ILO) Convention 169, however the Autonomy Law gives the indigenous and black communities much more rights than what is established in ILO Convention 169.

Nicaragua shares two different histories. While the Pacific Coast was colonized by the Spanish crown, the Atlantic Coast was a British protectorate, and was integrated by force into Nicaragua as late as 1894. The British and the Spanish had different ways of ruling their colonies, and the indigenous groups on the Atlantic Coast maintained their language, cultures, way of organization and way of production, while on the Pacific Coast they were obligated to copy the way of living of the Spanish speaking people.

After the integration into Nicaragua, the Atlantic Coast and its population have been historically excluded by the respective government in charge. The result is that even though this is where we find the reserve of Nicaragua's natural resources like forestry, mining and fishery, according to the poverty map, this is the poorest part of the country.

In Central America and specifically in Nicaragua, the macroeconomic indicators have been encouraging for some international agencies and for the respective governments. However the economical growth of over 3 % during the last couple of years has not been felt at the level of the families in the rural areas, in the excluded urban areas, in the afro-descendants nor the indigenous communities. On the contrary, most of these excluded peoples are poorer than before. According to the report from the United Nations for the year 2003, the gap between rich and poor has expanded. The rich have more access to basic services; they consume more, decide more and participate more.

We see then that the situation objectively is not optimistic with reference to reaching the millennium goal to reduce poverty by half before the year 2015. This goal will continue to be nothing more than an illusion if measures are not taken to include those traditionally excluded segments of the populations.

In the absence of Centers of higher education on the Coast, the young people emigrated, some to the Pacific of Nicaragua, and the others to other countries through scholarships obtained in search of an opportunity to study, process that led to the break up of the families and brain drain in most cases. The ones who came back, came back with a changed attitude, lack of respect of their own values and culture and the culture of other groups in the region, and an education that did not really respond to the necessity and reality of the people on the coast. This situation had repercussions in a way that the Coast was left behind in terms of economic and social development.

Students from the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua that tried to access higher education were confronted with realities such as: linguistic barrier, lack of access to information about careers offered, possibility of scholarship, fear from parents to have their children leave the region, and particularly women. Other difficulties were the deep lack of knowledge that exists in the Pacific with regard to our language, culture, traditions, the discriminatory treatment that was given to the coastal people, and still persists today, and the lack of necessary economical resources to travel from the communities on the Caribbean Coast and to survive in the Pacific of Nicaragua.

Access to Higher Education

Being conscious that the key to development is education, one of our leaders present here today stated that without a real good educational system designed by us and managed by us, that includes and integrates a strong system of values and preserves the practice of our ancestors and the sacredness of all forms of life, the vitality of all our communities in harmony with our surroundings combined with a solid scientific base and humanities, without a system of this nature and with a strong process of consensus and participation, and proper support, we do not have any possibility to construct a better way that will assure the success and development of autonomous regions.

Access to higher education was not possible until year 1995, when leaders, men and women of the Atlantic Coast, founded the University of the Autonomous Regions of the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua, URACCAN, with the mission of contributing to the strengthening of the Autonomy Process of the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua through educating and training of human resource, providing them with the knowledge necessary to manage, protect, and make a rational and sustainable use of natural resources.

URACCAN was characterized when founded as an “Intercultural Community University” and it obtained legal status from the National Assembly in year 1987. It also has a legal base through the Regional Autonomy Law.

URACCAN was founded to avoid brain drain, to strengthen human capacity and to influence regional strategic development. URACCAN was founded, to bring about changes and improvement in the living conditions of the people, especially for those traditionally marginalized and excluded, by breaking the cycle of impoverishment, exclusion and marginalization and by creating conditions through education to better health services, education opportunities, access to a better judiciary system and possibility to access and create quality jobs.

URACCAN means the creation of links between knowledge and peoples needs. The traditional knowledge, the endogenous knowledge of indigenous and Afro-Caribbean people, is the base by which relevant and useful scientific knowledge is developed. What happens in the classrooms and campuses of our university can not be isolated from what happens in our communities, municipalities and the region. After 10 years of existence, URACCAN is just starting a long journey for transforming the conditions that hold back our people.

URACCAN is based on methods and study programs that allow revitalization of culture, rediscovering new values, systematizing the ancestral and endogenous knowledge, and to impact in the reduction of the indicators of exclusion and discrimination of indigenous and afro-descendant perspectives.

Vision

Our vision is to be the Intercultural University of the indigenous peoples and ethnic communities of the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua, contributing to the strengthening of the regional autonomy through accompanying the processes of self-management, multiethnic unity, and the integral formation of coastal men and women.

Principles

URACCAN is based on the principles of intercultural relations, respect, and the promotion of co-living and sharing of knowledge between cultures. It must respond to the necessities and realities of indigenous people and ethnic community. It must respond to a sustainable management of natural resources, respect to the linguistic diversity and the revitalization of culture.

It must have a decentralized and participatory administration model in order to reach the places where the people that takes decision lives, independently of them having a diploma or not. All must have access, and it must contribute to the multiethnic coastal unity.

Characteristics of URACCAN

- It is a community university, with a multiethnic and multicultural profile, with the unity of the people of the Atlantic Coast as one of our goals, which is why our campuses and extensions are decentralized in eight municipalities, with credibility and acceptance by a high percentage of the population.
- Our academic guidelines are: indigenous rights, regional multiethnic autonomy, sustainable development, gender equity and intercultural relations.
- It is articulated to the regional multiethnic autonomy process and its national and international struggle for respect and implementation of indigenous and afro-descendant peoples' rights.
- It has a technically trained and compromised autonomous guiding team.
- The functions implemented are research, teaching and social projection.
- The educational programs for higher education are not directed only to people who have concluded their studies in schools but also cover community leaders who only had access to indigenous education.
- The Programs are designed by technicians, through participative methodologies that incorporate the traditional communitarian knowledge.
- The approval of opening of careers, diploma qualification, and courses respond to a process of agreements among leaders of the region, in the search of the priority and necessity.

To support Community Extension work, in the definition of its reality, URACCAN has 7 Institutes and Centers of research:

- The Institute of Natural resources, environment, and sustainable development (IREMADES).
- The Institute of Traditional Medicine and Community Development.
- The Center for Studies and Promotion of Multiethnic Women.
- The Center for Intercultural Communication.
- Institute for Promotion Linguistic Investigation and Cultural Revitalization.
- Institute of Autonomy.
- Center for Data Base of Environment and Social Issues.

Challenges:

- The community university is a different model from the traditional ones in use in the country, and for its development it requires the backing and support from the rest of the national university community, civil society, and its legal recognition in the general law of education, currently under discussion and in process of approval in the national assembly; and in this way, we could ensure the budget from the state for the university.
- Guarantee changes in the visions of the universities teaching staff to facilitate acquisition of attitudes of

respect, true intercultural practices, and ethnic values consistent with the ancestral philosophies of the indigenous people and ethnic communities, and at the same time acquire abilities for the labor market.

- Articulate a system (primary, secondary and technical education) of formal education with the dimension of the non-formal or indigenous education, and in this way be able to strengthen the capacities and abilities of the people traditionally excluded, and subsequently influence poverty reduction.
- Maintain the university open, with access to all, as a space for dialogue, conflict resolution, and consensus building, in the search for solutions to the principal problems that the multiethnic and multicultural society must face in this constant political changes.
- Maintain civil society, indigenous and afro-descendant leaders motivated and proud of their community university, persuade them about its quality and relevance of education, and that studying in the region, with curriculums designed especially for our people, contributes to the strengthening of identity, culture and regional development, and thus to the strengthening of the autonomy process.
- To obtain and maintain the necessary support, confidence and respect, from bilateral and multilateral cooperation agencies, and non-governmental organizations, for the institutional strengthening of the university, continuing with the preparation of teaching staff, advancing with the accreditation process, designing curriculum, researching, and infrastructure.

Current Situation

In the year 1995 the University opened its door with a registration of 751 students in three campuses. Now we have 4 campuses, 4 extensions, 7 Research/Investigation Institutes and 4,326 students.

According to the Students Registry for 2004, the situation is as follows:

Campus	Sex		Ethnic group						
	Total	F		G	C	ME	MI	MA	R
Bilwi Campus	1,440	774		1	95	384	948	12	-
Bluefields Campus	696	459		19	157	448	44	21	7
The Mines Campus	866	435		-	1	746	39	80	-
Nueva Guinea Campus	508	315		-	-	508	-	-	-
Total in the university	4,326	2,556		20	253	2,050	1,031	113	7
	100%	59.08		0.56	7.20	58.40	29.37	3.21	0.19

C: Creole, ME: Mestizo, MI: Miskito, MA: Mayangna, G: Garifuna, R: Rama

To comply with the Academic offer, we had a group of 195 teachers, of which 67 (34.3 %) are full time and 128 (65.7 %) are on an hourly basis. Out of the 195 professionals who work in teaching in the different careers at academic level, there are: 4 (2 %) Doctorates, 35(28 %) Masters, 156 (80%) Bachelors and/or Engineers with postgraduate studies and specialties. This staff/personnel is distributed in the following manner:

Campus	Ethnic group					
	Total	G	C	ME	MI	MA
Bilwi C a m p u s	56	-	6	31	19	-
Bluefields Campus	56	-	14	41	1	-
The Mines Campus	46	-	-	44	-	2
Nueva Guinea Campus	37	-	-	35	2	-
Total in the University	195	-	20	151	22	2
	%	-	10.25	77.43	11.28	1.04

The courses and programs that we offer are the following:

- Under-graduate: Bachelors and Engineering, Science of Education with mention in Spanish, English, Biology, Geography, History, Mathematics Intercultural Bilingual Education, Sociology with emphasis in Autonomy, Nursing, Business Administration with emphasis in Public Administration, Natural Resource, Bank and Finances, Social Communication, Maya Culture , Social Science with emphasis in Local Development.
- For engineering: we offer Agro-Forestry, Fishing, and Information Technology Administration (Computacion).

Technical Career: Accounting and Auditing, Nursing, Social Communication, Tourism and Ecology, Forestry, Municipal Development, Information Technology (Computing), Administration, Science of Education in Spanish, English, Natural Science and Hotel Management.

Diploma Qualification: Indigenous Law and Communication Development, Interdisciplinary Studies, Civil Promoter, Gender and Development, Organizational Development in the context of the regional autonomy, Community Health Management, Planning and Environmental Management, Gender, Forest Farm and Cattle Management, Local Development Plans.

Masters: Intercultural Public Health, Social Anthropology, HIV/AIDS, and Interdisciplinary Studies.

Postgraduates: Intercultural Pedagogy, Communitarian Forestry, Geographic Information Systems, Management and Judicial and Public Administration of the Autonomy, Monitoring of Biodiversity, Teaching and Investigation, Environmental Evaluation Impact, Strategic Planning, Methodology of Investigation, Forestry Development, Management for Communitarian Leadership.

The programs and courses given by the University are designed to strengthen the identity of the population to which it is directed and respond to the needs and reality of the territory, for them to be able to exercise their right, through the new acquired knowledge.

The curriculum emphasizes the analysis and research of the autonomy process on the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua, considering the regions as a natural laboratory, in such a way that the initiatives can be experimented and applied with the finality of contributing to the development of theories and for the new proposals to contribute to the universal knowledge around the autonomic phenomena.

In the components of teaching, researching, and university extension, the analysis and research on the regional autonomic process is a transversal guideline.

Extension Community Work

With regard to this aspect, priority has been given to the work on the impact facilitated by the University in addition to the work of the Commission of the Regional Autonomous Council, the civil society, indigenous communities and Afro descendants, through the Investigation Institute, and according to the profile of the same, as part of the programs of communitarian extension, such as:

The Institute of Natural Resources, Environment and Sustainable Development (IREMADES) has as its prime objective to revitalize, produce and administrate quality technical scientific knowledge in the areas of the natural resources and communal development, to impact positively in the development of strategies and programmes for the rational use of the natural resources of the autonomous regions, biodiversity and intellectual collective property, forestry and maritime management plans.

The Institute of Studies and Promotion of the Autonomy (IEPA) was created for the development of programmes, projects and activities designed to strengthen the autonomy, promote a democratic culture and citizen participation in the autonomous regions:

- Ensuring accompaniment to indigenous organization in the development of their development plans and the accompaniment in processes of negotiation and well as providing ethno maps in indigenous communities and Afro descendant communities.
- Providing strategic regional development plans.

The Institute for Promotion of Linguistic Investigation and Cultural Rescue (IPILC) rises from the necessity to respond to a new model of integral education that URACCAN, as an institution, assumes in the autonomous regions of the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua, an education in agreement with the characteristics, demands and particular interests of the indigenous peoples and ethnic communities in the autonomous regions ensuring: a regional autonomic education system, an intercultural bilingual education, an autonomic rights curriculum transformation commissions.

The Institute for the Intercultural Communication (ICI) concentrates on the training of human resources, installation of social communication resources, projects and communication networks, publications, access to new information and communication technologies.

There is also a network of communitarian radios functioning as an intercultural communication channel.

The Institute of Traditional Medicine and Communication Development (IMTRADCC) has promoted the discussion and approval of an autonomic health model that articulates traditional medicine with the Western medicine.

The Center of Socio-environmental information (CISA) has as an objective to compile, systematize and permanently update the environmental database and to place at the disposition of the decision makers, scientists, technicians and general public all the information required for an efficient management of the environment.

The Center of Studies and Information of the Multiethnic Women (CCIMM) has as its objective to work in and out of the institution, in programs, actions and tasks related to the improvement of the living conditions of the women in the region, creating space for participation and recognition of the rights of the women of the autonomous regions.

A Few Challenges of the Communitarian Model of the University

The communitarian university is a different model from the traditional ones in use in the country and its development requires support from the rest of the national university community. Its legal recognition in the general law of education is currently under discussion and in process of approval in the national assembly; this

The Legal Framework

Nicaragua is by law a multiethnic state. The legal framework in Nicaragua on the rights of the indigenous and afrocaribbean people to their language and culture is strong - much better than for instance in the Nordic Countries. With the approval of The Autonomy Law in 1987, the Caribbean Coast was declared an autonomous region, and in the same year 1987, the new Constitution of Nicaragua was approved, defining Nicaragua as a multiethnic state. As to the language and culture it states that *Spanish is the official language of the state. The languages of the Communities of the Atlantic Coast shall also have official status in the cases established by law, and that The Communities of the Atlantic Coast have the right to the free expression and preservation of their languages, art and culture... The State shall create special programmes to enhance the exercise of these rights.* Further, as to education: *The Communities on the Atlantic Coast have in their region the right to education in their mother language at particular levels in accordance to the national plans and programmes.*

The Autonomy Law states the same rights as the Constitution but is more precise as to education: people in the communities on the Atlantic coast have the right to preserve and develop their languages, religions and cultures. Moreover they have the right to *education in their mother language and in Spanish, through programmes that take into account their historical heritage, system of values, traditions and the characteristics of their environment, all within the framework of the national education system.*

Finally, the Language Law from 1993 stipulates that *The Miskitu, Creole, Sumu, Garifuna and Rama languages are languages of official use in the Autonomous Regions of the Atlantic Coast.* It further provides that *the state will establish programmes to preserve, save and promote the Miskitu, Sumu, Rama, Creole and Garifuna cultures as well as any other indigenous culture that still exists in the country, and will study the possibility of the future introduction of education in all these languages* (I: Art. 6). It also states that *bilingual intercultural education is to include preschool and the whole of primary school and that the official languages of the Coast are to be included as a subject in secondary schools.*

Remarkable in these laws is that all the regional languages, whether they have 100000 speakers or 30 speakers and whether they are defined indigenous languages or not, have the same rights.

Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Communities of the Caribbean Coast

It is difficult to define the size and the number of speakers of each ethnic group on the Coast, because – as in so many other countries – no official census exists. This year 2005 a new national census has been initiated but the data is not available yet. The estimations are the following:

a) indigenous peoples

Miskitu 120.000, Sumu: Mayangna with its two variants Panamahka 12.000 and Tuahka 2.000, Ulwa (Southern Sumu) 800 (about 400 speakers), Rama 1400 (about 30-50 speakers)

B) afrocaribbean peoples

Kriol 25-30.000 and Garifuna 2200 (about 30 speakers). The Garifuna could, however, just as well be defined as an indigenous group, because they are product of a historical mixing between two indigenous peoples, Arawak and Caribs, with Africans.

Intercultural Bilingual Education Program

The history of the indigenous and afrocaribbean people on the Coast since the so-called Reincorporation of the Atlantic Coast to Nicaragua in 1894 by President Zelaya is a rather sad story. As to education, a strong hispanization was initiated by the central government and the use of the regional languages was forbidden in the schools. The situation remained so til the Sandinist Revolution in 1979.

After the Revolution, one of the first achievements of the new Sandinist Government was the organizing of a nationwide Literacy Campaign, priced by UNESCO. The campaign was initiated in Spanish also on the

Caribbean Coast, but after strong protests from the Coast, three of the regional languages were incorporated in the program: Miskitu, Sumu (Mayangna) and English. According to the Director of the Campaign in the Southern Region, Guillermo Mc Lean, the idea was to carry out the Creole part in Creole, but because of lack of materials (Creole still existed only as oral language) the teaching was in English. This effort served as a base for further demands of the peoples of the Coast to change the education so that it would take into account not only their mother languages but also their history, culture, cosmovision, science and so on. The Intercultural Bilingual Education Program of the Ministry of Education initiated in 1984 in some Miskitu and Mayangna schools and was extended to the South the year after, having functioned at the moment for 20 years. First called *Bilingual Bicultural Education Program*, then *Bilingual Intercultural Education Program* and at the moment *Intercultural Bilingual Education Program*. The next step being *Intercultural Multilingual Education Program* according to the sociolinguistic character of the Caribbean Coast as a multilingual region where most of the people are actually trilingual or even more.

Every change of the name of the program means a new, more profound reflection of the character of the education. Changing *bicultural* to *intercultural* is a very significant change of focus. *Bicultural* or *multicultural* is simply the state of arts of a situation where several cultures are living in the same area, isolated or less isolated, tolerated but not necessary liked. Whereas *intercultural* means mutual knowledge and understanding, positive exchange and communication, respect and harmonic co-living of several ethnic groups within the same area, region or state. Interculturality is more than tolerance: it is an active search of mutual enrichment in all its aspects.

The Intercultural Bilingual Program has until now been officially developed in three languages: Miskitu, Sumu-Mayangna (variant Panamahka) and Creole (in reality: English). The Rama and Garifuna communities were from the beginning incorporated in the Creole program and the Ulwa in the Miskitu program. However, with the Autonomy process also the smaller peoples have began to look for revitalization of their original languages. As a result of these efforts, Rama in Rama Cay, Garifuna in Orinoco and Ulwa in Karawala have been included as “unofficial” subjects in the study plan of preschool and the lower classes of the primary school. In 2001, the number of children in the IBE-programs was 21,958 in 213 schools.

Sistema Educativo Autónomo Regional – Autonomous Regional Education System, SEAR

So Intercultural Bilingual Education existed in preschool and part of the primary school, but there was still something missing. In the 90ies, the people of the Coast, especially in education, raised a strong demand for a global, pertinent education system, based on autonomy, linguistic human rights, democracy and interculturality. The situation in education showed a depressing development – or rather lack of development: the central Ministry of Education was slowly trying to choke the Intercultural Bilingual Program, reducing it to a minimum. Only with efforts of some European NGOs the program halted forward, getting their first new set of text books after the burning of the original books, produced in the 80ies (and financed by NORAD) claiming that they were Sandinist propaganda. The average schooling time of children in the rural areas of the Caribbean Coast was in 2000 2,1 years, several years lower than in the Pacific side of the country. The few existing secondary schools had extremely low enrollment rates, and higher education did not exist at all. Now you already know that the situation has changed: the establishing of URACCAN as the University of the Autonomous Regions has made an enormous difference in the preparation of human resources of the region for the region.

URACCAN played also a central role in the formulation of the SEAR, the *Autonomous Regional Education System*. SEAR is oriented towards integral formation of men and women of the indigenous peoples and ethnic communities of the Coast. It is based on the principles of Autonomy, Interculturality, Solidarity, Pertinence, Quality, Equity – especially gender equity -, ethic and civic values and regional and national culture, all this in order to achieve sustainable economical, social, political and cultural development. Its objective is to form Costeños compromised with the sustainable human development of their communities and region, with a permanent practice of interculturality, with a solid scientific, tecnic and humanistic preparation, clear knowledge and interpretation of the legal framework sustaining the process of autonomy – persons with high selfesteem, proud of their ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity and contributing to the project of national unity in diversity.

The Mission of SEAR is to form human resources of the Nicaraguan Caribbean Coast in the different levels, specialties and modalities with the quality that the development of the region demands, with moral, ethical, esthetical and spiritual values, working for sustainable development, with gender equity and taking into account the children's rights, incorporating in the autochthonous knowledge the universal scientific-technical knowledge, converting them to the new leaders of the region and the country.

The SEAR also means a strong decentralization of education according to the Autonomy Law that states that the Regional Autonomous Governments have the right and responsibility to create and administrate their own education.

The Regional Autonomous Councils of RAAN and RAAS approved the SEAR in 1997. This effort of the civil society in the education field, supported by legislation, was incorporated in the National Education Plan in 2002. At the moment there is a tedious fight going on in the context of approving the General Education Law for Nicaragua. In the original version, SEAR was nearly completely left out. The Autonomous Education Committees and Secretaries with strong support from URACCAN and the civil society have made a motion on SEAR to be incorporated in the Law. The National Assembly is supposed to have the motion in the agenda in their next session.

Curriculum Reform

The base of the SEAR is a Curriculum Reform introducing Intercultural Bi- and Multilingual Education on all levels from preschool to higher education, not only in the indigenous and afrocaribbean communities but in all the schools of the Autonomous Regions.

The Curriculum work started for full in 2000 with strong support of the FOREIBCA-Project, financed by the Finnish Government. The curriculum commissions were conformed by members of all the ethnic groups who made all the plans and programs and textbooks. The Teacher Training Schools in Bilwi and Bluefields started to implement the new curriculum in 2003, after years and years of using the national curriculum without no mention of the characteristics and necessities of the Coast. Also the new preschool and primary school curriculum has been implemented in pilot schools from this year. Finally, there has been an on-going work to improve the existing curriculum of Bachelor studies in Intercultural Bilingual Education in URACCAN. An important advantage has been to elaborate new study plans on different levels at the same time, to guarantee a global, harmonic articulation of all the levels.

The basic policies in the new curriculum are Autonomy, Identity and Interculturality and Equity. It has five crosscutting themes that are present in all the areas and subareas of the curriculum: Peace and Democracy, Human Rights (especially Indigenous and Ethnic Rights), Environment, Health and Sexuality and Family and Community. These being the ones identified by the people themselves as the most important elements to focus on.

In the new curriculum there is no more separated subjects but integral areas, where the history, culture, cosmovision and scientific knowledge of all the ethnic groups of the Coast is present. The areas are Language and Communication, Person, Culture and Nature, Mathematics and Arts, Recreation and Physical Education. In the curriculum for Teacher Training even Mathematics is integrated in the big area of Person, Culture and Nature. The teaching in all the areas is in the mother language of the child.

In the area of Language and Communication, all the students study three languages: the mother language (L1), one second language and one third language according their linguistic repertoire. The number of mother languages is now increased to five: Miskitu, Panamahka, Tuahka, Ulwa and Kriol. This means that the smaller variant of Sumu-Mayangna, Tuahka, and Southern Sumu, Ulwa, have got their official space in the IBE-program. And, the new curriculum finally introduces Kriol as the first language of Kriol, Rama and Garifuna children, which is a huge step forward in the light of the linguistic human rights. Until now, English has been used as if it was the mother language of the children, causing severe problems in the linguistic development of the children. As also the teachers usually have a lot of difficulties in using English fluently, the result has been that the oral part of the classes has been Kriol and the reading and writing has been introduced in English, with a strong influence of Kriol.

However, as a result of hundreds of years of oppression of Kriol as a language, with the label of being “bad English”, “broken English” and even worse, there is still a need to raise more awareness in the Kriol speakers of the importance and value of their mother language. English is in no way going to be excluded from the study plan, but will have its rightful place as a third or a second second language of the Creole students.

Rama and Garifuna, the two original languages with about 30-50 speakers each, have their official space in the new curriculum, being the 3rd language of the Rama and Garifuna children.

The other areas of the curriculum focus strongly on the knowledge of the indigenous and afrocaribbean people in science, in their cosmovision, culture – including ethnoscience and ethnomathematics, traditional medicine, management of natural resources, arts, music and dance.

Challenging the Globalization

SEAR and Intercultural Multilingual Education is the indigenous and afrocaribbean peoples answer to the widespread globalization and threat of homogenizing cultures, policies and economies all over the world. The strong support to this model shows clearly that people are prepared and willing to fight for their own language, culture and knowledge base and not to abandon it and change it. Even fight for the revitalization of languages that not one child in the community speaks anymore, such as Rama or Garifuna, or languages that until now have had a stigma of not even being a language, as Tuahka and especially Kriol. And what is important to notice is that this demand hasn't come from outside but it is raised by the people themselves. As to the management of the natural resources people have seen that the imported way of thinking only leads to a disaster. As to occidental medicine they have seen that the traditional medicine, bush medicine, is gaining more and more importance even in the western world.

Knowledge is power, and knowledge of who you are and what you have that is different from others is the instrument for the survival and progress of the indigenous and afrocaribbean people. Self-government in education is the guarantee of providing for this knowledge – and not just other peoples knowledge – and URACCAN and SEAR are good examples of it.

First I would like to thank the Centre for Sámi Studies that they have provided me with the opportunity to give a presentation here at the Forum.

My name is Erika Satta and I am from the Finnish side of Sápmi, the Sámi country. I am a student in the Indigenous Studies Master Programme here at the University of Tromsø, but I am presently working at the Sámi University College in Kautokeino. I will look at a few aspects of my thesis and my own background. I have a Sámi background, but I was not taught Sámi at home when I was growing up. Nevertheless I have reclaimed the language of my ancestors. I have a 3 year old son with whom I speak Sámi in order that he may learn our own language from the very beginning. This means that Sámi again has become a living language in my family, but every day I have to work consciously with the Sámi language so that we don't lose it again.

My Master thesis was relative to threatened languages. A language is threatened when people no longer speak their mother tongue but rather switch to another language. For instance, my ancestors substituted Sámi with Finnish. They did not transfer Sámi language to the coming generation and this led to an everlasting diminishing number of speakers and leading to the majority language winning over the minority. And, in a cultural perspective, the minority language is substituted by the majority language.

My research also looks into education. And school, of course, is a very important aspect in the revitalization of the Sámi language. In the world today, more than 6,000 languages are in use and research shows that something like 20-50% out of these languages are on the brink of extinction in the near future. Languages are, of course, something very special, in that the more they are used, the stronger they get. In my research I have chosen to look at two indigenous languages, these being the Rama language of Nicaragua and the Inari Sámi language of Finland. Finland is Norway's neighboring country and not far from here. Both the Rama and the Inari Sámi of Finland have to a large extent stopped using their indigenous languages because they have been assimilated. In the 19th century, many Finns and Northern Sámi moved into the Inari Sámi area and from then on the Inari Sámi language started giving away. The Rama language also found itself in a threatened situation in the 19th century after the Moravian Church people were moved to the Rama Island. They brought their language, their way of life and their culture with them. In this picture you see a girl of the Rama nation who has dressed up for a celebration and in this photography we see the result of the Moravian peoples' influx into these areas. People have adopted new ways of dress. We see in this picture how the girl is not wearing traditional dress.

Both these two peoples are now working hard to make sure that their languages do not die out all together and that is what I call revitalization. I look at that and I compare these two processes within the two language groups. The two groups live in two quite different countries and this point of departure is of significance for the situation in which these two different peoples are. Nicaragua is a poor country and the Rama people is among the poorest of peoples, whereas Finland is a rich, industrialized country. The Rama are about 1,200 in number, but the Rama language is spoken by less than 40 individuals.

The Inari Sámi are about 900 all together, out of which about approximately 350 speak the Inari Sámi language, so in that respect they are stronger than the Rama. Both these peoples belong to a minority within a minority. That is, the Rama are the smallest group and live between the Miskitos and Sumo peoples. And the Inari Sámi live between the Skolt Sámi and the North Sámi. The indigenous languages in Nicaragua have been given an official status like Arja just told us about. This happened in 1993. The Sámi language was given an official status in Finland towards the end of the 1990s. These two different points of departure give interesting aspects to research: for these two groups from two quite different situations, how do they revitalize their own languages and cultures?

As one theoretical basis for my research I have looked at the language emancipation or the freedom of the language. The emancipation of the language means that different languages are given a democratic space in the society. A process of revitalization of a language requires the emancipation of a language, since a threatened language needs an official space in the society. For instance, a space in the media, with an individual status.

Renewal is also important in this research, i.e. an updating renewal of the society in all aspects and how does this renewal influence the linguistic revitalization. The world is constantly being renewed and this, of course, influences indigenous peoples and their life situations. So what do I do research on? I ask the question of whether the culture is reflected in the linguistic revitalization process and if it is not, why is it not? To what extent is culture reflected in school curriculums?

I am still working on my Master thesis so these are all temporary results that I am presenting to you, but I wish to present you with the results I have so far, for instance, looking at this situation of education and teaching in Rama Cay, in Nicaragua. Rama children have about 2 hours of Rama language in the pre-school age and up, including the 4th year of primary school. As far as I know, there are no children in Rama Cay who learn the Rama language at home. They grow up with Creole English as their first language.

Let me say a little about the situation in Finland for the Inari Sámi. The Inari Sámi children start out with language nest. This is a form of kindergarden where only the threatened language is used. It is like a total emersion programme for the language. And in this case the children actually learn their threatened language as well as any other native tongue on mother tongue level. The basic concept is that none of the teachers/adults participating speak anything but the native language. And after having spent time in this total emersion programme, the children do start using their mother tongue in general in life and are actually prepared for being taught in school, when they start school in their own mother tongue. Therefore these total emersion programmes are extremely efficient.

Now we see clearly that there are two very different approaches to revitalization of languages. In Nicaragua, they have only had 2 hours per week of mother tongue teaching whereas in Finland, the Inari Sámi have been given total emersion programmes. We must, of course, bear in mind that the Inari Sámi people has been in the same situation the Rama people is in at present, but for the Inari Sámi this was back in the 1970s when they also had 2 hours per week of mother tongue training, but only after the late 90s it has been possible for them to go on to a total emersion programme and were enabled to start school in their own tongue.

Normally there are several stages in language revitalization that you develop the language by. You cannot jump directly to a very high level. The language needs to be matured and this other process takes time. An informant from the Inari Sámi population told me that the time would not have been right for the total emersion concept back in the 1970s because then people would not have been ready to take in such a huge reform and that much information. At that time 2 hours a week was a good thing, a big progress. These two peoples are at different levels in the revitalization process. The situation is more dramatic for the Rama language and the Rama language is considerably more threatened because there are so few language users of the Rama language. And the children are not taught the language as efficiently as it is the case in Inari. But what is important is that the Rama are working towards revitalizing the language.

I did fieldwork the autumn of 2004 in Nicaragua, in Rama Cay where most of the Rama live. Rama Cay is in the eastern part of Nicaragua, on the Caribbean coast in a lagoon close to a city called Bluefields. In Rama Cay there is one single person who has the Rama language as a mother tongue. That single person who has the Rama language as a mother tongue is Mr. Walter. He moved to Rama Cay; he was not born there. Mr Walter is a very central and important person in the community because he has the responsibility for teaching the Rama language in the school. In the autumn of 2004, a year ago, when I was on the Rama Island, a course of Rama language was given for adults and the aim was to educate new Rama language teachers. A Sámi woman called Haldis Juliana Balto was at that time working for the Sámi Council on linguistic revitalization. Together with Mr. Walter she organized this language course, but she also worked in developing text books for Rama language teaching in schools. This is the primary school in Rama Cay (see photo). The children are outside during a break. They are playing football. The children start school quite young in Nicaragua, so when I was there during my fieldwork, I observed children down to the age of four attending school. They learn the Rama language through song and games, and they meet a couple of times a week. The 4 year olds had Miss Agnes as a teacher – she was working, on a voluntary basis, as a Rama language teacher. Miss Agnes had herself learnt the Rama language not having grown up with it.

I wanted to find out what parents and teachers' thoughts were about the Rama culture and language, whether they thought of the Rama culture as significant and if so why, and if not, why not. In this context, in this particular case, language teaching was dependant on a person who had a lot of hours per week in the school for each pupil. Therefore it was of an utmost importance to develop, to educate more language teachers in Rama Cay, to increase the educational practice. So the question remains: is it important to teach children Rama culture? The reply I got from most informants was that they wished that the Rama children should learn their traditional culture in school. It was said that in order for children to be able to succeed in life, they need to know their traditional way of life. They should learn how the Rama built their houses. This is of practical importance because when you build a house according to the Rama tradition, you don't need to spend money to buy materials in a shop, which you would have had to do if you built a house the same way the majority population does. The Rama people collect all their construction material from the nature and do not need to spend money on it. This reflects the fact that traditional Rama culture conservation will help the children to survive in poverty and with meager economic means. If you compare with the Inari Sámi in Finland, the Rama are living in a traditional way and most of these children live their lives in extreme poverty. Maintenance of cultural identity is of utmost importance for their possibilities in life for a good livelihood. In my research, it also became apparent that it is a huge challenge to teach these traditional ways to the Rama children and to teach the Rama language because the children did not appear to be very interested be it in the ancient cultures or in the language. Ordinarily children want to follow new trends and take in to use contemporary or modern things, and new trends are important to them. Children and adolescents have their own culture which is constantly changing, constantly searching for new impulses.

How about the language and culture of the Inari Sámi? The Inari Municipality is to be found in the northern part of Finland, next to the Inari Lake. There are four language groups living closely: the Finns, the Inari Sámi, the Skolt Sámi and the North Sámi. The Inari Sámi are living in different towns within the municipality and they had these language camps with Inari Sámi for 7 years now. The Inari Sámi live modern lives just like other Finns, the other members of the Finnish population. They have also gone from traditional ways of life to modern professions. After I have been to Nicaragua, I also did fieldwork and interviews with teachers at the language nest. I wanted to hear from them to what extent this education was important for the cultural identity, their different use and the significance that they gave to this teaching. Some of them didn't find it necessary to emphasize culture in the teaching because they felt that culture automatically goes with language. According to this point of view, the language contains their culture and therefore it is not necessary to separately and explicitly teach culture. They felt that Sámi culture was something that belonged to the past and no longer fits in the modern contemporary life. In their point of view, the language itself carries the culture. It could be mentioned that there are different ways of defining indigenous culture. But what is part of indigenous culture? Is it only old traditions that comprise culture? Do indigenous peoples also have a right to change their cultures and still be able to claim that they are indigenous?

In conclusion, I will look at what I saw from the Inari and the Rama cultures. There are big contrasts between the two groups. This far I have arrived at the conclusion that the significance of culture in the linguistic revitalization process is different in the two instances. The Rama emphasize traditional Rama culture in their language education because teaching the traditional culture also provides a way of surviving in a situation of scarce financial means and gives them means of surviving in the future. The Rama's situation was tough. They daily strive to be able to feed themselves, but nevertheless they are able to use resources for their culture and language. The Inari Sámi emphasize language first and foremost because they, to a large extent, feel that their language actually automatically gives the culture and the culture does not need to be taught separately. Many find that Sámi culture is something old fashioned to a certain extent. And that they should adapt to modern living. But what is common to the informants from both the Rama and the Sámi peoples is that they love their language and that they really wish to work for the survival of their languages.

I would like to add that it is important that in revitalizing languages you find new arenas for the ways in which the languages can be used, and new ways of using the language. It must be appropriate and adapted to the new ways of the children's lives. We have an example from the Inari Sámi: an artist whose name is Amoc. He

started producing rap music in Inari Sámi and he is extremely popular. And this is absolutely a new approach to revitalizing the language. Could anyone rap in Rama I wonder?

Thank you very much!

Thank you very much!

I only wish you could see this piece of paper here. As people have given their talks so far, I keep on taking notes to add to my talk so occasionally you'll see me turning this around because some of you have given me new ideas.

What I want to do today is to give you some backgrounds to the situation in Guatemala. There are wonderful panelists who are going to follow me today and some tomorrow morning, who are going to talk about particular education situations in Guatemala. So what I want is to give the big picture of the context in which these very courageous educators are working in. What I hope then, as an anthropologist is that I can make an argument about the challenges being not only the issue at hand, education, but to show how the challenges are responding to a very rapidly evolving and changing economic and political situation and how indigenous movements can try and grapple with the fact that simply nothing is static. There are no continuities in the story and there is a struggle in the case of Guatemala, of not only political, but personal survival in a very complicated situation.

So I am going to talk briefly now about democracy and social justice. My argument is going to be that going forward from the present to the future involves talking about Guatemala's past. The way Mayas put it in the 1980s in their discussion of the Movimiento Maya was: 'you must understand your history in order to see your future'. I do believe that. So let us get on to the political context and the development of the Mayan movements in Guatemala.

The 1970s and 1980s is a period in which there was an authoritarian dictatorship and there were widespread massacres of rural communities. Over 200,000 people died. 200,000 people - one fifth of the national population! - was displaced from their homes. This was an early period, very formative for Guatemala. Then one also has to mention the country's very troubled prolonged engagement with a very difficult peace process that occurred in the late 1980s going through to the 1996 and on through what was hoped to be a wider implementation of those reforms. This was a troubled peace process because it involved negotiations between parties that did not have a lot of good faith: the guerillas, the government, a variety of very rightist powers and, of course, the military itself. The military was very much in control of the situation and originally it looked like there was going to be no input from the civil society at all. It looked like you were going to have the antagonism from the decades before negotiating what peace meant for civilians in the present and the future. Luckily Guatemalans and civil society did not let that happen: they demanded space and they created organizations that included activist Mayas who demanded to be part of the peace process. And, in fact, they came across very serious divisions within the Mayan community, both on the left and the culturalist and other sectors of Guatemalan civil society, both Mayas and Ladinos. Non-indigenous population came to create a forum through which they could create a set of demands. Many told me: 'Oh! You should have seen those first drafts of our demands. They were too radical to believe'. And so what they did over time was to have additional meetings, so they got real about what they could possibly be a set of demands that they were pressed on their country during these very ambivalent peace negotiations.

This second part of the context I want to talk about today is a shift from this earlier counter-insurgency phase, and war time phase, and peace process phase to the current shift starting from the 80s, going through the 90s and certainly very strong now. And that is the shift to a neo-liberal paradigm with its promises of democratization, decentralization, global integration, cuts in government spending, privatization, another moment in which we see the conditions of possibility for indigenous mobilizing change. So we have got one set of conditions of possibilities during this first period of great violence. They call it 'la violencia' in Guatemala and as my friends in the community where I lived on and off from 1969 and every time I have been to said: 'La violencia siempre sigue' ('Violence always continues'). It never quite stopped, but there has been a shift to a new set of conditions and possibilities for organizing.

The neo-liberal paradigm with all of its promises, of course, brings many challenges and I want to talk about that as well. So let us look at these different political contexts. I am also going to speak for a moment about, in general, some education innovation, but I am going to leave the case studies to our wonderful educators who follow me today and tomorrow. And then what I want to talk about is the new challenges in the present.

The peace accords in Guatemala were mediated by the UN and monitored by MINUGUA, that was an organization centered in Guatemala. Their efforts were to struggle to promote the demilitarization of the country and the demobilization of the URNG rebels and the recognition of Guatemala as a pluri-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-lingual society with an indigenous majority. Most Guatemalans had no idea at that point that the majority of the population in Guatemala was indigenous. They just had no conception of this. They thought that indigenous people is a minority. Not just a political minority, but a demographic minority. So part of this whole peace process was to begin to talk about the reality that, in fact, it was quite the opposite of what people had assumed. What was mapping then, through this peace process was a whole series of reforms: reforms of Guatemala's legal system, of the military, of policing, and an introduction of an idea of widespread democratic reforms. This peace process envisioned an inclusive educational system. It envisioned a society with a full-spectrum of civil, political, human and cultural rights. And these rights were, through this peace process, recognized. But one has to add 'in theory', because the problem is - we've heard from other presenters today! – that the story is really in all the details of implementation.

At the very least what this peace process brought was a powerful discourse for social transformation. MINUGUA brought Latin Americans and Europeans to Guatemala to be engaged in the monitoring of the implementation of the reform and the guarantee of people's human rights. Why the Guatemalans were not involved? Why the Mayas were not involved? Because it was too dangerous. Any Guatemalans who would have been involved in monitoring of sort this simply would have been killed. You have to realize that it was still an extraordinary dangerous environment. Peace was just a word at this point. People were still being killed, the military was still in control and leaders were still targeted and human rights groups were attacked.

Another major and important actor here was the Commission for Historical Clarification, Guatemala's Truth Commission, which tally the dead and found out that the vast majority of the killings had been done by the military, not the guerrillas and of that vast majority a still another majority was indigenous civilians. Most of the people that were killed in this place during this violence were Mayas. The word that was used by the Truth Commission and circulated internationally with the blessing of the UN was 'genocide': 'There had been a terrible genocide in Guatemala.' And the people who were talking on education here are survivors of that process.

One has to say that long before the peace accords, long before the counter-insurgency war, long before the political history I presented, there were indigenous movements that were pushing on multiple fronts for social change in Guatemala. The first movement that one always has to mention is the grass-roots struggle for access by poor rural families. People do not even talk about these folks as being involved in a movement but in fact they were. These were micro-community-by-community movements, very courageous Mayan fathers and mothers who wanted their kids to get into school and could not pay school fees. And they started protesting in their small rural communities: 'You can't just charge us those fees. We want our children to get into school, and we can't afford those fees.' So you got militant action in the press or a pressing for access in these movements before anyone had that language for human rights, before anyone had the political language. We have to acknowledge that history and to have the courage do it. Groups like Catholic Action promoted the egalitarianism that these people were acting on, and similarly these other religious groups and community groups that were involved. A second kind of social grouping was CUC. This was an example of a wider mobilization of the grassroots left, which spread throughout the highlands in the late 70s and 80s. These were very courageous grassroots leaders who were pushing for labor reform, who were pointing out the terrible exploitation of workers on plantations, who were really struggling to knit people together across communities. And finally, during this period, in the late 70s and 80s, there was the beginning of a Mayan culturalist movement. These were young Mayas who had gotten high-school education. They were brought together in schools. There were a couple of high-schools in Guatemala that accepted Mayan students, really brought them together and tried to reaffirm

the Mayan cultural process. They did it in very colonial ways (these were Catholic Church schools!), it was a very complicated consciousness, but they did this though. But what happened was: the students took this consciousness a whole step further and began to imagine a world in which you could revitalize your language, you could revitalize your culture, you could press for cultural rights, community based cultural rights. This is what they started to dream of as a wider movement. What impact did this political context have on these movements that were bubbling up in the countryside? Well, one has to say that the Cold War really affected the conditions and possibilities for Mayan mobilizing. And in this case, what I would argue as an anthropologist is that this Cold War conflict and the counter-insurgency war, which was the Guatemalan manifestation, in effect polarized the pan-Mayan movement into separate movements. And the contrasting Mayan movements are something that has lived on past the Cold War. It is something that I think a younger generation is going to do and is actually doing new and innovative things with.

What happened to Guatemala was that this Cold War environment drove a wedge between populadists, i.e. grass-root leftist Mayans who worked with Ladinos on labor struggles, human rights struggles, struggles against exploitation, with a class conflict kind of a model, siding with the rebels and often supporting them during the guerilla war, on the one hand, and on the other hand culturalists who really wanted to see the revitalization of the Mayan cultures, language, religious beliefs. And their paradigm for moving activism was an antiracial paradigm. It was an anti-neo-colonial paradigm.

Now, in the real world, we know that any kind of anti-racism has an economic and a political understanding and that any grassroots class conflict paradigm is going to overlap. What I would argue with is that the Cold War drove a wedge between the two and made it harder for people to see the common purpose. Individuals did. There were individuals who moved back and forth. But there was a lot of nasty talk between a popular-culturalist divide in some very famous meetings. In any event, over time both groups realized that on thing was essential: that they built a 'pueblo Maya'. 'Pueblo' in Spanish is such a wonderful, variegated word. It means people, it means community. It meant an actual on-the-ground community. But it means a concept of community, so to build towards a Mayan 'pueblo' was to build towards a collective notion of what you wanted to accomplish.

Let us head towards education for one quick moment. Education has been of special interest for the culturalist reformers such as Dr Demetro Cojtí Cuxil who follows me today, who many people talk of as a Mayan saint. I have to tell you all before you meet him: He was the person who really articulated one of the most important early critiques of Guatemalan education for rural families. He criticized the existing system as a form of coercive assimilation, as a form of institutionalized ethnocide. He showed the way in which the school system embodied these pressures that sought to alienate the children from their parents, and the cruelty of that, and the scars of that that followed children alone as they were not allowed to speak Mayan languages at school, as there were pressures put against them not to dress in Mayan dress. And they were just told that their culture was one that was not a culture, and their language was not a language, it was a tongue. So in this coercive environment obviously they dropped out. It was horrendous. The parents were very ambivalent about sending their kids to this kind of school system. So the issue for Dr Cojtí Cuxil was how could one envisage an alternative to this racist school system? How could one imagine indigenous language schools? How could one create an institution like that? And that is exactly what other culturalists went on to do. Through organizations like PROHABI, they began to create language materials right in the Mayan languages, and educational materials that could be used in schools. The problem was the Teachers' Unions. They were very hostile to these innovations. What did the Mayan culturalists do? They created alternative Mayan schools. They created privatized schools supported by the – God bless! –donor communities, supported by major donors including NORAD, which has a glowing position in this story, as well as other countries who really saw the education innovation as very important. There were wonderful results in these schools – I have to tell you. I sat in on classes in one school and there were young little kids talking in their own language with Mayan teachers, who would take them on wonderful little trips through their town. They would go on little trips together. These little five or six year olds would go and interview the town's mayor. And their teacher would be there and they would have a little snack on the way. It was a field adventure: they would walk through town and they would discover parts of their town that they have not explored. So it is really innovative participatory education.

The real problem came at the higher levels. These were kids who had been displaced from other parts of the country were kids who dropped out of school. These were kids who saw violence personally during the war and they were angry, and they didn't like and didn't want that young Maya woman to teach them, and they didn't like the subject, and they didn't like writing a wrote system from the blackboard into their little books, and they didn't like Mayan languages because the one they were taught in this locale was not the one from where they originally came from, so Mayan language was a foreign language. On a higher level, the Mayan schools really faced the problem of divisions in academic fields. There was history, there was civics, there was Mayan linguistics, and mathematics and everything was taught in that old way: you wrote in those books, it did not matter if you understood; you just had to write exactly what your teacher did. You were given a test, and you wrote it back; you didn't get it. And, unfortunately, Mayan language was treated the same way. So clearly for these kids the school had some real work to do: to re-package education so that it was not in the old Guatemalan mould because the old mould did not work.

Fast forward. Peace accords. I am just going to give you the bottom line here because I want to get to the end of this talk. Guatemala had neither the political will nor the finances to implement the peace accord reforms. These beautiful discourses of democracy and multi-culturalism did not get implemented. And one could say 'it was because there were cynical political forces', and one would have to answer 'you are right'. But I cannot detail those today, although I could give you great publications to read.

Another thing about this was that Guatemala, in 2001 – this was 5 years after the peace accords, 5 years of people trying to work on the reforms, trying to get something implemented, had a referendum. The referendum was a national vote. In effect, were you in favor of the reforms that came in the peace process to transform your own country into a more democratic one, to enshrine a multicultural, multilingual, multiethnic image of your society and provide reforms of the judicial system and a whole bunch of other systems – were you in favor of this or not? Now you would think, after all this violence people would be in favor of these reforms. How could it be that people would vote against peace? But you know that 80% of the people did not vote. And part of the reforms was called the 'indigenous reforms', and people did not vote. Something went wrong in those reforms, in that referendum. Do you blame the people who didn't vote? Or do you blame a political system that took the reforms and took over 50 separate reforms and arbitrarily packaged them into four different packages, and you had to vote 'yes' or 'no' on each package? And it was a totally heterogeneous reform! So if you thought two of the reforms were stupid, you voted against that whole packet of reforms? Would you, as a voter, know what to do if this whole idea of voting on this referendum came out just two months before you had to vote and no one had time to educate you about what this vote meant? Another thing that happened: a very cynical political system said let us all vote and tell if you agree or not, knowing or hoping that people did not agree and then they never reached out to involve people. This was not a democratic vote. In any event, it was a terrible watershed for the Mayan movement because many people in the Mayan movement felt after all their hard work, after all the Mayan schools, after all the work they did trying to educate people, particularly in rural areas. They had just assumed people would vote the right way. And Mayans did vote. There was a higher rate of voting in the Mayan areas, in the highlands, than in other parts of the country, but nevertheless, I think people were really shocked that there was no good will in the country for this kind of referendum.

One of the reasons why the referendum, besides its cynical packaging, did not work, was because there was a dirty campaign. The dirty campaign in Guatemala's second largest city told all Ladinos (Ladinos did not vote in favor of the referendum!) that if they voted in favor of the referendum, they would all have to speak indigenous languages. Another part of the dirty campaign told folks that they had to wear indigenous clothes. Another part of the campaign started putting out posters saying that there would be a race war if people voted in favor of these reforms, in favor of the referendum. So you can see that there was a really dirty propaganda to undercut this affirmation of the peace accords. Then, finally, and this is moving over into the realm of neo-liberalism, a very well-known Mayan journalist, Estuardo Zapeta, pulled out of the opposition to these reforms, and he was in favor of the Nuevo of the reforms in Guatemala, and he offered a neo-liberal critique of the reforms. This is extraordinary! There was a Mayan leader who used a neo-liberal argument to undercut it. Basically what he said was that you really cannot make this an ethnic country. You cannot do it because the ethnic focus of the constitutional reform is built on a dogma of victimization, separatism, and ethnic ghettos,

rather than a construction of a unified country. Identity, according to Zapeta, is not a constitutional question, but a socio-political one; it is beyond the realm of Constitutional reforms. He added, 'how can indigenous customary law be recognized when there is no constitutional basis for several systems of law'? He added that the recognition of Mayan spirituality would violate the separation of church and state, and, finally, he said that international donors are corrupting Mayas in this process by buying them off. So, basically, what Zapeta was saying is that the new Guatemalan person emerging out of this war time period into a contemporary Guatemala should be a non-ethnic individual, a non-ethnic citizen. What Zapeta was arguing for in this neo-liberal language was a privatization of ethnic identity, meaning that you could be a Maya, that was fine with Estuardo, just do it in your private time. Not a public identity, not a political identity, but a private identity. To unify the nation we need citizens and individuals, we do not need political collectivities – a very clever deployment of neo-liberalism.

Now we have gone into the aftermath. The challenges for the future. I will just make these challenges and this sort of broad categories into questions. The first question that has been brought up now is how, in the present, do Mayas challenge this view of the privatization of identity which is being used to weaken collective clients and identities which are obviously implicit in many of the new employment programs in the country. How do we challenge that? It is a big question for Mayan activism right now. You really have to come up with something that challenges, this real push to de-ethnicize social and political life in Guatemala. And the context now is a really tricky one because the donors are shifting their priorities. The international donors: NORAD, the Germans, the Spaniards, the Japanese (even the Japanese!), the Americans. What we see right now among the donors is a radical shift in patterns of international cooperation. Donors are beginning to see a new agenda of issues as very important that, to a certain extent, are starting to displace minority rights: gender, youth, capacity building (the capacity building could be inflected ethnically, but some of the capacity building programs are not paying attention to ethnic issues), small business promotion. So you can do all these with non-ethnic citizens. They really do – if one is not cautious and careful – end up using this new individual that has a private ethnic identity, instead of mobilizing a more collective vision. So the question is: how do Mayan activists confront all these challenges of identity and this shifting context of donor preferences? Because everyone knows there was a moment when the peace process donations was going to get turned off and the donors will move to other parts of the world and another issues and since 1998 that is what has been happening in Guatemala.

Second question is: how can one support the very experienced Mayan leadership so they can work on issues that they are committed to between their cities and government? Mayan leaders, both the populadis and the culturalists, decided that they want to try and work in a system where decisions are being made and see if that was a possibility. This was after decades of working outside the system. So their experiment has been: let us join the system. We know it is not perfect, we know it is always corrupt, but let us see if we can find some political space to accomplish something where the real power is being negotiated. The issue here with Mayan activists is that every time you are in a government, that government inevitably will be corrupt, inevitably will be thrown out by the opposition, and then what happens: all Mayas who have been working in the system loose their jobs. Everyone who has been working in the system loses their job. It is all patronage in Guatemala. You loose your job. Not only you are a pariah - you suffer a political, not literal death, but a social death. You literally don't have a salary anymore. No one is going to hire you. And there are limited pots of money. Just as you experienced leadership that survives the political processes and is pushed as an agenda by the system, suddenly there is no place to go. This is a huge problem to be solved given the cyclicity of this political system. Now, what Mayan leaders tell me, some of them in this room, is that working within the system gives Mayan leaders greater power, but it would also disperse their influence. So these are other contextual and political challenges.

Another question: how do you create Mayan business and NGOs that are independent and self-supported? Now we have the head of Cholsamaj-, which is the Mayan press here whose going to talk to you later, who is running an independent and self-sufficient business. These guys can do it. Are there other Mayan businesses that can do it? They can use the good part of the neo-liberalism, 'run your own business', and still pursue collective goals.

Another question is how to revitalize the movement so that young Mayas do not have to follow those old patterns of politicization where you are either a leftist or you are a culturalist because the younger generation does not want to make that choice. A lot of the younger Mayans I know say: ‘You know, that was an earlier battle. We seek combinations of politics now and we’d like to do it and we have the commitment to the rural poor. We are not just going to do urban issues, but we also want an institution built, and say that there are many ways of being Maya and one of these ways is being urban and, by the way, one of those is being professional and being middle class.’ Can you do it? Do it without forgetting the needs of the poor? And these young Mayans say ‘yes’ and that is what we have to do. So the issue then is how can you create an environment in which new kinds of Mayan organizations can flourish and can meet the challenges of the present, that is be self-supported? Another question is: how do you promote innovative educational alternatives both urban and rural? And, of course, this means Mayas would have to create new connections between rural and urban realities. And some of our case studies today are going to deal with alternatives to traditional models of non-formal education. The question is, how can education be retooled to respond to new demands and those new demands are sometimes from very materialistic, very happy young Mayas who really want space for them to be young Mayas and these models. The context, of course, here is that Mayan youth, or many of them, had much more transnational experience. It is a new generation of aspirations and experiences of being Maya. That is a very challenging context. If the Mayans cannot solve that, then the movement cannot continue, as within all social and political movements. And then the final question that I have is: what are the uneven impacts of the emerging patterns of violence in Guatemala? There are terrible, terrible new patterns of violence. You go through these: you demilitarize the military (not completely but to a great extent!), you demobilize the rebels, the guerillas... These are all young people who grew up with arms. These guys did not get educated. These guys were brought into a terrible counter insurgency environment. Many of them, after the peace process, took up arms privately and sometimes actually collaborated across these political divisions and created predatory gangs that robbed, that extorted, that used violence against their fellow Guatemalans. Also Guatemalans who fled, Mayas who fled Guatemala during the war ended up in LA. Young kids in LA – guess what happened? The schools did not exactly welcome them. They ended up in Los Angeles maras, in LA gangs, and there are now gangs in Guatemala with the name of the LA gangs. There are now jails in Guatemala that have just recently had uprisings in the presence, where the big groups in the uprisings were LA name- gangs. And then you have got patterns of predatory violence in everyday life: people coming up taking your car, people coming up threatening your family. So the issue is how can a Mayan movement contribute and create coalitions with other people to attack this current, terrible, diffuse violence that is creating incredible uncertainties? And if you do not solve this problem, there is something really terrible that can happen and we know this from the Mayan past of Guatemalan politics. Sooner or later you are going to get the call for an authoritarian government that clean up the violence and that is the last thing we want to see in Guatemala.

One last thing. Hopeful. The hopeful thing is the wonderful leaders in the Mayan movement that you will hear later and their commitment to education because I think that they really are the best hope for the future.

Thank you!

Dr. Demetrio Cojti Cuxil, San Carlos University, Guatemala: *'The Relation Between Higher Education and the Indigenous Movement'*

The experiences that we share here are both useful and supportive for the indigenous peoples. I have been asked to elaborate on some aspects of development for indigenous peoples and within indigenous peoples, and the links and relations between the social movements and the indigenous movements. I will talk about three components first: about secondary education for indigenous population, then about indigenous movements, and then about some aspects regarding further development. And I would like to thank you for the description of the Guatemalan society and the development in higher education and also within the indigenous movement. There might be some information that helps us understand the Guatemalan situation.

Guatemala is a so-called democracy, allegedly, with the Ladino population and the Maya population, of which the Mayan constitutes 60%, approximately 6 million of the total population. The relation between these two peoples is an almost colonial relationship. There is discrimination, segregation. And this happens even if the Mayan population is the majority.

There are 23-24 different linguistic groups and the country is sub-divided into 24 regions (counties) and many subdivisions into municipalities, but these do not follow the borders between different groups. In 1995, the new political Constitution was introduced. For the first time the political Constitution acknowledged the right of indigenous peoples to their own identity. However since then it has not yet been implemented regarding the indigenous population. In 1986, the internal war was called off and there was also a political mistake committed and the peace accord was not implemented.

What can I say about the higher education for Guatemala? There is one public university and eight private ones. There is no indigenous university for the Mayan people. The peace accord was taken as a prerequisite that there should be established a Mayan university, but that has not happened yet. In general, you can see that the indigenous population, based on their status as poor and extremely poor, as it was said previously today, has few opportunities to have access to universities.

We can also say that the indigenous population participates in the public education system. The studies that indigenous representatives participate in are mostly weekend courses. The legal politics for universities is to view them as ordinary citizens, like any other citizens, just like the whites or the Ladinos. The Ladino population is not viewed ethnically or otherwise. There are no specific scholarships for the indigenous people and there is also no registration of status as indigenous. For instance, we do not even know how many Maya actually are students at university and at which studies they are registered. But we can nevertheless say that there has been some effort to make higher education available for the indigenous and after the signing of the Peace Accord, after the Republic acknowledged some rights for indigenous peoples, there were established institutes. There have been linguistic institutes established, and indigenous law, and an NGO has established technical education. The opportunity to study abroad has also opened up. And there is an institution that awards titles for the NGOs. There has been introduced a scheme of acknowledgement for education and the multicultural aspect is emphasized. A great effort is made and aid and funds are used for shorter educational studies for indigenous questions. And there is also a program for giving access to university education for indigenous peoples and for establishment of scholarships, both for higher education and lower degrees in universities and also for different levels such as bachelors, master or even doctorate studies. And there is access facilitated in other parts of the country and also abroad, by such institutions as Fulbright and the Ford Foundation, and also by North American NGOs, and by the University in San Carlos with its inter-ethnic studies and university professors from the US, who also open up opportunities for indigenous students to enroll in educational programmes at a higher level and for several disciplines. But we will continue to seek support from abroad to support this offer.

We also have some cooperation with foreign universities, both universities specifically meant for indigenous peoples, but also, in general, universities that assist us. However, if we do not get a change in both the private and the public university system, we might regress to what was the case before, with no curriculum specifically for the indigenous peoples.

One could say that the results have been obtained because of the great amount of scholarships, but few are given the scholarships compared to the need and very few get access to universities. In 2002, there are numbers from UNESCO saying that among the male indigenous population only 2.2% graduated from university, where 9.1% are the non-indigenous population at the same level (i.e. university graduates). For females the picture is more or less the same: there are very few who actually get university education among the indigenous peoples. What is even worse is that perhaps there are scholarship programmes for indigenous peoples which have been indigenous programmes, but they were criticized as racist towards the non-indigenous population. What used to be scholarship programmes for indigenous peoples have many times been retracted and opened up for all groups of prospective students, be they indigenous or not. So you could say our country is suffering also from the lack of qualified personnel in higher education. Many of those who study abroad have difficulties coming back to their home country to use the acquired skills there. After returning to Guatemala, many do not find employment and return back to foreign countries and thereby the qualifications that they represent are lost to the country. And out of the 6 million Mayas in Guatemala, there are only 7 individuals of indigenous origin who have attained the doctorate level and several of them have been forced to go abroad to achieve this. This again emphasizes the difficulty in getting higher education for indigenous peoples. In general, I would like to say that their education might be brilliant within the discipline that they studied, but with regard to the multi-cultural or indigenous aspect, there are insufficiencies that have to be rectified.

Parallel to the development of education we must also give compensatory educational offers to the indigenous peoples. They must be interested in learning about our knowledge and our language, but this is not taught in any of the universities. And we must also develop further the teaching staff within indigenous-related studies so they can come to be used at universities. And because of these shortcomings of the educational system, we see that the indigenous teaching staff does not have sufficient basis to change a society that denies itself to be a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. And when I say this, it is because history comes to a large extent from the indigenous peoples and the ethnic dimension is proposed, but is not taken into account and is not implemented. So, in connection with the universities and the possibility for indigenous population to get higher education, I would also like to address somewhat the indigenous movement in Guatemala. I would like to emphasize that their main base is the NGOs. They have been able to put forth a vision of possible attitudes to being indigenous, originating from the indigenous peoples themselves. And there has also been a dry, not strong enough social organization of the fight for social rights in indigenous groups. There is not enough pressure applied on the government in order to get support for implementation of the indigenous rights that are already in existence in the Constitution.

So we have a two-folded role here: we have both the indigenous movements themselves, but also the cooperating movements. But there have also been difficulties in the cooperation. Some of the cooperation remains only in the private organizations, the NGOs, without establishing a broad cooperation with all the other groups and society. And some wish to support only the indigenous movement and not the institutions.

The indigenous movement has been studied very carefully. Out of the 11 studies conducted during the last years, we found that within the Mayan organization there is no demand for independence, i.e. separatism, but neither do they wish assimilation. They demand that they should be offered equal rights and some form of federation with a certain degree of autonomy. And there is a great number of indigenous organizations, and we are among them. There are more than 300 NGOs in the whole country and if we are talking about the leaders of these groups, there are 102 persons who are considered to be indigenous leaders by the indigenous peoples themselves; some of them have been mentioned many times within these studies. The movements and the NGOs have their advantages and disadvantages. The disadvantage is that they create dependence – they are dependant on aid from abroad and this also hinders them in criticizing the government, the state and the private sector. This is perhaps a topic that would be worth looking more closely at because the indigenous movement perhaps has a weak point in this. Many are looking forward to the time when international aid will retract and they can be independent of that.

Then what can we say about the relationship between higher education and the indigenous movement? I do not think there are any demands that everyone who returns to the country after completing university education should become indigenous leaders for indigenous organizations. This is something you have to consider yourself individually. The university graduates constitute the intellectual thinking part of the population, those who have the potential to become leaders, both in the organizational life and in legislation, administration etc. And if the university educates them in an incorrect way and gives them the wrong attitude, this can lead to a deformation of the society. The University attitude is also interested in the indigenous peoples because they are a source of enrichment, and this can also be developed further collectively or individually. And the university must stay in our focus and in the interest of the indigenous population. Knowledge is power. To know is to have power. That knowledge is a source of power is something the indigenous population also uses to strengthen itself. If you analyze the 13 leaders on a national level, who were mentioned in the 11 surveys we looked at, then we see that one of them already has his PhD, four have Master degrees, two have Bachelor degrees and three have secondary education and one only primary education. Rigoberta Menchú is the one who has never graduated from secondary education, she only has primary education, but she has 20 honorary doctorates all over the world. If you want to be a leader, or a national leader, you need to have a doctorate in order to have to strengthen the knowledge that enables you to develop into the appropriate leader in the society. But as you see it is not necessary to have the highest available education both on the regional and municipal and rural level we have leaders who are illiterate, but in those areas where they move they do not need higher education. They do not need to show a diploma. You can say that the academic activity and the activity of the indigenous population is, in a way, dichotomized. The academic world should be neutral, empirically tested, whereas the Maya movement is a political activity, a political movement which does not have to show any diplomas, but needs to have and show strategic thinking and structuring in organization of the indigenous peoples so they have quite different rules of functioning. But, of course, they are mutually linked in that universities and scholars do surveys on Mayas. For instance, the University educates people from the indigenous populations as a part of the indigenous movement, then there is also a relation when the university searches for representations of the multicultural and therefore you see that there is a mutual relationship between the two. And there are also other instances of how indigenous movements enter into the university campuses requesting that those who are actually in these campuses should be more conscious about indigenous issues, that teaching staff should not be racist and that the scholars should not take the indigenous peoples as objects of study or informants, but also utilize the representatives of indigenous communities within development of actual research. The university also needs the indigenous movement. The university is dependent on the indigenous movement when they want to introduce changes to the curriculum in order to provide the multi-cultural aspects an increasing place for them in the university area. This takes place within the Mayan movement and gives a justification for the further development of the university studies. And this is what I wanted to say in general terms about how the university and the movement are two different things, but they are mutually linked and they are related almost in a marriage. Sometimes they are very good friends with a lot of love between them, and other times they fight between themselves, but both are necessary.

Thank you very much!

Lars Løvold, Director Rainforest Foundation, Norway: *'Culturally and Linguistically Tailormade Education: an Important Element in the Fight for Indigenous Peoples Rights. Lessons from Brazil'*

Hello!

I will make a brief presentation of some work on the education and rights of the indigenous peoples in Brazil.

A few words about Brazil: It has an indigenous population of only 400,000 people, which means that out of a population of 180 million people of Brazil this is a small minority. The legal rights situation of Brazil is a very good situation in the sense that indigenous peoples' rights are recognized, especially after the referendum of 1988 which among other things gives them exclusive use of indigenous territories. And actually one million square kilometer in Brazil, more than three times the size of Norway, is reserved as indigenous territories. There are more than 600 officially recognized territories. The cultural diversity and the ethnic diversity is very high. These 400,000 people are divided into 220 peoples still speaking 180 languages. Around the time when we started working with indigenous education in Brazil, in 1990, the situation was as I will explain. The Indigenous (or Indian) Department of FUNAI, a very famous institution in Brazil, had responsibility to give education to Indians, but education was basically not given. If it was given, it was given in a very low quality, with very low regularity. If you went to an Indian reserve, you would probably find a school, but you would not find a teacher. And the method was exactly the same as in other reserve schools, teaching in Portuguese language by teachers very badly prepared, absolutely no knowledge of indigenous language, no preparation for working with a culturally specific group. And the result of the little education that was given was basically reduced self-esteem and alienation from one's own culture. However a few pioneering NGOs working for indigenous peoples' rights had already at that time started pioneering projects with education based on the culture and language of the Indians. The Rainforest Foundation of Norway started working and financing and cooperating with NGOs in Brazil in 1993. And we still do although some projects now in a consolidation and somehow reduced phase. All projects have been executed by NGOs in Brazil and we have had five NGO partners, those are pro-indigenous NGOs. We also have several indigenous organizations executing parts of the project and this tendency is increasing. We have been working with 57 working groups in 25 indigenous partner experiences in 3 areas and the reason for that is basically because we have had relatively recent external evaluations of the projects so what I present is basically what has come through from those external evaluations. This is in the Brazilian Amazon and the black circles shown where things have been occurring. The three projects I will present are one in the Central-South of the Amazon, and two projects in the border regions towards Columbia and towards Venezuela. The first project in an area of the Central-South, called the Xingu Indigenous Park ('park' is a very strange word, but it only means that there are several ethnic groups sharing the same territory). So the context for the Xingu project is that this is a multi-ethnic reserve created in 1960, with 14 tribes, 7 tribes having lived there for many hundred years, some of them proven for several thousand years (there is some very interesting archeological evidence in that), and 14 languages still spoken. So it's a complex situation. The area is relatively large (27,000 square kilometers) and presently a lot less than 5,000 inhabitants divided into these 14 tribes. At the time there was some experience with some government schools, infrequent but still a few people could read and write, and some of the Indians, in some of the tribes have started to send their own kids to schools in rural towns outside the reserve. This is the reserve, the red is deforested area, the green is the reserve and there is a river running through and all people live along the river in some 40 villages and this is the border situation; an intense pressure on the forest resources, on the natural resources, but inside the reserve, the economy is very sound, people have very good lives, they have no problems, satisfying basic needs and most of the ethnic groups have still very strong cultural traditions. These things happen, traditional facts can go on for months, and not because there are tourists – because there are no tourists!

The Xingu project was started in 1994 and the aim was to train indigenous teachers so that they could give basic primary education in village schools, to develop curricula adapted to the tribes. They were called 'political-pedagogical plans' and these groups worked a lot with the functions of education: why should we have it? how should we avoid that it alienates peoples? And there was a start to develop teaching materials in local languages and in Portuguese. I anticipated in the first training course in 1994 and most of the young kids, youngsters,

20-22 years old, were more or less semi-literate at that time. So they were not those who would be accepted at a teacher's school. They were more candidates for primary school themselves. Most of those peoples thought that only Portuguese could be a written language. Their own language, that is in active use, they thought could not be written because that was what they understood by dealing with the Brazilian society. The result now is that we have 40 indigenous teachers recognized by the authorities (but we have more teachers trained!). Thirty nine village schools are operating with local teachers. There has been a large production of school books in all 14 native tongues, and the political-pedagogical plan has been recognized by government authorities, although it was not recognized when it started in practice. These youngsters now have salary from the municipalities. And they have created this year an Indigenous Education Council.

I jump up to the extreme North of Brazil, to the Rio Negro area. The context there is very different. It is the only place in Brazil where there is an indigenous people majority. Actually 95% of the people in that region, which is a large region are Indians. 22 ethnic groups, 30,000 inhabitants, so a complex area where a Catholic mission has had the strong hold for the whole of the last century. That has resulted in the fact that people could read and write. There had been schools, boarding schools, but it also meant that the local population was alienated from their language and their culture. These boarding schools had been a systematic way of teaching people how to read and write, but also to take them from their cultural roots and from their family and from their local communities. So the project there started in 1999. The key point was to re-structure and change the existing education system, to develop new plans and curricula, to create respect for the languages, for the traditional culture, and to integrate the school with the economic activities in the region. So now schools are serving 59 communities, 517 peoples and not so much in a region of 30,000 inhabitants, but the communities have participated extremely much and well in organizing the schools, building the schools, steering the schools, new curricula have been developed. They have not been recognized by the local authorities, calendars have changed so that they do not have school when there are important cultural events, native languages have been introduced in the schools etc. This is a ceremony in November last year. The first team of graduates having gone through the reformed schools were given their diplomas. People came from all over the territory. They have made large buildings, feasting grounds – you see the constructions erected for this purpose: they were so proud! It became a major social event for the whole region and, actually, for the first time in two generations!, and the old people were crying for joy. The youngsters were performing the traditional dances, for the first time in two generations.

Another context, the Yanomami at the North, towards Venezuela. This is the last major group in South America without intensive contacts with the outside world. Large population, very dramatic contact history. They have been decimated by gold-diggers. They are monolingual – they speak Yanomami language, they do not speak Portuguese. They had a very active support group in Brazil, with international support for the Yanomami. And a Yanomami contiguous territory of almost 100,000 square kilometers was created in 1991, so the fight for land was a success. People still live in villages of this type, scattered over this huge territory, and daily life, where there have been no gold diggers, or where there are no gold diggers, is largely based on traditional life forms, traditional economy. The project there started in a village of a very important leader of the Yanomami, who, by himself, wanted education as a cultural and political tool for the Yanomami's future. So it started in his village, on his initiative, before we came there. We came in 1998 and the aim was basic literacy, to establish a written language because Yanomami was only an oral language, to train indigenous teachers although we used Brazilian teachers in the beginning and they had to learn Yanomami language, to develop a new, adapted plan, to develop bilingual material. The Yanomami wanted to learn Portuguese in order to handle the authorities of Brazil. NO school houses – teaching is done in those huge communal houses, and the result by now – this is a still on-going project, full-fledged and developing, is a lot of schools, a new curriculum, lots of teaching books, no former recognition of the system, but de-facto recognition in the sense that government authorities pay some of the teachers by exchange programme, in the sense that they spend 6-7 weeks in another indigenous area, out of the forest in the Mapuchi area, where they accompany indigenous teachers training in Portuguese. So this is a kind of intensive Portuguese course without the native language.

Common points for these projects: the leaders and the society had expressed a wish for bi-lingual education. It was a point to really train teachers that could do the basic functions in the community so that people did not have to leave their societies to learn to read and write, education at home, in their own language. A lot of resources were given, put into follow up these indigenous teachers to help them teaching, to give them advice, to follow them in their daily activities. Almost nowhere where there final written languages, no those

languages have been developed, the orthography has been developed. It is constantly changing because there is a participatory project. It is not a linguist saying: you have to write it like this. There is linguist making a proposal and people disagreeing and agreeing, and then disagreeing and the agreeing again. And so on. It is a very long and participatory process. The same with the text books. More text books are written during courses, they are then discussed, the drawings come from the local situations etc.

So very participatory processes, and the whole thing is the n to strengthen the culture and to develop these organizations and to lobby for public recognition at the Government of Brazil should take over. So the approach is: do not rush it because then societies do not have a tradition with schools. Must be felt the need and must work with the communities. The language Portuguese, the language itself, the difference between to study and discover what are the changes, this letter we do not need because we do not have the sound, it is a very interesting process based on schools and made explicit, so that shamans, those who know plants, they come into the school and they tell and what people take for granted becomes explicit knowledge instead of being implicit. Teachers should serve their societies, and school and community should be mutually reinforcing.

Of course, there are dilemmas and problems. Those who learn become young teachers of youngsters, and these get prestige which can be much more prestige to certain tan traditional elders and wise people. So opposition youngster-elder is a problem specifically in the Xingu and Yanomami area. In the Xingu all villages have been covered. It has been very efficient in that, but it has not been sufficient time covered by evaluation to really integrate the school in each and every village. So in contrast to Rio Negro where we have worked in fewer communities, many communities have now service from these projects, but where the schools are a very very important source of integration, people participate and these communities that have benefited from the schools have now a tremendous political influence in their region. Another problem: teachers become a new social class, they get salaries. The best schools have high costs so it is a problem for the government to take over. They are not interested in taking over good projects. They are interested in taking over cheap projects.

From the start, the aim of this project has been political: to create thriving culture, to defend the rights, to strengthen the autonomy. And the results which are very positive refill are based on these four principles: societies should participate, you should think political from the start, it is not enough to think of education, you must think of education in a such wider context of cultural survival, of economic survival, and you should stimulate exchange of experience between projects. It takes time and resources, but it is a very effective instrument and one result is that indigenous peoples who are conscious, that defend their territories, and, I end by this slide, education is not a blessing in itself and we have never believed that education must brought to the Indians because education is good. It is not good in itself. Non-respectful education kills cultures; even good education is problematic. It tends to devalue oral knowledge, oral tradition, it gives status to new classes – the teachers, yet in the present situation it is no solution to give no education.

Thank you!

Angel Valdez Estrada, Director, Institute of Interethnic Studies, University of San Carlos, Guatemala: *'Capacity Building and University Co-Operation. The Case of Maya Competence Building'*

One of the aspects of the "Agreement on Identity and Rights of the Indigenous Peoples" is that of education, where higher education occupies an important position.

It is fundamental that the state university implements training programs with cultural and ethnic character to satisfy the demands of the Mayan students and people, who wish to accede to a superior education that harmonize the Mayan traditional knowledge with the Western knowledge.

However, in order to operate that "curriculum change", it is necessary to have Mayan academic staff to work in this line of research, to propose new forms of higher education of cultural relevance. To facilitate access of the Mayan professionals to studies of masters and doctorate requires a specific project in order to fulfil such aim.

It is in this "spirit" that the programme 'Mayan Competence Building' was born, thanks to the vision of Professor Henry Minde and the Professor Jorge Solar, who jointly designed the programme that I am talking about here today.

The initial idea of both professors was to create a space by means of which indigenous graduates could have access to studies of masters and doctorate. In brief this was meant to turn junior researchers into senior researchers.

The programme Mayan Competence Building is developed by the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Tromsø and the Institute of Interethnic Studies at the University of San Carlos, Guatemala.

The Institute of Interethnic Studies – IDEI - was created by the University of San Carlos, Guatemala, through the Act No. 14-92 dated April 1992, and inaugurated officially on October 12th of that same year, 500 years after the arrival of the Europeans to America.

IDEI is an academic institution in charge of the research, dissemination and application of knowledge concerning the ethnic formations, diversity, constitution and interrelations articulated in the formative processes of the nation and nationality in Guatemala, aiming to obtain a level of legal justice and equity in interethnic relations.

The essential function of the IDEI is the production of scientific knowledge based on the multiethnic reality of the country, on ethnic-national policies, framing its task as per the laws, statute and regulations of the University of San Carlos, Guatemala.

The Programme Mayan Competence Building

Interdisciplinary research lies at the core of the project. The various research investigations are carried out having as a framework the general subject of work of the Institute. Since this research is the product of a general plan conceived to unite to all the Norwegian as well as the Guatemalan researchers to participate in a programme with concrete themes, the programme has been organized in modules that contribute to the above mentioned purpose. These modules are:

1. History
2. Studies of National Situation
3. Ethnic Identity and Socio-Cultural Aspects
4. Public Policies and the Multi-Ethnic State.

The result that is hoped to be obtained by this is a greater participation of the University of San Carlos, as a state university of the country, to consolidate the multiethnic and multilingual society. This is one of the central objectives in the Peace accords, and in particular in the Agreement on the Identity and Rights of the Indigenous Peoples. Also it is the wish of the Institute as an academic institution to make its activity relevant

to the society, therefore communities that participate as objects of research are converted into subjects of the same process and can rely on the results reached by the investigation and use them as a valuable instrument.

The participation of the Mayan investigators in the program is the central nucleus that allows us to reach the objectives established regarding the formation of the researchers, the generation of knowledge and the ability to offer positive proposals to the demands of the society in the matter of interethnic relations.

In this atmosphere the Mayan students who participate in the diverse projects of research learn to conduct research by being immersed in a systematic process of investigation, methodical and highly academic. Research is the means by which the education or learning process is developed. This approach to research and its reflection of society is new in the Guatemalan context; it is the product of eight years experience in developing the program that determined the present policy of research-action of the Institute.

The modules, the areas and their corresponding subjects of investigation are organized in the following way:

Module: History and Ethnicity

This module has as a final purpose the study of processes and interrelations of the historical phenomena to have influenced the ethnic identity of the diverse peoples in Guatemala, putting emphasis on the historical study of the Maya representing the majority population in the country, but without excluding other identities like the Ladina, Garífuna and Xinca.

Before and during the conquest of the territory that Guatemala occupies today, a series of facts has occurred that delineated the social as well as the ethnic inequalities of the Guatemalan society. When proclaiming themselves independent and with the consolidation of Guatemala as a country, the dichotomy between natives and Ladinos has taken various forms depending on region and historical moment. One of the aspects that determined these ethnic differences and that lies at the same time at the root of social and class differences, has been the possession and usufruct of cultivable earth, reaffirmed by the Liberal Reform of 1871 whose result was the consolidation of an economy based on agriculture. This process along with other processes of political and cultural character constitutes the basis of the diverse topics and points of analysis in the investigation.

The indigenous-ladino relation is the background of the whole module; this also allows the reaffirmation of ethnicity because when co-existing with another group to be confronted with it, ethnicity is fortified.

Module: Identity and Interculturality

Within the framework of a multicultural and multiethnic country, the social processes that take place are diverse and the subjects related to identity and inter-culturality are fundamental to have a more or less complete vision of the problems affecting the communities of Guatemala.

The approach of these subjects is part of the commitments made in the Peace Accords, and especially in the Agreement on the Identity and Rights of the Indigenous Peoples (articles 57, 58, 71, 76).

The aspects to be studied in this module will be understood within the scope of different fields of investigation, that serve as reference for themes like health, migrations, education, culture, identity and ethnicity among others.

When taking into account these aspects, the Institute of Interethnic Studies tries to develop research that contributes to the fulfilment of the Peace Agreements and therefore could offer a solution to the problems.

Module: The Multiethnic State and Economic Structures

The general mission of the research program is to contribute to the feedback to the University of San Carlos with regard to the ethnic reality through knowledge that comes directly from the communities, focusing its efforts on research as the main mechanism to approach the society, to interpret it and to present it.

The present module attempts to describe the political and economic structures at the national level as well as in specific cases like the one of the municipal government, the interactions between the social proposals and the legal frame. The democracy, the fairness and the multi-culturality as social marker in the case of Guatemala, the similarities and differences with other countries in the world and the expectations that appear for the international macrostructures.

Module: Studies of Guatemala's Present Situation

Each one of the modules is related to the others, multidisciplinary allowing a combination of diverse methods and categories belonging to various social sciences, disciplines present in the research work of the IDEI: History, Anthropology, Psychology, Sociology, Economy, Law, International Relations and Social Work. This organization structures the general theme to be investigated into a series of sub-themes that constitute the different aspects to be looked at when analyzing identities, inter-culturality and the multiethnic national State and that will allow us to obtain objective results thanks to the diverse focuses and points of analysis that the object of study is analysed through. The result will be an interpretation and approximation with scientific foundation of the multiethnic reality of Guatemala, as well as a series of proposals framed within the aspirations and strategies of the society.

Conclusions

The results of the program have been highly satisfactory: 42 students have completed the programme, and out of these 42 there have been Master graduates and PhD graduates. And 40% are Maya and 60% of the participants are women.

A significant number of publications have been produced on the theme of inter-ethnic relations. These books, a result of the research conducted, have also been produced jointly with professors of the University of Tromsø. Also, the professors of the University of Tromsø have issued publications within the program, about Guatemala and the cooperation with Norway, which has contributed to a multi-disciplinary approach in the research.

Although the objective of the program was initially directed to Mayan students, especially in what concerns the component the scholarships for postgraduate studies, this aspect has changed from two fundamental points:

- 1). The first years of the program were used to finance undergraduate and graduate studies for students, to enable them later to accede to postgraduate studies– masters and doctoral degrees.
- 2). It was decided that the beneficiaries should be all students, but those of Mayan origin were preferred. This had to abide by the laws and statute of the University that do not allow an exclusive programme for an individual ethnic group.

Due to these aspects, many Mayan and non-Mayan professionals have left the program, while others have been integrated in the team of researchers. Therefore the main target of the Institute, the investigation of the interethnic relations in Guatemala, is kept alive also through the participants in the programme.

At this time of finalizing the program, found in its second phase close to an end, it is good to evaluate the results obtained, to see if we achieved the results that we wished to achieve, and also to look at the number of scholars that we educated through the programme. This makes it possible for us to see an expansion within our field of research and this has been made possible through the 'Mayan Competence Building' Programme.

Thank you very much!

Keitseope Nthomang, University of Botswana and Coordinator of the Collaborative Programme for San/Basarwa Research and Capacity Building: *'The Challenges in Minority Education and Capacity Building in Botswana'*

One of the main means of reducing poverty in a sustainable way is through education. For many years, the World Bank and other International Development Agencies emphasized primary education as a means to poverty alleviation, as well as serving other economic development purposes. The direct way in which education was to serve as a poverty alleviation tool was through its perceived impact on increased productivity of the educated, compared to those with less years of education. Because the educated were perceived to be more productive, they would be paid more and therefore have more chances of escaping poverty. This is the basis of the human capital model and human resource development. It was therefore emphasized that if more children of the poor could enroll in education, they will escape the poverty that they grow up under their parents.

There are a number of contesting views to this thesis. Some of the critics argue that children of the poor are more likely to drop out of school early because of hidden costs to education. These costs include, in the case of indigenous peoples, distance to schools, and cost of uniform, feeding fees, corporal punishment and the negative attitudes of non-indigenous teachers. Most of the children from poorer families, according to this critique, do not make it to high levels of education; in fact, they drop-out in primary and lower secondary schools. And yet these levels of education give very low chances of employment in the current labor market. The current labor market is such that there has been an excess of labor supply, which has tended to escalate the minimum requirements for most jobs. Jobs that previously required only a primary school certificate now require upper secondary and sometimes even university education.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the challenges in minority education and capacity in building Botswana. The paper begins with a brief overview of the Botswana education policy, its challenges and implications for the San. This is followed by a brief discussion of the NUFU programme at the University of Botswana. Basing its argument on the original objectives of the NUFU programme, which led to the establishment of UBTromso, this paper suggest the need to search for innovative strategies for San access to higher education and capacity building. One such innovative strategy is a culturally appropriate education model that links education to the job-market and other productive activities. The assumption is that education for capacity building must be functional and relevant, if it is to lead to any meaningful impact on poverty reduction among the San people in Botswana.

Education and the Challenges for the San in Botswana: An Overview

The Botswana Government has articulated its aspirations and overarching goals in its five year development plans and in the long term vision for Botswana (Vision 2016: Towards Prosperity for all, 1997). Vision 2016, in particular, provides the foundation for the long term development strategy for Botswana, including a broad guideline upon which developmental challenges such as education, poverty and HIV/AIDS can be addressed. Consistent with the vision 2016 objectives, the revised National Policy on Education (1994) underscores government commitment to provide universal education for all children in Botswana. It states:

By the year 2016, Botswana will be an educated and informed nation. All people will be able to have good quality education that is adapted to the needs of the country. Schooling will be universal and compulsory to the secondary school level. Good quality vocational and technical training will be available at secondary level and beyond as an alternative to academic study. No student will be disadvantaged by ethnic origin, gender and remoteness of settlement.

Botswana has been able to attain some of the lofty ideals contained in the vision. Education is the single largest expenditure item in the fiscal budget, averaging more than a fifth of the total. In 2003 it accounted for 24% of the total fiscal spending up from 22% in 1981, and 29% of the recurrent expenditure. At present Botswana has

achieved universal access to primary education. From 1995-2000, the estimated net enrolment rate (NER) for children aged 7-13 was consistently above 95%, peaking at 100% in 1999 and 2000. Over the same period, the gross enrolment rate (GER) was at 11% higher than the NER, in part because some children start school late but also because some dropouts return to school (Millennium Development Goals Status Report, 2004:29). In the process, Botswana has generated sufficient institutional capacity to guarantee every child of school going age 10 years of basic education. Measures that have been adopted to improve access include among others: (i) the abolition of school fees from primary to tertiary institutions, including the university (ii) buying school uniform and other items for destitute persons and San/Basarwa or remote area dwellers and (iii) providing school feeding programmes. Based on these trends, Botswana will make significant gains in literacy by 2016 (CSO, 2001).

However, Impressive achievements in delivering education services came with challenges. In particular, challenges relating to recognition of the San special educational needs by ensuring San access to education and addressing issues of equity. Thus, these achievements good as they may be, tend to obscure the realities of excluded majority of the San children who have fallen through the cracks of the education system. Thus while Botswana is hailed to have one of the most successful formal education in Africa, it has not been able to impact positively on vulnerable population groups such as San with special educational needs.

Evidence abound from the literature on San education that the San population are the most educationally excluded population group in Botswana. In comparison to mainstream standards, the San rate poorly against virtually every social indicators use to measure quality of life. However, with respect to education, this is not peculiar to the San, indigenous peoples all over the world share certain experiences in formal education system, including:

- Language problems due to the absence of mother tongue learning materials and methodologies that reflect the culture and daily realities of the students
- Separation of children while attending boarding schools located far away from the home
- Being taught by teachers from the dominant culture who are hostile to the San cultures and often discourage children to learn their culture and speak their language at school
- Overall poor performance in formal education system, accompanied by high drop-out rates
- Maltreatment by other children and lack of funds for materials, school fees and uniforms

Education and Poverty

There is a growing consensus that the education situation of the San is appalling and that it is in many respects linked to their socio-economic conditions. Poverty, in particular is wide spread in San communities and lack of education and skills has frequently been cited as one of the major causes of poverty.

In the last decade many studies have been conducted in Southern Africa on a wide array of social policy issues (Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues (ICHI, 1987); Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA, 1996-97). The studies reveal that the San are very poor. In fact, the San in Botswana call themselves “people of the Bush” and “people in poverty”. As Taylor (2002:210) argues:

Characterizing themselves as people marked by poverty is not so much an intrinsically negative self-image, but a commentary against a pattern of domination that is seen as responsible for their poverty. The twin images the Bushman present, of being people of the bush and people in poverty are mutually interdependent. Being materially poor means much of their livelihood is gained from the bush, and being people of the bush means, in the current policy context, made to be poor.

The quality of life for the San has declined as a result of discrimination against them as an ethnic group, as well as the nationalist government failure to recognize their unique qualities and distinct identity, which predisposes them to discrimination and exploitation, leading to their marginality by the education system. Today, one of the most salient markers of the San identity

is their common experience of poverty, illiteracy and less formal education, high rates of welfare dependency, unemployment, low incomes and exploitation by those more economically and politically powerful than themselves.

A visit to their settlements reveal that they often suffer the most of the social groups, disproportionately experience virtually every type of social problem from alcohol abuse, poor nutrition and housing and poor education. Although evidence in the literature suggest that different attempts have been made in the past and continue to be made in terms of social policy to address these problems, their socio-economic situation remain critical.

Indeed, relative to the non-San, evidence suggests that their quality of life continues to deteriorate (WIMSA, 1996-97; Hitchcock, 1999). This is in spite of their increased and more vocal participation in the local, regional and international political arena.

Today, the San live in small settlements scattered and isolated in various parts of the country. They can be found as squatters near major villages and townships, as laborers and herd boys on the farms of big land owners and in government designated settlements.

Generally, those living in these areas have been forced into a sedentary lifestyle with all the social ills that result for a semi-nomadic hunter-gatherer society that is not yet prepared for this change. The lack of group organization lack of education services in their own language and lack of knowledge about their rights leaves them in an extremely vulnerable situation.

Linked to the above, is a growing concern that San youth face problems in the formal education system. The majority of San youth do not benefit from the education system provided by the Government of Botswana relative to mainstream Tswana youth. As indicated in the introduction, there exists a link between *education*, *employment* and *poverty*. Provision of education that meets the requirement of the labor market contributes to increasing employment levels and reduction of poverty. However, numerous studies show that the quality of life for San youth continue to decline with schooling. Thus, despite Botswana remarkable success in the education sector since independence in 1966, the majority of the San youth have not benefited from the education system hence remain unemployed and poor (BIDPA, 2004, Le Roux, 2000). Limited education affects the ability of the San to get jobs and access information that could improve the quality of their lives.

The EU Regional Assessment Report 1999 is revealing. According to this report, nearly all heads of households in CKGR were illiterate. It found 82% illiteracy in Xade, with only 16% having attained primary school and only 2% secondary school. Mothomelo 90%, Gope, Metsiamanong and Kugama reporting 100% illiteracy.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the appalling situation of the San people is a cause of great concern. This has resulted in their struggles sometimes becoming global news and increasingly debated in international fora.

A Synopsis of On-Going Debate

The emotive description of the socio-economic circumstances of the San people has fuelled interest in their plight and the search for solutions to address their situation. For example, over the past several years there have been on-going discussions and sometimes debates in government, the government media, private media houses, NGOs and CBO to address what has come to be known as the “Basarwa Problem”. This debate was sparked by among others, the dispute between the government and Basarwa over their relocation from CKGR, the use of mother tongue instruction at school, high school drop-out rates and the general failure by the San development policies and programmes to improve quality of life for the San. The discussion were limited to both local and international conferences and workshops and reported periodically in the media.

I think paying attention to some of these debates may help provide a better idea of the issues facing Basarwa and the government. A cynical feature of most of these discussions is that the government media commentators have often portrayed the San as trouble some people who do not appreciate government efforts to “develop” them.

They are also being portrayed as lazy people who prefer alcohol to work, discourage their children to attend school and as such frustrate government efforts to provide education to their children like every Motswana. They are a people with primitive cultures, people who care little for themselves and their children.

The government has blamed San parents for failure to take responsibility of their children's education and thereby denying them the fruits of the country's development. In the same vein, the San have criticized the Government for being irrelevant and ineffective in meeting their needs and problems and aspirations for education. Further, the government has been blamed for its focus on blaming the San rather than focusing on effective educational systems that prepare people for productive engagement in both their social and work environments.

As the debate continues, I must point out that we should be careful not to polarize the debate into "black or white". Actually, there is a strong suspicion that the government has polarized the debate into "we" and "they" type approach. It is important to point out that educational issues are more complex than the "black or white" approach that defines much of the discourse on issues of the Basarwa. Those of the "black or white" school would, for instance, argue that the Basarwa should at almost any price retain their way of life or alternative, that they should at any cost be "modernized". Such approaches are, and we know very well from decades of development experience, overly simplistic, intellectually dishonest, and inherently destructive. They polarize the debate, prescribe "either/or" solutions, and negate efforts at finding a common language for the effective solution of issues.

Clearly, for the government to label the San as not interested in education without meaningfully engaging them in dialogue to understand each other defeats the whole purpose of development. Instead, the government should create an enabling framework, in particular should listen well and treat the San with dignity.

In the light of the above debate, I think a few critical questions need to be asked:

- Why are the San not benefiting from government development programmes and continue to be the poorest in the Botswana society?
- Why is it that after 30 years of universal education, there are very few Basarwa with high school and university level qualifications.
- Why are the San leaders taking on the challenge to confront the government about the desperate state of affairs in their communities, including chronic levels of unemployment and lack of employment opportunities

I think many of us know the answers to these questions. It is therefore important that when we confront the issues and challenges of minority education and capacity building, irrespective of how the minority is characterized and constituted, we should do so with an open mind. From my own point of view the dialogue on minority education is fundamentally a dialogue on the educational development of a minority constituency that has special educational needs, faces special educational challenges and requires special educational solutions. UBTromsø recognizes these challenges and has since its inception made several attempts to address them, albeit in a small way.

NUFU/UBTromsø: an Overview

NUFU (The Norwegian Universities Committee for Development Research and Education) association with the University of Botswana is traced to the NORAD involvement and interest in the San issues in Botswana. NORAD in collaboration with the then National Institute for Research and Documentation (NIR) a research organ of the University of Botswana entered into an agreement which culminated in the recruitment of a researcher from Tromsø-Norway in 1992/3. The researcher, the current Prof. Sidsel Saugestad was based at UB. An anthropologist whose research focus was on the San issues in Botswana (Saugestad, 2001). This linkage in many ways elevated San issues to the national and university agenda. Subsequently, the interests on San issues between UB and NORAD grew rapidly. As NORAD prepared to move out from Botswana in the mid 1990s, a joint application for funding was made to NUFU in 1995 by the UB and University of Tromsø. Funding was granted for a five-year period resulting in the institutionalization of what came to be known as

UBTromso-an acronym which stands for the University of Botswana-University of Tromso Collaborative Programme for San/Basarwa Research and Capacity Building. And in 2002 a second project period was granted (PRO 46/02) was signed between the universities of Botswana and Tromso. NUFU provide financial support while UBTromso is the implementing organ. The programme is multi-disciplinary and involves a wide range of activities located at different departments of participating universities. The programme seeks to promote a comparative perspective on indigenous peoples, drawing on the experience of the University of Tromso and its Centre for Saami Studies, as well as South-South links with the universities in Namibia and South Africa-Western Cape.

The overarching objective is to promote research focusing on the linguistic, cultural, historical, social, economic and legal aspects of the San people. NUFU has continued with its research mandate, which also include offering scholarships to both UB academics working on San research and San students/researchers at graduate level. However, in 2002/2003 it was apparent that UBTromso's original focus needed to be expanded in the light of emerging needs, in particular, educational needs of San students. A new component was born – the San Youth Capacity Building. This component was in line with the core business of UBTromso, in particular, the objective that reads: UBTRMSO seeks to pursue innovative strategies for promoting San access to higher education and capacity building.

NUFU recognizes the educational and developmental challenges facing the San in Botswana and fully supports the programme on San Youth Capacity Building. The overall goals of the San Youth Capacity Building Programme are:

- To promote San access to higher education and further training
- To raise the capacity of the young San so that the skills and knowledge acquired can be used to support the development of San communities and organizations in the future
- To promote the social, cultural, economic, and political development of San youth so that they can transform their communities.

This component of the programme has been on-going for about four years now. It has grown substantially and has attracted many San youth. A sizable number of San students are now pursuing their certificate, Diploma and degree course in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa. However, it is important to point out that in an attempt to meet the above goals, the programme is confronted with many issues and challenges including:

Scholarships

- Limited funding to support the San Youth Capacity Building Programme. Efforts to get funding locally, especially from government have not yet borne any fruit. Some of the funds, for example, from the EU can only be accessed through the Ministry of Education. Accessing and getting information about these funds have proved very difficult due to bureaucratic bottlenecks. Some organizations will not provide financial support because they are afraid to be seen as sympathizing with the San, For instance the UNESCO office in Gaborone
- The number of San student applying for scholarships have increased substantially and the programme is unable to cope given limited resources both human and financial.
- The programme is still to reach out to its constituents. Although we receive many applicants the programme remains relatively unknown to many San Youth. The challenge is to link with San communities, secondary schools, RADP and San organizations throughout the country o recruit those who qualify to enter the programme

Policy Reform

- Policy reform is a complex process which cannot be realized over night. It requires skilled communicators, somebody with sufficient depth and ability to engage ministers and high ranking government officials to support San issues. The government policy position is that we are all Batswana and that any effort to promote ethnic division is not tolerated. Especially, discrimination in favor of certain ethnic groups is seen as threat to national unity.

▪ Most activities of the programme are difficult because the political climate is not favorable at the moment. The on-going Basarwa court case has hardened attitude in the government enclave. Although some government officers may understand some issues it is not easy for them to present the issues to higher offices where change can be generated. They are simply afraid to be perceived as promoting San issues.

What has UBTromsø been doing in terms of San Youth Capacity Building

Consistent with the overall goals of NUFU, UBTromsø is committed to finding sustainable ways to assist San youth to acquire education. Our approach to San Youth capacity building. It involves:

- The programme recognizes a myriad of educational programmes and initiatives, in particular under the RADP, directed at ensuring that San children enter mainstream education system. However there is need to reduce the administrative procedures, rules and regulations which tend to stifle the progress of San students and add little to their overall development as a people
- The programme recognizes the brutal past that still plagues the San people, and in order to address the many issues confronting them, attention and funding must be devoted to education with the hope that education will, in the long term reduce debilitating poverty among the San.
- Through scholarships the programme seeks to promote and strengthen pro-active, culturally appropriate measures to address the inequity across the whole social spectrum, especially, in education, poverty and economic development.
- Establishing links and commitment from other San organizations, NGOs, government programmes such as the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) to work with UBTromsø to identify San youth for educational development.
- Developing and supporting the rights of the San to culturally appropriate education and enactment of laws to enshrine and protect those rights
- Lobby for policy reforms to strengthen human capacities of the San
- A recognition that many of the problems facing San youth are not of their creation
- Establishing formal partnerships with government, development NGOs, academic institution, vocational training institutions, in order to encourage them to adopt an affirmative action to facilitate provision of education and training to the San youth. Where possible create yearly quotas reserved for San youth.

Conclusion

To conclude, it is important to look at the appropriateness of capacity building strategy as a strategy for the development of culturally appropriate education of San\Basarwa youth in Botswana. Linking minority education to capacity building bring into focus the role of people as participants and partners in the education process. This in a variety of ways enhances the functionality and relevance of education to the recipients.

This paper has attempted to highlight the challenges that confront minority education in Botswana. It has also identified and explained the advantages and disadvantages of Botswana educational policies to the San\Basarwa. In order to effectively address some of the problems and challenges cited above, San youth will have to be empowered. What is required is a culturally appropriate educational system that will afford the San youth the opportunity to develop the competence and capacity to participate effectively in the education system and the opportunities education offers. To this end, education for capacity building offers hope for poverty reduction.

I will present a few aspects of the multi-cultural programmes at the San Carlos University.

Multiculturalism is a concept that has two major tendencies. It is a concept that is discussed a lot. With a big percentage of indigenous peoples we have in 20 years experienced a redefinition of the political, economic and cultural relations, and thus we must view multiculturalism as a redefinition of both the reality and economic, cultural and political relations. With a demand of increased participation, we must, on one hand, talk about the decision taking. In those cases they were previously suppressed. I would say a few words about the situation in Guatemala. There is also a struggle for economic and political rights. It was mentioned yesterday about it having a culturalistic direction and another one more polarized with the indigenous movement. We are also talking about a grassroots movement and their attitudes. But, on the other hand, we also have another tendency being that of adjusting or adapting what you see among the governing elite of the people. Those group who traditionally have had political and cultural domination and tried to adapt their economy to the economic development in the world. So multiculturalism is also influenced by globalization and postmodernism and therefore it is not difficult to find in Guatemala, like in other Latin American countries, multi-national financial groups such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, situations where they also request changes relative to the concept of multiculturalism. And here we see there is a connection of multiculturalism, which is not a haphazard one between what the indigenous movements do on one hand and the major economic forces on the other hand. Multiculturalism is something that interests both sectors. And at present there is a meeting between international organization and grassroots movements where they discuss the struggle for multiculturalism. And then what is what they are addressing? What are the challenges and the dilemma? How can you define the Guatemalan society? We suggest that there should be a change in the relations within a country where different ethnical group reside together side by side. I will not start discussing this concept of multiculturalism, but it is interesting if you want to talk about what measures should be taken by an institution like our own. And I will then introduce our thoughts about what multiculturalism actually is.

Multiculturalism is to us an institutional intervention into a societal manifold situation. And in our country we have always had a huge diversity. Since the conquest, the discovery of America, of the New World, when they arrived the Europeans found this diversity; something that was different was what they found. And multiculturalism is something that we regard as being the same as diversity. And we see it as a policy, a programme or a project regarding diversity, and regarding diversity in a different way than it has been done historically. So we try to become conscious of this diversity and to regard diversity as richness, as a benefit, a resource that we can use to continue the national development process.

What I was saying was that Guatemala is a very diverse society. This is something we have already known, but the question is how do we go about handling or treating this diversity? In Guatemala, traditionally, what one has viewed as a multicultural system and an ethnocentric system, policies, have been based on viewing diversity from just one point of view, and there have been ideological impediments, that through the ages have created racist attitudes and acts in the society, but as it was said yesterday, in recent years and especially since the peace accords were agreed upon, a number of changes have been introduced in the country leading to main structures in some institutions to change, both in the judiciary and administrative sphere and also in the legislative sphere. We have changes coming about, even if they are primarily formal. But before we did not see results of those changes, changes both in state bodies and in the institutions and in legislation. Now we see concrete changes.

Maybe it might be a good thing to give up some more information about the indigenous population of Guatemala. It is important to point out in a categorical way that since 1524 so far, more than 500 years, the indigenous peoples of Guatemala have survived as a separate layer or sector of the society. Yesterday somebody said we have a majority that is indigenous, not a minority. And we have seen changes in his indigenous sector since 1944, when we had a revolution in our country. We have seen its appearance starting from a group of laborers who were quasi-feudal and oppressed politically and economically. They came about a democratic increase

and in the most recent censuses within the last 34 years, the indigenous population has grown from about 2 to about 4.5 million. So, officially, it has been recognized that 44% of the country population is indigenous. These are the official formal figures. In the census, there is a question asking people: are you a member of an indigenous group, and are you an indigenous person? But there are other studies that show that the actual number of the indigenous in Guatemala is more than 60% of the population.

We have 24 indigenous languages in Guatemala; out of these 22 are Mayan languages. Out of the indigenous peoples, the Mayas constitute 99.5% of all the indigenous population of the country, and out of these 72% speak at least one Mayan language. And according to the census of 1994, half of the Mayan women and 8% of the male population identify themselves as belonging to an indigenous people. And then, perhaps, we should have a look at some of the things that are going on in the country, that are of significance. In Guatemala, within the last 20 years, a number of state measures have been introduced and I find them to be important such as the Indigenous Fund, the Academy for Mayan Languages, a Vice-Minister of Bilingual Education. Talking about the Government, it has almost become a tradition that the Minister of Culture is indigenous. There is a Defense Commission of Indigenous Women. We have the Presidential Commission for Transculturalism and Interculturalism, and we also have similar bodies within local administrations. Out of 330 municipalities in the country, 30%, i.e. 1/3 of the mayors are of indigenous origin. This I find to be a relevant figure. There are also initiatives within development councils, both at municipal and local levels, and there have been some changes. And talking about the formal aspects, you might say that the country is making huge progress in multi-culturalism and this has primarily taken place in the last 10-15 years. This is a new development that has not been before. And I find to be very interesting. But, if you look at reality, at the measures actually implemented in the country, then the situation is not quite as good as it might seem. Out of the 330 mayors, 100 of them are of indigenous origin. There is no political, indigenous agenda in the local administration; but nevertheless, you still see a change in the society, in the composition of the population, and in the country. We need to analyze questions like what is happening in the realm of higher education and then specifically within the national state universities, such as, for instance, the University of San Carlos.

We call the University of San Carlos, USAC. It is more of a colonial institution. It was founded more than 300 years ago in 1678. And it is obvious that this historical information is of significance since the university has always had a mono-centric approach. It has recreated the dominating culture which has a mono-centric point of view.

As we have said yesterday, there are no statistics on how many indigenous persons study at the state and other universities in the country. There are no indigenous leaders at these universities although you may say there has been a dramatic increase in the presence of indigenous persons at the universities. At USAC, there are 125,000 students. This is the most important institution in Guatemala. There are about 2,500 professors so you can figure out yourselves the ratio professor-students, and you can arrive at approximately 100 students per lecture; and out of the teachers, 75% are men, and 25% women. There are 10 faculties, and 5 schools that are not faculties, and 10 other university centres around the country. And another figure of interest is that 1 student spends approximately 10 years to graduate. In some units at university it takes 15 to 17 years, but this reflects the situation at a university in which students are working on the side. They have their work and then, in addition, study at the university. That is why they spend so much time to graduate. It is interesting to see how at the university in Guatemala, since 1970, i.e. 40 years now, at all the disciplines at university level, whether it is engineering or any kind of discipline, the student must study social sciences. All the students have to take at least one social science course. This course has various names, such as: Sociology, but what is interesting is that all the students have studied social sciences. The idea behind this was to establish contact between the students and the reality of the country, particularly with regard to class struggle and poverty. They wanted students to be in touch with the poverty of the country, because when they graduate, and start working, they contribute to the building of the country. One thing not included in the social sciences would be ethnicity. There was no course on ethnicity. That was completely excluded. So what you have now: we have some initiatives regarding multi-culturalism and one has defined a policy in the university in which we formulate a policy that makes it possible for us to redefine the role of the university in a multi-cultural society. This type of scientific research on plants and traditional medicine has always existed. This type of research has long been carried out in this field at

the Department of Medicine and Pharmacology and we see that there, in some research institution, there are initiatives. Yesterday, somebody talked about the Centre of Folklore. We also have a Centre of Linguistics that has promoted indigenous languages, but lately, during the last 5 years, there have been changes regarding the Department of Humanities and Economics. Yesterday somebody also mentioned that there are measures, some departments are beginning to deal with multi-culturalism. We have some measures by NGOs working together with San Carlos University, particularly working with technology and information. What we can confirm is that there is not a specific policy in University regarding multiculturalism, but there are institutions and measures carried out that make possible to acknowledge that we are in a process of change. We can now look at two important aspects: on the one hand, we have a proposal by the management of the university saying that we should promote representatives of the indigenous peoples. Another topic, in the most important power structure at the university, which is the Highest University Council, i.e. the governmental body, which has said that the entire university should, in their study plans, include peace, equality and multi-culturalism.

So during the last 6 months we have had a specific initiative that may be defined as a policy. We must promote, support and include the topic of multiculturalism in the studies, in the social sciences and all the disciplines.

Important measures are on. We have a study plan in medicine promoting knowledge of the Mayan legal system. It is now required that all the students, in order to become doctors have to have knowledge of Mayan language, if not, they cannot graduate. But it is not sufficient. We need to promote a number of other measures making it possible for institutions of higher education to define their role. We have to create space in the natural sciences. We have to give courses. Also, within the social sciences, we have to make it possible for indigenous peoples to study sciences. These disciplines have not been available to indigenous students. Important during the entire process and necessary at our university is to have statistics that make visible the presence of indigenous students at university level. So far we do not have statistics and we cannot talk about how many students we have, or how many graduates we have that belong to indigenous groups.

Finally, I would like to tell you that multiculturalism as a political process and initiative within institutions is necessary to continue and to give space so that the relation between various sectors of society may change. There have to be equal relations. There should not be the lack of equality that we have had previously in this country.

Thank you very much!

First of all I would like to thank the Centre for Sámi Studies and also the organizers of this conference for the great invitation to come here and present not only my thesis topic, but also the results of being back in my country for four months and all the activities around the ILO 169 issue in Guatemala.

I would like to begin also presenting the title of the thesis. The thesis is 'The Unfinished Mission. The History of the ILO 169 concerning Indigenous Peoples in Guatemala'. Why it is the unfinished mission? Beyond this catchy title, the ILO mission in Guatemala is 'unfinished' for three actors of the political scene: the first one is the state, that still has a big mission to implement the ILO 169, then the indigenous movement who also has to take into account the ILO 169, a powerful tool for negotiation, and the third one, that is the ILO itself as an international organization.

How did I do this study? First I begin with the methodological issues. The first one is that this thesis was a qualitative research, so it consisted of interviews with the Mayan leaders in Guatemala during the 3 months of fieldwork, in the year 2004. I had open interviews and additionally used secondary sources for complementing all the information that I had, and also for having a methodological and theoretical background for the thesis. And then, what were the questions that guided this research? I was giving the formal frame, and then focused on the empirical findings. The first question for this research was: How important it is for the indigenous peoples to obtain political representation toward the state in this globalization period? That was the most general one. And there was also a particular one: How important it is for the indigenous peoples in Guatemala to use the ILO Express Committee as a mechanism of political representation towards the state. These were the two questions that I was supposed to answer in the conclusion of this thesis. And then I began with this thesis. It has 6 chapters, but it can actually be divided into three: first, the methodological and theoretical issues, and then I moved to the description of the ILO 169 in Guatemala, the ratification, until the last report that Guatemala sent to the ILO that was in 2003, and then I drew a comparison with the Sámi case. Later on you will find out why I used this case.

In the description of the methodological and theoretical issues of the thesis I first found that the indigenous peoples have the opportunity for using several channels of political representation; among them you can find first the civil society, then the media, then the political parties – the most important one! And, at the end, I propose the ILO 169, the ILO Express Committee as the last channel for political representation - that was the proposal of this thesis. Why I propose this one? The first one of these channels is the political parties. The indigenous peoples of Guatemala since 1985 still do not have representation in the political parties. The number of indigenous members that recognize themselves as Mayas or indigenous has increased from 1985 until 2005 maybe five times. There are no political parties that are indigenous by themselves yet. Then we come to the media. In Guatemala, the media is mainly written and spoken in Spanish. All the television channels are in Spanish and all the newspapers are in Spanish. The local radio stations are the only media that the indigenous peoples have in their own languages. In the civil society, in the terms of Marie Caldoro, the English academic, she explains that there are three different types of civil society. In Guatemala we can find two types of civil society: the first one is the neo-liberal civil society, that is all the rich people and all the very conservative people in Guatemala, and then, on the other hand, we can find the activist civil society, that is the left-oriented civil society. After the peace accords, the civil society was born and they started to ask for the political demands of the public society. And among the civil society, the indigenous people were one part of them, but had the status of minority, not 'people', so the representation the indigenous peoples could have in this type of civil society was reduced.

The aspect I said I propose in my thesis is the ILO First Committee as a channel for political representation. Why the ILO First Committee? It was not divine inspiration, but just regarding the case of the Sámi people, I found that the use of the international organizations in the political struggle for indigenous rights can give

a good counterbalance of power. Involving the international organizations into the national struggles of the indigenous peoples can be useful for them. That is the way in which the Sámi peoples have used the ILO First Committee and that was the reason why I made this comparison with the Sámi people, with the Sámi case. In the early 1980s, the Alta case brought all the attention on the Sámi people and after this crisis they managed to determine the Norwegian government to create first the Sámi Parliament and also to do the amendment to the Constitution on them. In spite of the Sámi Parliament, the Sami used also the ILO 169, that Norway was the first country to ratify, and they moved the Sámi Parliament with direct representation to the ILO. And what they were doing: each time that the Norwegian government did not want to negotiate with them any issue, they just took the issue to the ILO. They sent this representation to the ILO and ILO asked the Norwegian government for a response. In this way, they engaged this international organization and also moved Norway to create a democratic dialogue, and also to recognize that they were a 'people' in Norway. That is a very practical way to do that! And I propose that for Guatemala. I thought, maybe it could be so. Because in Norway there are certain differences. For example, The Guatemalan State could be seen as one of the worst human rights' defender in the world. On the other hand, Norway is a pioneer of the human rights. But this difference can be erased when you see the percent of indigenous population in Norway that is just 1%, while in Guatemala it is more than 50%. So I thought maybe this difference can create this harmony and, in the end, it can work for that.

So that is what I did. I started proposing these theoretically and then I went to the description of the ILO 169 ratification process in Guatemala and that was very different from Norway. At the beginning, in Guatemala, the ILO was proposed in 1982, but then it was avoided because Guatemala was still in the context of war and they decided not to ratify the Convention. And then the discussion was postponed until 1995, while the peace accords were going to be signed. The indigenous movement got the skills to determine the state to ratify the ILO 169. Why do I say 'skills'? Because those were negotiation skills that the indigenous movement was achieving from the beginning of 1990s until 1995. The indigenous movement grew so strong and also with good skills of negotiation. And they managed to make the state ratify the ILO 169 and to have a compromise with the international community – that was a very important goal for the indigenous peoples. Sometimes I say that more than the Peace Accords that are on the side of the indigenous peoples, I believe that the ILO 169 is the most important juridical tool for the indigenous peoples in Guatemala. First, because it is a convention on human rights and the construction of Guatemala speaks about the human rights saying that all the conventions signed by the Guatemalan state on human rights have to be over the national Constitution. So that is a very important tool. And then, of course, the indigenous movement realized the strong component of this convention and they pushed the state to ratify that. That was a ratification process that was not easy at all. They began with the reaction of the elites of power in Guatemala because the elites of power saw their interest affected with the ILO 169. Why? Because the ILO 169 speaks about indigenous peoples' lands and indigenous peoples' power now, so they can start asking for the demand of land, that is a demand that even created the frame for the war in Guatemala. And then, after the indigenous peoples moved, the indigenous movement moved the discussion of the ILO 169 into the National Congress. Into the National Congress, the elites of power have representation and they have the representation with the political parties that were strong in that time. And one of those political parties was in Government. And the indigenous peoples, the indigenous movement, had representatives in each of these parties so strategically everyone was thinking that the ratification of the ILO 169 was going to be fast. And what they found was that the Guatemalan Congress proposed two amendments to the ratification instruments to Geneva, to the ILO headquarters. And when it arrived to Geneva, the Ministry of Labor from Guatemala wanted to present these ratification instruments. And the Secretariat of the ILO told him: it is impossible to receive this, the ILO does not accept amendments on these treaties, so what are you pretending? And then the Ministry of Labor accepted that those were not amendments, that those were just observations. So, with no legal capacities, these amendments were accepted in the ILO and that means that Guatemala ratified this convention, and also the indigenous people had the right to claim these conventions whenever they need to. And then, after this, the changes in Guatemala, the indigenous movement was expecting these changes and they asked for these Conventional reformations that Kate Warren just spoke about yesterday. Unfortunately these reformations did not come, the people did not accept to reform the Constitution in Guatemala and the Government argued that they do not have the constitutional framework for implementation. And then, I describe in my thesis how these three reports started

changing each five years. The first one was a very brief one – they sent in just two pages saying that the Guatemalan government cannot implement the ILO 160 because they are still in the peace process, but they promised that the next one is going to be a better one. They sent a second one, and in the second one they said: sorry we cannot send a better one because the Constitutional reformation was not accepted and then the ILO sent one more to the Guatemalan Government asking for more informational instrument, and saying that it had nothing to do with the reformation of the Constitution. Then the third one was the last report of the Guatemalan state. And there is a change in the situation because there is a dramatic change in this last report. And this last report gives account of the creation of almost each Commission in the state.

Lots of Commissions were created: Commission for the bilingual education, Commission for the women, Commission for everything... Everything has a commission in the state; and all these commissions related to the indigenous peoples, but they never recognize in the Constitution the existence of indigenous peoples in the country. Yesterday, when Doctor Demetrio Cojti made his presentation, he said that there is this Language Law, 'los indigenas', where they recognize the indigenous peoples, but in the meantime you can see also in the Guatemalan Constitution: there is a whole section where they speak about indigenous communities. What is the importance of this terminology? It is more than terminology. They are juridical terms. What they are doing is to close the door for the indigenous peoples to claim for any international instrument they can call for. The indigenous peoples are still waiting for the draft declaration to transform into a declaration, but until that happens they have the ILO 169 to use in the countries where this Convention has been ratified. And Guatemala is the case, but they still do not have this Constitutional frame. Thus this is a very juridical discussion, it is a very formal discussion, but it is also a very important discussion because it is a question of terminology. And to change the state of Guatemala, that has all these liberal traditions of law, that what is written is what counts, the indigenous movement has this mission to transform the situation and to determine the state to ratify and to really understand that they have to change the national Constitution. But it does not happen right now.

And then I finished with the thesis and the conclusion was that the Guatemalan state was slowly moving from being an autocratic state, a mono-ethnic state, to being a very democratic one because of all these actions of creating commissions were like creating a landscape where the indigenous people have been every day progressing relating to their rights.

And then I finished the thesis. And I went back to Guatemala and it was the end of innocence: I arrived there and I realized that there was a big movement around the ILO 169. And I asked myself: what is happening here? Because the ILO 169 is like a taboo subject, nobody speaks about it, nobody wants to learn anything about that. And all the academics want to study nothing about that. I do not now why. Maybe because it is a sensitive subject, or maybe it is because they do not understand what is going on. And then I found that what was happening by that time with the ILO 169 was that the Guatemalan state had an agreement with one gold mining company. Five years ago, they accepted this gold mining company to come to Guatemala. But it was a unilateral decision. Nobody else decided anything there. It was just the government of that time and then the mining company. The mining company then started to do all the exploration in the indigenous lands and indigenous peoples denounced that and said: 'There are people coming here to study the soil. What is going on here? And then these gold mine companies said that they are gold mines in Guatemala and they can do these open sky mining exploitation. And they began with that. In two years they started moving all the machinery. Everything! To dig on the soil. And indigenous peoples reacted. They had this mobilization. They started with the mobilization denouncing that asking that company to get out of the place. What the government said at that time was: 'Ok. We ratified the ILO 169 and in the article 6 we said 'we accept it and the indigenous people have to be consulted of any decision that has to be made regarding these lands and the underground resources also'. (The resource is not only from the sea and land, the resources are also what the mining companies were looking for.) And the government proposed a consultation, but they said: 'How can we do this consultation?' That was the government question. And they said: 'Ok, we can charge the municipalities. The municipalities are going to be like the figure that is going to represent this consult and then they are going to present to us the result.' What they were expecting was a positive answer from the indigenous peoples. They said: ok, we do the consultations, but we know in advance that we are going to win, that we are going to receive a yes. The problem was that the contrary happened. The indigenous people said: 'No, we do not want that. No,

this is going to create a lot of problems here: ecological devastation, we are going to lose our land, we are going to work as cheap labor.' And, in the end, what happened was that the municipality received 6 million quetzals that is the equivalent of approximately 1 million dollars to do these consultations. And when I was in Guatemala, they did it. They did these consultations with the indigenous peoples. And then all the indigenous peoples participated massively and said: 'We don't want this company to be here.' And then the government said 'Yes, but this is not a binding decision. We cannot accept that'... because they were expecting a 'yes'. And even the gold mining company had already constructed their industry; they have everything there. So why were they asking? That was the question. And the government had these complaints for the mining companies saying: 'Why didn't you ask in advance?' And then the government said no.

What is the lesson? The indigenous movement of that time had the ILO 169. Guatemala ratified ILO 169 and that is our law. But, of course, that was a very simple way of proposing that, because to move one of these international conventions into the constitutional law of each country is necessary to have this indigenous movement or social movement that moves the law. That is the pragmatic way. The other way is that we expect the government to do their work, but usually they do not do it. And then, what is the lesson from this? The lesson is first: there are negative aspects and positive aspects. The negative aspect is the ecological devastation and indigenous peoples lost their lands and it is a problem also that they could not use the frame when they needed to. And what is the positive thing for this? It is hard to see the positive thing in this situation, but the positive thing is that once again the subject of the ILO 169 and the international conventions and the struggle for the juridical instruments opens again. And this is a very important fact, because it talks about a very different paradigm. It is a paradigm of negotiation. Something that in Latin America the social movements are used to because we just come out to live in democracy. We still are trying to find a way to make consensus. And that is what is happening now. So the indigenous movement has this opportunity to claim attention from the state in that subject and finally change the few things that are still pending. That was the same as what happened here in the Alta case. The government came and went, and built the dam, they also took the river, and the Sámi could not do anything about that, but just demonstrated against. And still the government constructed the hydro-electric. But that was the initial point for negotiation for new political and juridical tools for the Sámi people.

That is the same thing that is happening in Guatemala and that could be seen as an opportunity because right now how can they make this company get out from their lands? The only way is the sabotage, but the sabotage cannot be because it is illegal. How can they deal with this legal and illegal frame? They have to start thinking in another way. And it is not just the indigenous movement. It is also the other movements, like the social movement in Guatemala, because the indigenous movement has this big mobilization, has these big demonstrations. But then how can they find the way to start negotiating if they still do not have the resources to do that. That is the problem. It is the creation of several NGOs in Guatemala about several subjects, but never these NGOs go to the subjects of this juridical frame that is the first step to do a self-sustainable movement because first they need to create the frame and then they can start asking for demands.

That is all. Thank you!

Researcher **Juliana Turqui**, University of Tromsø: *'Indigenous Workers in Guatemala City and the Mayan Movement. Exploring the Representation of Ethnic and Labor Demands'*

I want to thank the University of Tromsø and the Centre for Sámi Studies for inviting me to present my thesis and to share with you the results. The title of my thesis is 'Indigenous Workers in Guatemala City and the Mayan Movement. Exploring the Representation of Ethnic and Labor Demands'.

My thesis investigates the relationship between urban indigenous workers in Guatemala City and organizations of the Maya Movement in the post-conflict context. It identifies the key aspects of the indigenous workers' demands and their participation in Mayan organizations as well as in Market Labor organizations.

If social movements have no longer connection with the grassroots and therefore can no longer represent ordinary people, then such representation and channeling of demands should be done by the civil society organizations. Thus, the present work starts from the premise that it may be possible to find a gap between the Mayan Movement discourse and its bases. The specific demands of urban indigenous workers may not be included in the objectives of Mayan organizations.

The inquiry opens up by examining the indigenous workers' problems and demands in their place of work (urban markets). It identifies how power relationships operate when it comes to representing the demands of these workers. It also examines the perceptions of the indigenous workers about the Mayan Movement in general and about the Mayan organizations in particular.

These considerations are followed by a theoretical analysis of the Mayan Movement that reveals a variety of perceptions about the Movement's representative character.

Talking about the research question of my study, I can say that indigenous peoples may experience political and social marginalization when they do not see themselves and their demands represented by Ladinos (non-indigenous people). But what happens when those who represent them are Mayas? The purpose of my paper is to explore the relationship between urban indigenous workers and organizations of the Mayan Movement, and social and political participation of indigenous workers will be explored as well.

These are some of the research questions I have had during my thesis, and in my thesis they are operationalized and explained in more detail. One of these questions is what characterizes the everyday life of the indigenous as market workers in the city? In this question I wanted to know what problems and demands they have in their workplace, the municipal markets. Another question is: which are the possible channels of representation for indigenous workers in the markets? In the municipal markets of Guatemala, there are diverse channels of representation. One of these channels is the markets' committee that unites the peoples from different stands of the market, and there are also market labor organizations. So these may be the possible channels for representation of the indigenous workers demands in the markets. Another research question was: do you, as an indigenous worker, participate in the political life of the markets? And what I wanted to know was if they went to the committee, if they went to the assemblies, if they presented the demands, how they interacted politically inside their workplace. Then the other was: what characterizes the relationship between urban indigenous workers and Mayan organizations. Here what I wanted to know is if the indigenous workers knew some Mayan organizations, what was their idea about the Mayan movement, if they went to the Mayan organizations and presented demands, and if they had relationships with some of the leaders of these organizations. And finally do Mayan organizations represent urban indigenous workers?

The hypothesis I had before doing fieldwork was that it might be possible to find a gap between the Mayan movement discourse and its basis. Even though Mayan leaders include all indigenous peoples in their discourse, whether they are from the rural highlands or from the city, they may have little knowledge about what is the problematic of urban indigenous workers and therefore it may be difficult to defend their rights.

The methodology that I used for this research was qualitative and the methods of data collection were interviews, participant observation and analysis of secondary data.

Whom did I interview? I did interviews with urban indigenous peoples that worked in municipal markets and had lived in Guatemala City for at least 10 years, then with leaders that had worked or actually are working for the government, then administrators of the municipal markets that are mainly non-indigenous peoples, the presidents and members of ASIMEN (i.e. one of the syndicate organizations or market labor organizations, ASIMEN being the Association for Workers of Municipal Markets) and the president and members of FENVEMEGUA (i.e. the Guatemalan National Market Front for Workers and Informal Economy).

The fieldwork was done from May to August 2004, last year, in Guatemala City. These markets were 'Mercados Central', 'Mercados Urdos' and 'Mercado Laricia Guadalupe'. I did participant observation also in assemblies organized by labor market organizations. These organizations were ASIMEN and SAMBEMENGUA, as I mentioned before. I conducted interviews with Mayan leaders and Mayas working at the Mayan organizations. These organizations were the Indigenous People's Defense Office, the Indigenous Women's Defense Office, COMG, Rigoberta Menchu Fundacion, CECMA (the Mayan Centre of Cultural Studies), Indigenous Legal Defense, the Secretary of Indigenous Affairs in the Ministry of Labor, and IDEI (the Interethnic Centre of Studies of San Carlos University). Some of the theories and concepts that I used were: the concept of 'ethnicity' from Fredrik Barth, Abner Cohen, Edgar Esquit, Jorge Solares, Irma Nimatuj; the social movement theories, Alain Touraine, Alberto Melucci, Nancy Fraser and Leslie Clark; then the theory of Foucault for discourse, power and resistance; some theory of Weber, Pitkin; and theory for civil society and NGOs as Mary Kaldor, Ernesto Laclau, and others. In addition, the works of experts like Kay Warren and professors of Tromsø University.

I am going to share with you the findings of my research. What I found in the interviews with indigenous workers at the municipal markets is that there is an absence of the term 'Maya' in the discourse of the urban indigenous workers. They do not identify themselves as Maya, but an ethnic identification is used instead because they recognize themselves as Quiche or Cacicque. Moreover the political participation in assemblies and committees is limited. Discrimination becomes stronger in the inter-ethnic contact due to stereotypes, pressures and misconceptions. Some of the stereotypes, pressures and misconceptions that my indigenous interviewees told about: that non-indigenous at the municipal markets think that they are backward, traders of traditional products, poor, illiterate, dirty, not able to express themselves, and resentful. So I found that there is a cultural clash inside the markets and there is also a lack of trust towards the representatives of the market labor organizations. Also I found that there is misinformation and ambiguity about the idea of the Mayan movement and about the Mayan organizations. They do not know any Mayan organizations. For me, according to my interviews, it seems that it implies an identification that is far away from them, who refuse representation even geographically. So indigenous workers at the markets are more organized as workers than they are as indigenous.

Regarding my findings, regarding the Mayan organizations, I can say that the possibility of context and alliance between labor and Mayan organization is unlikely. The worse political and economic interests, whether personal or collective, divide organizations rather than unite them. So the consequences are less effective and representative organizations are with less impact on a smaller area of action, for consulting with others on how the ethnic elements operate on a particular area of activity. I also found lack of involvement from the Mayan organizations in the urban indigenous workers programmes. The demands of the indigenous workers are considered not as ethnic demands but as labor demands. And also, as Russel Barsh, Demetrio Cojti and Kay Warren mentioned, there are international divisions between the popular versus the cultural approach. So the emphasis of the Maya organizations is either on class politics or identity politics. And also Montejo, a Mayan leader, is addressing the aspect that there is a new alternative: the regenerationists. He said that this regenerationist alternative will be neither the popular version, not the cultural, but a middle ground leadership.

The result is the atomization of the Mayan organizations. They operate with separate objectives when in practice they have a basis to interconnect. So the hypothesis of my thesis is confirmed. In addition to the problem that indigenous workers do not know Mayan organizations, there are other factors that may intervene to increase the gap between urban indigenous workers of municipal markets and Mayan organizations. Such

factors are: the non-inclusion of indigenous workers' demands in the objectives of those organizations (may be imposed, according to what my informant says, by the international cooperation), the lack of financial resources to include the indigenous workers demands, the fact that the demands of the indigenous workers are not considered by some Mayan organizations and leaders as ethnic demands, and, finally, the lack of Mayan organizations that addresses the demands of the urban Maya.

Some of my informants mentioned that the interests of the Mayan organizations are mostly in rural areas. So when it comes to answers to whether or not the Mayan movement represents the urban indigenous workers, then the definition of the movement appears necessary. But whether the Mayan movement can be analytically defined as a social movement or not is an academic challenge. One can say it is a stream of political thought or a social movement. The result according to the interview with my informant is that the Mayan movement is a stream of political thought. The Mayan movement for me can also be defined as an identity movement, which like many other movements of this kind, defends the interest and the promotion of rights of certain groups of individuals who feel discriminated against and search for symbolic and legal recognition by a significant other. In terms of Nancy Fraser, the movement can also be defined as a movement that demands identity recognition in terms of turn in, as a new social movement.

But the Mayan movement has also received a lot of critiques. Many scholars, as Kay Warren mentioned, like Zapeta and Morales, have stated that the Mayan movement does not represent the indigenous people. So the issue becomes one of authenticity. Who represents whom and who is allowed to talk on behalf of the others. These critiques say that rather than seeking to demonstrate its strength through mass mobilization, leaders of the Mayan movement have organized all sort of conferences, meetings and workshops. But one can say that certainly, who can best represent the indigenous peoples are their fellow indigenous, or Mayas, by including all the ethnic groups from the urban and rural areas, all the sectors of activity, and all the claims, the cultural and the economic ones. However it seems extremely difficult to reconcile the cultural and the economic struggles in Guatemala. But as an alternative some authors argue that the redistribution and recognition claims can be combined as key elements to be addressed by new social movements. Those two trends have appeared as dissociated and often polarized, but today justice requires both: recognition and redistribution. Neither alone is sufficient. For example, according to my thesis, there are ethnic demands to be addressed by market labor organizations and Maya organizations. And occasionally ethnic and labor demands overlap, this it can be difficult to classify them as one or the other because they are both ethnic and labor demands.

So I suggest that the urban indigenous workers at the markets are in a situation of mis-representation or mis-recognition. Since the organizational patterns of both labor market and Maya organizations deny indigenous workers the chance to interact with others as peers. They lack what Frazer calls 'status equality'. According to this author the conditions required for parity of participation are that the distribution of material resources must ensure participants' independence and voice, and the institutionalized patterns of cultural values express equal opportunity for achieving social self-esteem. These conditions are not accomplished in the case of urban indigenous workers in the markets. So as a result of my thesis work, I have some recommendations. I propose that the Mayan organizations, while focusing on the process of intercultural dialogue and indigenous rights, should promote on an upper state and a medium organizational and institutional level. They should also stress on the micro-level, in this case urban indigenous workers as an example, otherwise the gap between the Mayan movement and the indigenous workers will become wider, leading the organizations to work with objectives that can only partly reflect the Guatemalan reality. In my opinion, it is worthless to have international treaties ratified and peace accords signed if those rules and recommendations are unknown and disregarded on the micro-level.

So I will share with you the conclusion of my thesis. Through the development of the previous chapters I have looked at the relationship between the Mayan Movement and urban indigenous workers to assert to what extent it is possible to find a linkage or a gap between them. I found that urban indigenous workers at municipal markets have little and ambiguous knowledge/information regarding the claims, demands and activities of Mayan organizations.

At the markets, the indigenous workers' position is characterized by employment relations and working conditions that place them at the bottom of the social and economical hierarchies. Conversations with indigenous informants suggest that questions of identity are central to define their participation in politics at the Market Committees and Organizations. Participation is then limited due to stereotypes and misconceptions such as those that the indigenous workers are resentful, unclean, not able to express themselves and difficult to deal with (NUEVO). As a result, indigenous workers may face obstacles when it comes to defend their rights as workers.

In addition, Mayan organizations have little and ambiguous knowledge about the problems that indigenous workers face in the markets. Several reasons for why Mayan organizations do not focus on objectives that include urban indigenous workers demands were discussed. Nevertheless, I would argue that the most significant, in analytical terms, is that the Mayan organizations do not consider the worker's demands as ethnic demands.

Mayan organizations as well as market labour organizations perceive indigenous workers demands narrowly, either only as labour demands or only as ethnic demands. Since common goals and shared values seem unlikely to be fused, the organizations cannot consider each other as partners in the civil society, therefore contacts and alliances among them are not emerging.

My position is that the demands of urban indigenous workers can be classified both as ethnic and labour demands. No matter how apparent it may be, the ethnic element is present in the daily life of these workers, underlying causes of conflicts which are complex and related with a structure that legitimizes ethnic polarity - ladinos versus indigenous. This association is even stronger when considering the example of the market rules written only in Spanish. In that context, to have the rules written in indigenous languages constitutes a labour right since indigenous people have the right to be properly informed about the working conditions and regulations. But it is also an ethnic demand. Since the Peace Accords, Guatemala is declared a multilingual and multicultural country. To have the rules of the market written only in Spanish in a place where a great numbers of workers are indigenous, constitutes a violation of the Accords and promotes discrimination.

Regarding market labour organizations, I would suggest them to transcend the boundaries of the workplace (market) in which they defend civil and economical rights and enter the terrain of ethnicity defending social and indigenous rights as well. I believe this will promote a better understanding of what indigenous workers want. For that purpose, it will be necessary for market labour organizations to establish alliances with Mayan organizations that can support the implementation of ethnic rights inside the markets.

There is a credibility issue to be addressed by the market labour organizations as well as by authorities in the markets such as members of market committees. To overcome that difficulty, market organizations need to guarantee decent working conditions, social security and health care for all the workers at the markets. Only with the achievement of those benefits will market labour organizations emerge as credible representatives for the indigenous workers.

There is no doubt that the Mayan Movement has contributed enormously to a shift in the Guatemalan national politics. The movement has achieved the recognition of indigenous peoples in international law and has been influencing, since the '90s, the way national governments understand ethnicity. However, the Mayan organizations have an unfinished business with their own people. Despite the fact that Maya leaders have achieved powerful positions at the State level, they have not been successful when trying to implement the constitutional reforms suggested by the ILO 169. And although there is a chapter on employment and economical issues for indigenous people as part of the Peace Accords and in the ILO 169 Convention, those issues are neither accomplished by the State nor addressed by Mayan organizations, except for the land issue.

I have argued in this paper that Mayan organizations encounter difficulties in designing their own objectives because those are not always proposed by Mayas but rather by the international cooperation. This may be one of the reasons for the difficulty of including indigenous workers demands. For Mayan Organizations, to avoid

being dependant on the financial aid from international funds and find ways of becoming self sustaining and independent, is not a simple task in third world countries. However, I believe Maya leaders are capable of finding ways to participate in the settings where those objectives are negotiated, and exert pressure in order to include what is needed.

As a way to make peace sustainable, Mayan Organizations should start considering the demands of all indigenous people from Guatemala in a broader perspective. As Kaldor argues, inclusive identities are a key to promoting peace (Kaldor, in Orjuela 2004). In this sense, Mayan organizations are not contributing to peace because they do not promote inclusive identities, they do not seem to overcome a polarised understanding of ethnic identities. Different interests must be accommodated within Mayan organizations. It is necessary to connect Market Labour and Mayan organizations since, each of them, individually seem insufficient to give answers and represent the urban indigenous workers demands and needs.

Hans Petter Hergum, Senior Advisor, Norwegian Church Aid: *‘Culture and Heritage Programme. An example from Southern Africa’*

My contribution will be a short presentation of a Cultural and Heritage Programme which the Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) has supported and cooperated with during the last 4 years. The art exhibition, which is presented at this conference, is a result of the cultural program (please use time to look at it and to talk with Liv).

Let me start by saying that, traditionally I think it is correct to say that all people and organizations working with development have had a kind of paternalistic approach. We have been looking at **them**, the people in the South, as something different and strange from us. We have been speaking about **them** as something strange, maybe not as “human” as you and me. **We** have been thinking that we had what **they** needed. **We** had the solutions which **they** needed.

We have very often thought that our way of organizing the society has been the best – also for the rest of the world. People lacking everything, according to our thinking, were in need of our way of life and living. Of course we have seen how unjust the world has been divided, how important and necessary the economic development and survival, the education, the income generating projects and programme, but we very easily and often forget what the so called receivers themselves had.

Africa’s colonial past is a history of tragedy and destruction. Pressure from our part of the world very often destroyed systems and structures, which were developed through generations. Respect and knowledge about local thinking and culture were very often absent. People and ethnical groups were divided and destroyed. Their culture and heritage were often nothing in our eyes.

It is also correct to say, I think, that we have learned all these years that our partners in the South, have ways of life, culture and traditions which are very important to preserve, cooperate with and support. With more knowledge of their traditions and history from our side, we may experience that they have local structures, structures which are adapted locally, geographically and politically and traditions, and which may function much better in their context than what we can transfer and which has been developed in out part of the world.

At last we have become better listeners, and we are ready to share thoughts and experience, and not only think that what we have is what they need, and that they have nothing.

Also NCA, and I assume most of other NGOs and organizations working with development during their history have been through this kind of thinking.

NCA has more or less been working with indigenous peoples since we started working in Asia, LA and Africa: in the case of “det gyldne triangle” in Thailand the target group was minorities and tribes as they were called, in the case of the earthquakes of Guatemala and Nicaragua the target groups were the indigenous peoples of these two countries, then the marginalized people in Western-Africa, the San people of Southern Africa and in Eastern Africa first in Sudan, and then later with the Maasai, Hadzabe.

It is also correct to say, additionally to what I said in the beginning, that during the last years there has been among the indigenous peoples a common search for identity and for re-establishing their uniqueness as indigenous peoples. This has happened more or less all around the world. Let me use Africa and Southern Africa as an example.

In this region, in Southern Africa, it seems that the San people and all organizations and persons working together with the San have changed focus. It has been interesting to see how the spiritual, artistic and historical nature of the San has been more and more in the center of the development process and what it means to be a San.

This is, as I said, a very different approach compared to what development has been defined and how it has been approached few years back. One of the reasons for this transformation was that we, who work with development, have got more knowledge and better understanding about the people we are working together with, about the local societies etc. Another thing is that the indigenous peoples themselves have also seen how the modern development and cash economy do not have all the answers they were hoping for.

The San people of Southern Africa have become extremely vulnerable in a society build more and more on power and materialism. The result is that that the indigenous peoples have been drawn into a spiral of dependency and marginalization.

For centuries the San culture has been destroyed. To re-learn history, traditions and culture has been an educational tool, which will help the various San groups to maintain their identity and dignity.

NCA's partners in Southern Africa, working with indigenous peoples in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa, have, in cooperation with NCA developed a "Cultural and Heritage" Programme which has now existed for approximately 4 years.

After consultations between the different involved organizations where a cultural and heritage program was agreed upon, the term "culture" was defined and it was established that it should comprise of issues of land and use of tenure, language, education, traditional knowledge such as art and craft production, dance and music, natural resource management (including tourism) and leadership/representation.

The Cultural and Heritage Programme is a regional programme located in three different countries: Botswana, Namibia and South Africa. There are three different organizations involved: WIMSA, The Kuru Family of Organizations and SASI.

WIMSA based in Namibia is a regional San networking and advocacy organization. It is a member organization and has more than 30 different smaller San organizations under its umbrella. WIMSA coordinates the Regional Culture and Education Programme, which links the different San NGOs and CBOs.

Two different San committees have also been established by WIMSA to monitor and assist the cultural work. It is a Regional San Education and Language Committee, and a Regional San Heritage and Cultural Committee. The committees consist of two or three San people from each country.

The Kuru Family of Organizations (Kuru Development Trust) based in Botswana is divided in seven independent organizations. It has established a support organization to serve its members. It provides support and training capacity to its members.

SASI (South Africa San Institute) based in South Africa is the development support programme serving San CBOs in South Africa with development programmes, human rights issues and leadership development, and also with art and cultural programmes.

The cultural programme also networks with other organizations like IPACC (Indigenous Peoples of Africa Coordinating Committee), which is a continental organization and is in a situation to give professional inputs and support.

I cannot go through the whole content of the Cultural Programme, but I give you some highlights of the programme by taking some examples from the three different countries.

- **Theme One: Cultural Resource Documentation and Mapping**

I am not going to say much about that since we have a speaker later today who speaks about that, but let me give you one example and only say that the CRDM is geographically located both to South Africa and Botswana.

In South Africa it was done by SASI with the help of local consultants. Their mission was to identify, to audit and to manage cultural resources as part of a land restitution process. The result of the process in South Africa was that 40,000 ha were given back to the San (old farms) and additionally 25,000 ha of the so-called Kalahadi Transfrontier Park, with limited rights, “handed over”.

This process made it also possible to get documentation of a language (N\u-language) known then only to 7 people, but which is now taught to groups who are interested to re-identify with their San roots.

A similar resource documentation process has been going on in the North-West of Botswana, in the Ngamiland along the Panhandle of the Okavango. The Khwe people have formed a trust to manage and exploit the resources of the area. This is a huge area for game and wild life, meaning that there is potential for tourism and income – and this is linked to a transfrontier park planned for Botswana and Namibia (Caprivi). Several maps of this Kwe area are produced showing animal migration, veld food distribution etc. It is produced by one of the Kuru organizations called TOCaDI.

In South Africa also an Oral Testimony Audit and Dancing Group Project is going on. It is at Platfontain (formerly in the Kimberly area, in Schmidtsdrift) where the largest population of San people in Sa is located (former Namibians and Angolans located in South Africa after the independence of Namibia). Language committees are established, work is done on story and song collection and book-production is in the pipeline. ‘To translate’, ‘to transcribe’ and ‘to record’ are key words in the project.

This is a very important project, which hopefully will create and reestablish identity and kinship among people who were torn apart across borders due to war and the need for resettlement.

- **Theme Two: Cultural Tourism**

Three different cultural centers are developed: !Khwatla in South Africa, Hai//om Craft Center in Namibia, and a San center in Botswana

!Khwatla, a cultural center, is established in South Africa. It is a training center for the San. They will be trained in various skills and areas, which are needed. !Khwatla has been built up as a very impressive training center with good facilities. More than 30 persons can attend training at the same time. An arts and crafts studio has been built. Training in use of computers is going on. A huge San archive is planned, facilities for visitors etc. are built (small craft shop, nicely built cafeteria, natural vegetation is brought into the area with game such as zebras, élan, springbok etc). The center will give the trained San possibilities to go back to their homes with knowledge and a background, which increase their possibilities to get a paid job. One area of training will be tourism, which is growing dramatically in Botswana, South Africa and Namibia. It is also a center that school classes etc. are visiting to get information, to learn more about the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa. Training courses include development of walking trails with viewpoints (bird hides) and information points, development of campsites, how to handle tourists and tourism industry, quality control of arts.

Hai//om Craft Center in northern Namibia is a women income generating project. A craft shop is built there. At the same time a cultural resource and land mapping project is going on working with claiming rights for the Etosha pan.

Plans for producing a history book, and for entering into a joint partnership with Etosha Conservancy on income generating projects such as campsites, guided tours of rock art sites and cultural festival, are going on.

N/ooxom Cultural Trail and Heritage Site (Botswana) is a project close to the so-called Panhandle of Okavango (this is a traditional area for the indigenous peoples in Ngamiland, in North-Western Namibia). Eight local San communities are involved. A hiking trail is developed and trips in Mekoro (dug out canoes) are planned and in operation. This is an educational project where people learn about the San history, traditions, living etc.

- **Theme Three: Modern San Art & Cultural Awareness Programme**

The Kuru Cultural Center was established in the beginning of the 1990s. It is the first documentation and resource center of anthropological materials (books, films, videos etc.) collected by the San. A museum is established presenting the Naro (on San group) culture and history. It is a center used by the whole region. It holds regular workshops, seminars, meetings etc. Each year in August a huge regional dance festival is arranged there. This is a fantastic presentation of the rich culture of the San people. Groups are coming from all over the region to attend, and a lot of visitors are coming for the occasion.

A fantastic contemporary art project, which has really been a success, gives the San-people a “voice” through art. About 10 full time artists produce graphic, paintings and ceramics. More than 20 art exhibitions have been arranged overseas during the last years. And their art is now sold for good prices abroad.

The art projects aim to update and produce a permanent traveling exhibition to visit a rock art center once a year, to further support to the artists (new techniques, training etc), to exchange visits between indigenous artists, to attend festivals etc. for inspiration and sharing.

One thing is to produce art, another is to do marketing. At Ghanzi-craft, San artists and professional designers together, using local material (ostrich egg shells and leather) have produced new and more fashioned design which takes the San-craft to a higher level and on new markets).The art is sold and marketed in several ways. Through Gantsi craft, not far from where the art project is located, they also collect, buy and sell the products to a bigger audience. Gantsi craft is a small museum and a shop located in the small town of Ghanzi. Letloa, Omaheke San Trust and different other units are used and established to do the marketing and the sale of the products. This is really a challenge also for us who are supporting the production!

To conclude with, let me list some specific examples of what has happened and some of the results during the last three years:

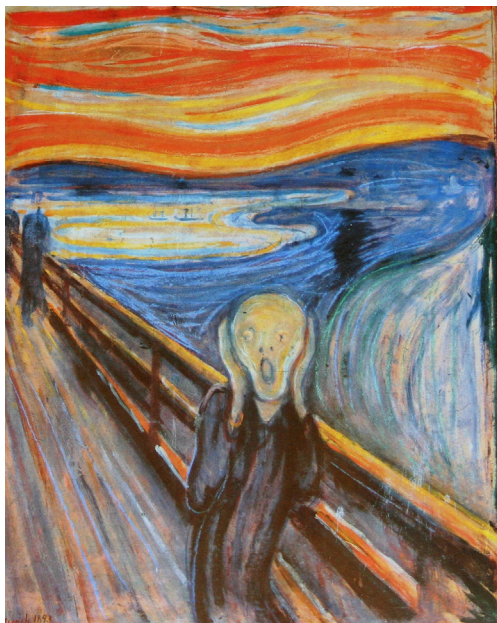
- There has been a successful land claim in the Northern part of Botswana;
- There has been established a community based natural resource management centre in Sakawe;
- The ‘Voices of the San’, a beautiful book, in which the San people themselves present their situation, has been printed;
- 3 CDs with San music groups in the region have been produced;
- The first San language film on HIV/AIDS involving San actors and film makers has also been produced;
- 40 craft development workshops have been organized;
- A beautiful project, the ‘Pearls of the Kalahari’ (as a brand name), is designed and produced jointly by the San artists and professionals;
- A San dance group has been at the Riddu Riddu Festival in Norway last year and has been traveling also to many places around the world;
- There has been organized sold out 10 year retrospective Kuru Art Show in Gaborone;
- There have been printed Botswana postage stamps featuring Kuru art;
- Last but not least, the Regional Declaration was produced in Namibia and action plans by the regional San language representatives about the need for San ownership and control over linguistic work on all San languages, a very important aspect.

These are some accomplishments of the last three years. I end here and I leave the floor to Liv Skaare who says a little about how it is possible for us, with our foreign eyes, to be able to look into this beautiful and powerful art of the Kalahari.

Thank you so much!

Coordinator **Liv Skaare**, Norwegian Church Aid: *'Behind the Pictures – Encounters with Paintings from the Kuru Project'*

I was at an art exhibition reading all the texts next to the pictures and there it said: 'One evening I was walking a road with two friends. The sun was setting. All of a sudden the sky turned bloody red and I felt an aching pain in my chest. I stopped, leaned towards the railing like death and the black blue fjord and the city was lying there like blood, in tons of fire. My friends went home and I was left there quivering with anxiety and I felt as if there was an intense, infinite scream shouting through nature.' Later on 'I painted this picture. I painted the clouds as if they were really bloody, and the colors were screaming. This became the painting 'Scream'' These are the words Edvard Munch wrote many years later.



It is so simple apparently with Munch after all because we know how houses looked, his clothes, we know his contemporary time and age, we have seen photos, read books, heard music, seen other pieces of art from that same time. He himself wrote a lot about his pictures.

This is our relationship to art here in the West. But, nevertheless, you cannot help but wonder: is there anything else behind? There is something different? Other experiences? Perceptions? Feelings? Maybe he was sick at the time... Or maybe he wished to express something that can only be expressed with brush strokes and colors. An immense scream shouting through the nature. We can see the colors and through this eerie being, shouting in the foreground, holding his hands over his ears, was it actually the scream that he wanted to convey? A screaming sky? Or was it something else? Something more? Something we can only grasp if we know more about what is beyond, what is there before our eyes.

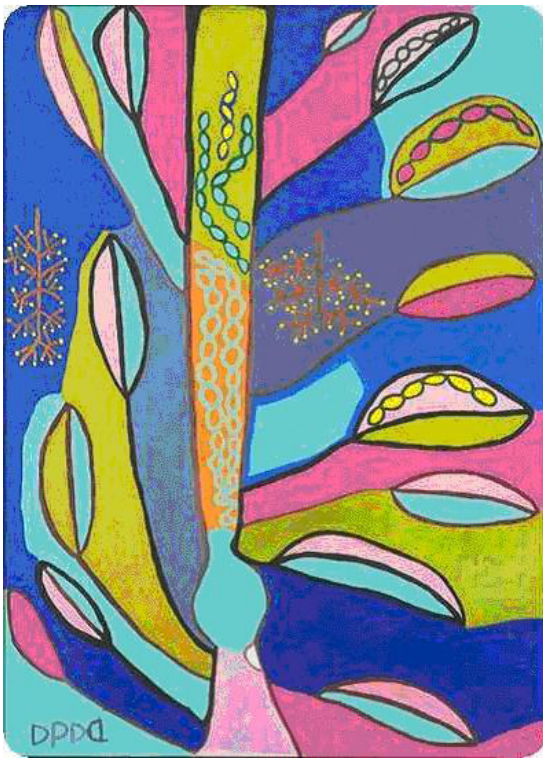
I went to an art exhibition once. I went together with a child. She stopped at a painting. 'Birds!' She cried'. 'Yes, it is called 'Rain Bird'', I said. Yes, because I am a pedagogue.



'Yes', the child said. 'And there is the rain', she said and pointed to all the dots. Can we just interpret a picture so simply, without any directions, restrictions, any knowledge? Of course, we can. It is the privilege of the beholder to perceive a picture the way he himself wishes. We can enjoy the colors and the naïveté of the expression with our limited Western eyes and it is up to ourselves to just view it as a decoration. But maybe there is something more behind it, something bigger. Sometimes I wish that pictures did not have titles at all, that all pictures could be called 'No title'. Just to emphasize that you are free yourself to just perceive and experience and maybe, perhaps, find contents beyond what you conceive directly and something that cannot be bent into a title. Because with Edvard Munch, like

with many others, it was not always the case that the artists themselves made the title, but it was somebody else who wanted to increase understanding, increase sales or just needed a title for a catalogue. And this is where we arrive at the painting to your left.

It is called 'The Tree'. The other painting is called 'Wild Dogs and Hyenas' because that is what it said underneath the picture when I saw it the first time. But do these pictures represent something more or they have been painted just for the artistic display that the artist needed to show? Perhaps the leaves are edible, perhaps



they can cure illness. Are their roots full of life-giving water? Or is it actually the root at the bottom? Maybe we should just turn it upside down, the other way around? (Because actually this painting has been signed upside down!) So there are a lot of ifs and a lot of perhapses in this context. The extreme and intensive colors are quite foreign if you think of the Kalahari Desert. Why are they there? Have they only been used because those were the colors that the people had just acquired? New sharp colors that they wanted to use just for the buzz of it? Again I am looking through my Western eyes. I will try to provide to you a small piece, a corner of the big story about the San people, or bush-people and their pictures. So what do we actually see? Or rather, what do I think myself that I am seeing? I often use words like 'perhaps', 'maybe' and 'I think' and that is because I do not know. This is not a research report. This is something that I believe that I see.

The women of the bush people from old age have the responsibility to gather food from nature. This is a life task and since the goods of nature are so central in the lives of the women, this is often the motif that women use in their art: ...



... trees and leaves, seeds and roots, all that which is life-giving in the nature of Mother Kalahari, and also these small animals, insects...



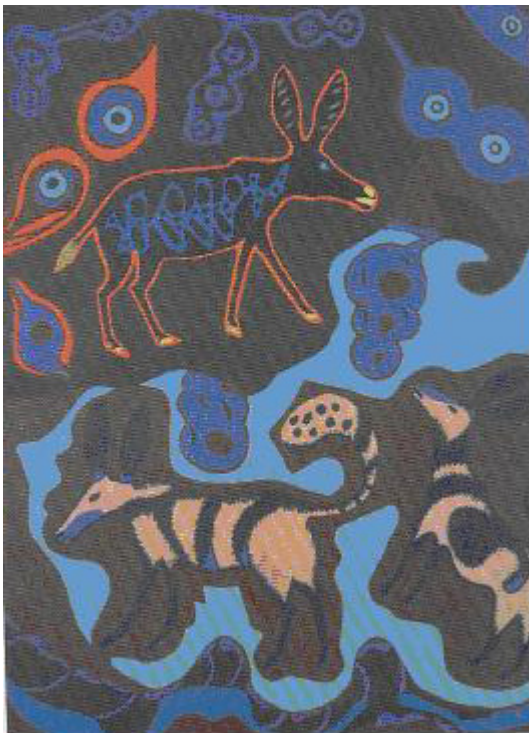
... and birds.





Where are the men? They have close ties to the big animals which are forged through hunting.

Hunting is their area of responsibility. Experiences with wild beasts can be very dramatic and very strong and this panting was painted by a man.



But in this picture we see more than just animals. There are some other shapes there too, some objects to which I shall return later.

From times immemorial, women would carry their gathering bags on their shoulders and held them fast into their arms, and walked out into the desert to collect leaves, roots for the daily meal. She often carries the same bag today as well, but then it is very often for identity purposes, to emphasize identity. The gathering bag is often a motif in women's pictures, as you will also see in the exhibition.



And then, after 7 months, the sun has scorched away all black grass, dried out all the aqueous surface vegetation such as the wild melons, then the women use their digging sticks to dig for water, for the aqueous roots that they can suck on. You can tell that there is water here surrounding the roots.



And if they find a source of water, they can stick down a long straw, and cover it so the sun will not evaporate it, and then wait for the water to collect, and then use a siphon method to collect water in an empty ostrich eggshell.



And around the egg shell there is jewelry, because this is also something that can be made (I am wearing one today). And the egg shell is emptied and crushed and then put on straw or strings and then you need to have the membrane between and then they file them down.



It can take up to a week to make such beads. The rounder and smoother, the better and higher the quality.



Sometimes they alternate beads with the pines of the porcupine, although the legislation forbids it. But they probably do not read legislation anyway and they still use them to make these beautiful bead necklaces. And we have more. We are going to have a look at the porcupine needles now, and that is also part of the exhibition outside.

The beads might perhaps have been introduced from other peoples, they did not produce them themselves, but they put them into very good use. We have here jewelry with beads.



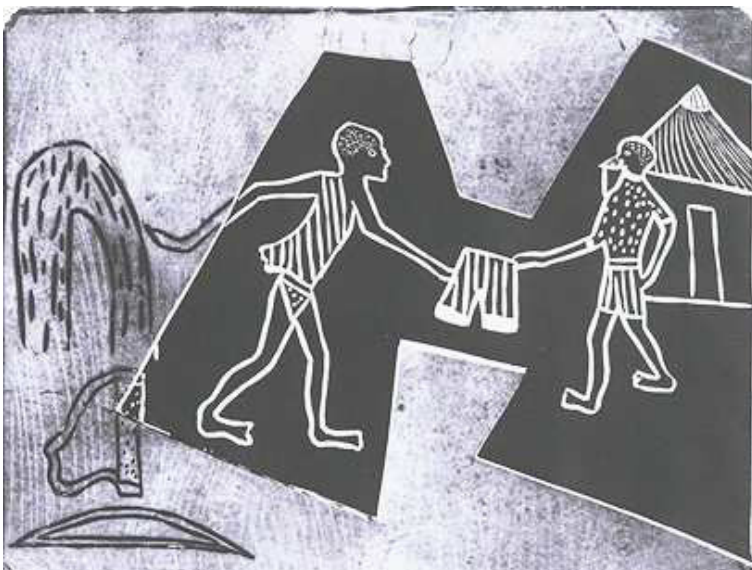
And the women also have the responsibility to leave when there is nothing left to gather in the vicinity. There are linoleum prints that are also part of the exhibition. The family picks their few belongings and wander off to a new place where they build a simple stack to stay until they have emptied that area also of food and water, but they do not store or put things aside as far as I understand, as we do in our freezers and our cupboards. The bush people gather food for today. They lead their lives here and now. They take as much from nature as they need for today. They do not use more than they need and they need just enough to live today. They leave behind enough, taking enough for themselves, allowing nature to renew itself and taking care of their Mother Kalahari because she is their constant source of life.



The word 'enough' has acquired a new meaning for me after this meeting with the people of the Kalahari. Tomorrow we can gather somewhere else, we can build a new hut somewhere else, we can do our hunting somewhere else. And the wind will wipe out our tracks and give new life when the rain comes. 'Enough' means that if I have more than I need myself, then I can share it someone else. The bush people sharing culture is very logical based on the concept of 'enough', but to a Western mind it sounds completely incomprehensible. For instance, when a large animal has been taken down, that is too much food for one family, but then the whole village will participate as naturally as it can be and the one who owned the arrow gets the honor, even if he was not there because he was sick that day. If you had more than enough this, in consequence, means of course that you should share. And then you do not say 'thank you' because sharing is a natural part of their way of life. 'More than enough' is perhaps something that we are well acquainted with, but in Botswana, among the bush-people, that means something very special. It means 'we are going to share'.



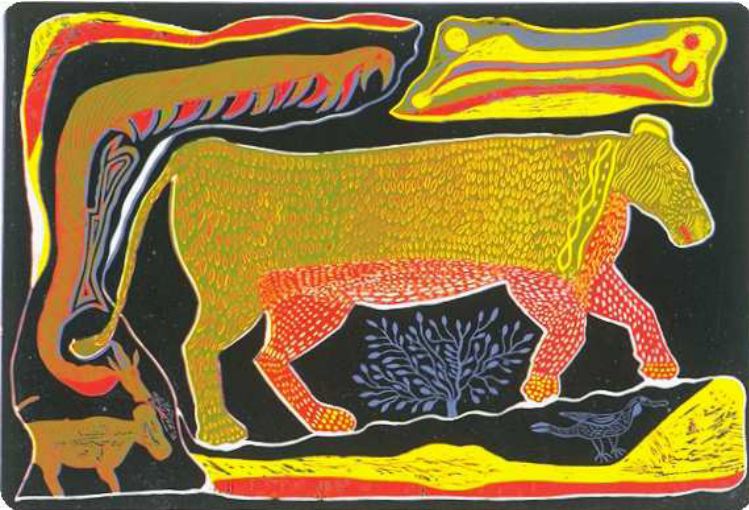
This picture we thought for a long time that it had something different. I think it is about the old and the new time. A person leaves his hut built with twigs because he wants to have a house with a roof that does not let through the rain. And then, in this world you do not wear a loin cloth, you need trousers. We have another picture coming up that has more or less the same topic, but totally different expression.



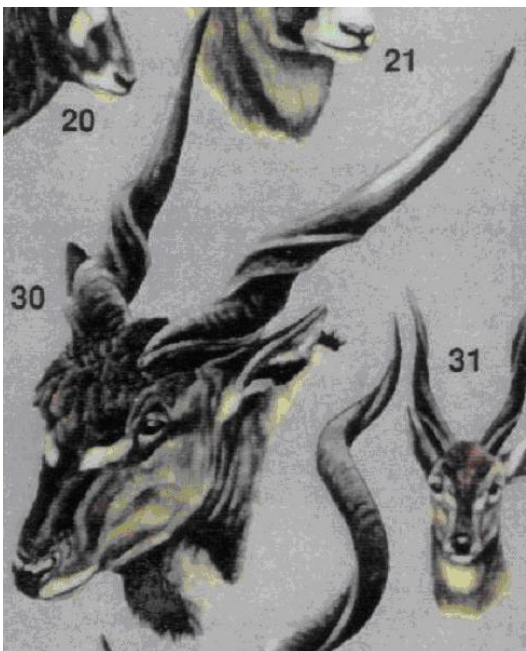
And I am just wondering about this picture. I am wondering: is it a coincidence that the huts and the men are on the striking black part of the picture? Could the black part be the new time when one can not move anymore, but is settled instead?

The art project at Kuru is the result of this new life that has manifested itself. It has been a programme that has tried to help the bush-men find alternative solutions to the new livelihood and the art and crafts are very important. We cannot dig gold for these peoples, we cannot find ancient antiques, we cannot find written

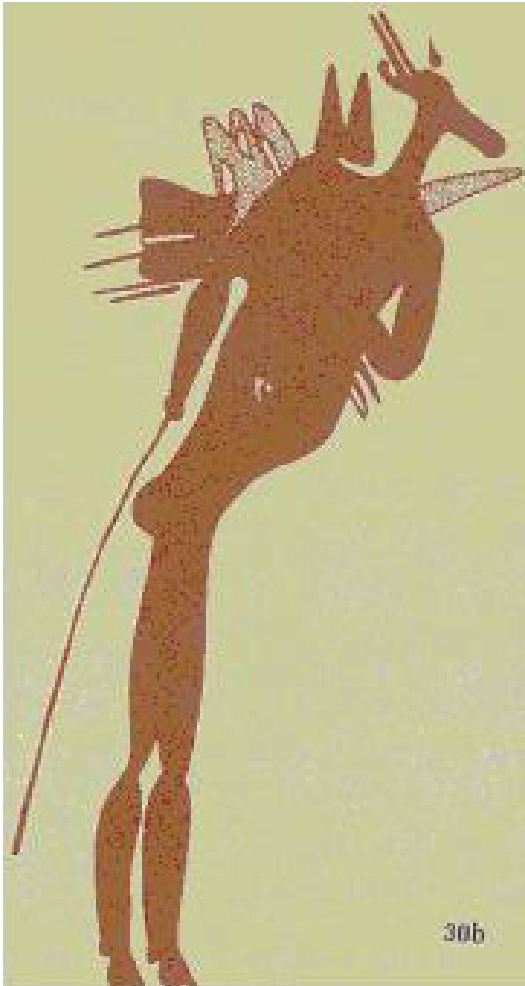
history for these peoples, but we have the stories and also the rock carvings. I have seen at the Museum in Winkhoe in Namibia paintings on rocks in southern Africa, much older not than 4,000 years, but 20,000-40,000 years. And this is quite recent knowledge. In Norway, recently, there has been a lot of talk about recalling and remembering, and a lot of questions have been asked about not perhaps really remembering, but not to forget. But perhaps those two things are the same. It is important to remember and what you remember, the best, is usually what is important to you. And then, if in addition you have an active experience, then you might quite certainly recall this thing. And water plant roots, gathering bags, jewelry, birds, animals, hunting, all other things are important, significant to the San people. They have been handed down, their strong experiences, perceptions attached to them, and this is what they put down into paintings. Because maybe they are more than that. They might also be tracks of the aboriginal culture, the age old culture that is the same that we see in the rock paintings. Maybe the trance dance is also connected to these experiences that are important, that must be remembered and still live on in tradition and collective memory.



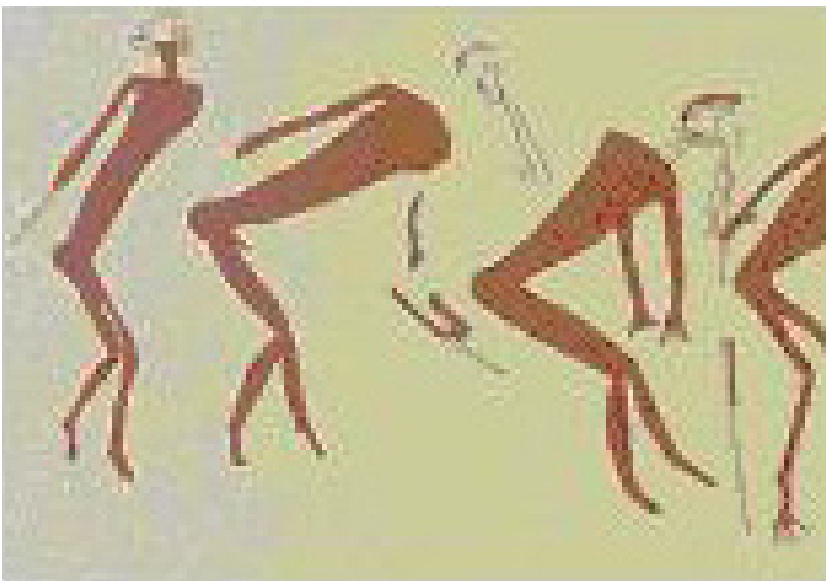
The most apparent sign of a trance in a picture is that you have blood running from the nose. Here, in this picture, you will see a leopard and a snake. As you can see, the serpent has something running from its nose. Nose blood is a state of trance, and it is a belief that you see geometrical shapes, hallucinations on your way into the trance, zigzag patterns. And we see the same shapes in the pictures. It is a coincidence or is it not? The dancer feels a strong, animal-like force, maybe from the élan, this large animal which is so significant to the bush people.



They can experience themselves as an animal, or half-animal half human being.



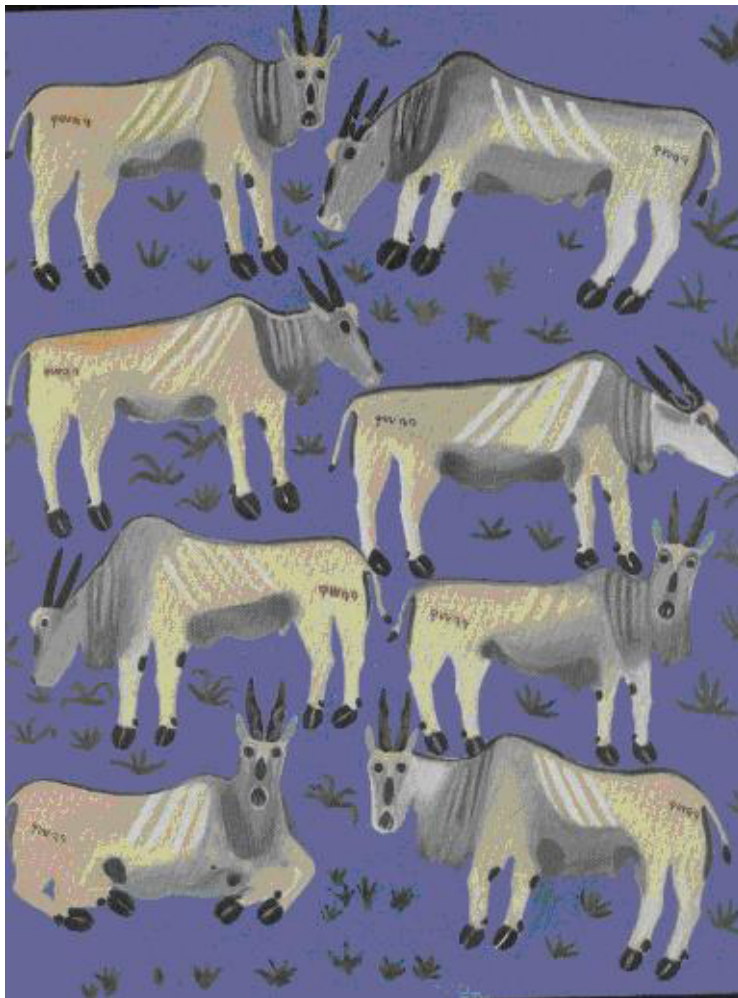
If you see in a picture something resembling a human being with pointed horns, then that is the élan. And this being does not have human legs or feet. The élan is very central in four major feasts of the San people's central ceremonies: weddings, the girls' passing into womanhood, then the boys' first hunting and also the trance-dance. These also give power. It is a good thing to dance close to the bees. And elephants also can come across as a force and you see pictures when the head has become that of an elephant. And also the ape, the baboon.



I would like to show you a picture that I do not really understand completely. This is Qwaa.



Qwaa was a trance dancer. Unfortunately, in 1996 he died of tuberculosis. He was one of the first persons to join the Kuru art project and I am not quite certain what this is, but at least it is a human-ish being that he has painted, with slightly oversized ears and he also has been rendering baboons in his paintings, but what I see is some feet, I think, or hooves perhaps to the right there. When the boys enter into the adulthood, they go through a ritual using exactly the feet or the lower extremities of the animals to initiate them into the adulthood, to make certain that they will have good lives. And I see, in the chest of this human shape, an animal's head. I am not certain you see the same, but I see an animal's head there on the chest.



The last picture I want to show you is what I find to be the closest we get to a political painting.

Qwaa has painted a head of élans and he painted his name on all of them. On each of them. He has branded them because 'They are mine', he said. 'This is where I used to hunt. I used to dance around the campfire. I would fry meat. Mother Kalahari owned these animals and she granted them to me to hunt. They are mine. I was the first one here.'

I perceive these pictures as building a bridge and this bridge has a foundation of thousands and thousands of years of traditions up to our recent times. But the pictures can also build other bridges, as, for instance, between the peoples in the north, our people, and the San people in the South. Artistic expressions are very good building blocks for increased understanding, for bridging cultures. They give insights, knowledge and friendship and, not least, wonder. And also respect to the big story that I found to be in this art. I wanted to tell a completely different story which is closely related to this university inter-alia because of the large collection of artistic expressions from these artist's head and hand. I

would like to read from a book about Iver Jåks to emphasize my own wondering: 'An old Sámi lived out in the open air and he only worked with material that was disintegrating. And he collected roots and rocks and with these materials he made an expression. He didn't think of the fact that he was a Sámi, he didn't consider that he was an artist, but he had a language, he had an ability to express. But if he had named himself artist, then everything would have been changed.'

Welcome to the exhibition!

Karine Rousset, Coordinator of TOCaDI (Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives): *'Mapping as a Development Tool: Experiences and lessons learnt through mapping and cultural programmes of Kuru'*

The Kuru Family of Organisations

The Kuru Family of Organizations is a network of eight San owned organizations working with the San and their neighbors to facilitate development processes in the communities. The network is active in South Africa and Botswana. Most member organizations devolved from Kuru Development Trust, which was formed in 1986. The network, which is structured as a family of independent organizations, was founded in 2001. Together the KFO has ninety staff of whom seventy-five are San that hold positions from deputy-coordinators, financial managers to field staff.

The organizations making up the KFO are Letloa Trust (a small mobile service organization which acts as secretariat to the KFO and provides specialist support services, networking and building of local capacity when and as needed), D'kar Trust (development program with community of D'kar settlement), Komku Trust (development program in settlements of Ghanzi district), Bokamoso (early childhood development program), Gantsi crafts (craft development and support, retail outlet in Ghanzi), San Arts and Crafts (a company set up for wholesale marketing of crafts), SASI (South African San Institute, development program with San around Kimberley and Uppington), and TOCaDI (Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives – development program in the Okavango sub-district).

The KFO agenda themes are:

- **Security**/organizations/land/legal knowledge
- **Sustainable development**/community-based natural resources management/crafts/tourism/fishing/farming/leather/art/hostels etc.
- **Spirituality**/culture/language/values/leadership
- **Training and education**/minority education project/community development facilitator training/early childhood development/community-based organizations/staff development
- **Mainstream: HIV/AIDS/gender/cash management**

Regional Oral Testimony Collection

The objective of this collection has been to counter the traditional approach to historical research by training and empowering the San themselves to collect information from their own communities. During the last six years, more than 300 individual oral testimonies were collected from San communities living across southern African. Four books have now been published using materials collected by the project. These are '//Xom Kyakyare Khwe: Am Kuru Kx'ua. The Khwe of the Okavango Panhandle: The Past Life', 'Voices of the San', 'Undiscovered or overlooked? The Hai//om of Namibia and their Identity' and 'Enter the Light: ꞆKhomani Culture Yesterday and Today'.

In addition to producing attractive and informative books, which provide vivid illustrations of the past and present lives of the San, the project has also been important in developing the skills of San themselves. A large number of San people have been trained by WIMSA (Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa) and KFO to undertake oral history interviews in their communities. The process of planning, arranging, carrying out and transcribing interviews has proven to be both empowering and enjoyable for interviewees and although the interviews inevitably ranged in their quality, it seems that the interview process for both the interviewer and interviewee often proved to be a profoundly healing process.

Oral History and Mapping

In the oral history testimonies, in all areas San have expressed a sense of having nowhere left to go due to loss of land and have emphasized a yearning for the land. Many communities wanted to document existing and former land and natural resource use to try and regain control over their traditional lands. In our experience, the gathering and transcription of oral histories from elders by youth has formed the foundation from which land mapping has followed. Land mapping has involved a timely process of training community members, who

then work in the field with their elders geo-referencing of key information. Broader community workshops to involve more people and to ensure reliable information are held before maps are produced. The maps have then been used to try secure land from the government. Letloa Trust has set up a Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) and Land Mapping Resource Center, which is actively working with communities in Ngamiland and the Ghanzi district to produce maps.

Challenges Experienced

However, land applications based on traditional claims proven by participatory maps have up to now, not always led to increased land rights. The following discussion traces the typical course of land disentanglement of San in Botswana.

Botswana has a policy of improving access to basic services like water, schools and clinics, by centralizing settlements. Many indigenous minorities then, have left their traditional lands, or gathered at central points on the land, in order to attain village status and thus qualify for some government services. In many cases the land where they originally settled becomes available to any citizen of the country to apply for cattle farming or is reserved for wildlife and tourism. Sometimes, government allocates the land a status that does not allow future settlement by the original residents.

When applying formally for land where they had lived before, San communities have sometimes requested conditional user-rights for CBNRM projects, such as camping or lodge sites for tourism. In order to obtain leases for areas set aside by government for CBNRM, the government has set up district level advisory committees comprising representatives from a number of government departments to guide communities. However, these committees do not always have the capacity or time to effectively guide communities applying for land, and cause bottlenecks instead of facilitating the process.

The next step towards land acquisition involves applications to locally elected Land Boards. Members of marginalized indigenous minorities like the San are hardly ever represented on these bodies. In the case of a number of CBOs, land claims are stalled, sometimes for years, at Land Board level. The dominant philosophy about land in the country is that land should be available for the benefit of the entire nation. Traditional claims, or hunting and gathering as a form of livelihood are not regarded as legitimate grounds for land acquisition.

Lessons Learnt

Once maps are produced then, it is critical that there is sufficient institutional support in order to transform these tools into something that can tangibly improve people's situations. There is a danger in empowering communities who come to see maps as potent agents of change when the political environment does not allow for the realization of these aspirations. On the one hand, mapping offers the prospect of augmented visibility and power for this marginalized group. On the other, mapping has the danger of becoming part of the cycle of opportunity and disillusionment that characterizes the experience of San with others.

This brings us to the critical point, which is that mapping is a tool in the development process and not an end in itself. As with oral history collection, the process of mapping brings about the dynamics of generational reconciliation and restoring of balance in communities, something which is an intangible benefit that cannot be measured as to its impact on the development of communities. It can therefore safely be said that mapping and oral history collection, as well as the documentation of any cultural processes such as dancing and healing practices, stories, perceptions and natural resource knowledge is crucial, especially as entry points or part of the consultation process for development interventions. Mapping should allow for the development of visible tools and products that even illiterate community members can associate with, and the mappers should realize that they are custodians of a wealth of information, which in future that needs to be responsibly cared for and presented back to the community in more than one form.

But mapping just to do mapping is not a full or productive process. Not only is it a costly tool for development, but if it raises unrealistic expectations it can be to the detriment of empowerment and create even bigger dependency, as well as open cans of worms in terms of community relations that will be destructive if the

mapping programme does not fit into a bigger strategy or larger plan, followed up responsibly. In the KFO, land mapping is always followed up with hands-on, long-term support from NGOs in implementing not only the results of the mapping process but in addressing other areas of need in the community. When there is a development/support agent and a structured relationship between the community and the process, mapping can be a powerful step towards improved socio-economic security for indigenous minorities.

Community Leader Anetta Bok, †Khomani San (South Africa): 'Mapping as Development Tool – Experiences and lessons learnt through mapping and cultural programmes of Kuru'

I am going to give a small preview about the cultural resource audited by the † Khomani San people of South Africa. It is important to talk about cultural resources, but it is not an easy concept for everyone to get.

Culture is what you do in your community and your family, the things you eat, your belief and value. Culture changes over time. They change when there are economic changes. The same culture changed radically when the Europeans took over the land, created government police, prisoners, laws and farms. Some people were not free anymore. The old way and the old language and the old knowledge and the old religion was not much used under colonial and apartheid rule. Much of the old knowledge started to die from not being used or valued. Now the † Khomani have some of the land back.

What did the old people know about what could be useful to younger generations? Young people are not living of hunting, but there are things in the culture that are valuable. Those are cultural resources. They are resources for living, eating and having wisdom and happiness.

The first people of South Africa were likely !Ui speakers. They were hunter-gatherers, later known as 'Bushmen' or 'San'. Khoe speakers migrated into South Africa about 2,000 years ago. They were related to the San but introduced sheep and cattle herding and new languages. Bantu speakers were agro-pastoralists living mostly in the eastern part of the country. Their main migration in South Africa was 800 years ago. Most of the Norwegians do not know much about the San people in South Africa, and I have only 15 minutes today so I shall try to present a few things briefly, but if you have more questions I can answer them also.

The †Khomani San of South Africa

In the 1930s, San peoples in the southern Kalahari lost their land base to a park and settlers. In 1996, they initiated a land claim. Much of the history and knowledge had been scattered in a diaspora. Diaspora means in Afrikaans: 'Ver uit mekaar uit'.

In 1931, when the park was proclaimed, the people were expelled from the park. In Afrikaans we say that they were 'ver uit mekaar uit', so that is what Diaspora means.

The Land Claim Process

To fight their land claim, the †Khomani San had to prove that they had lived on the land prior to the coming of White settlers. Parks officials and white farmers denied they were really 'really' San. After consultations, the community decided to audit the knowledge of displaced elders, and find if anyone still spoke the old languages of the Kalahari.

Rediscovery of N|u

In 1997, Elsie Vaalbooi came forward in the village of Rietfontein. She could speak a 'Bushman' language. It had been declared extinct in 1974. Eventually 28 speakers would be located. They called themselves the N||n‡e – the Home People.

Past and Present

I am going to talk about the past and the present. Researchers Dorothea Bleek interviewed Elsie and her mother in 1911. Elsie and the N||n‡e elders were able to prove they were the original people of the Kalahari. Elsie died in October 2002 at 107 years of age.

Cultural Resource Audit

The South Africa San Institute (SASI) supported †Khomani youth in various projects to rediscover their heritage and languages. Elders taught N|u language, mythology and knowledge as much as plant medicine.

SASI and Open Channels staff spent time with the community learning about the types of knowledge and heritage they believed were not most important to transmit to the youth. We refer to this as cultural resources auditing. We started to create an inventory of knowledge and culture. Elders who had been born in the Park recorded their memories, history, place names and natural resource uses.

1936 – British Empire Exhibition

I go back to the British Empire Exhibition in 1936. The Union Government encouraged settlement in Gordonia district to firm up the border with German South West Africa. The N|u speakers and other San in the area lost their land and became farm laborers. In 1936, 77 San were taken to the British Empire Exhibition as a display. Memories and documents helped provide the evidence of exclusion.

To return to auditing, there is historical documentation for the San people. Auditing tools include: word list, genealogies, life histories of elders, mapping territory, ethnography, archive research, film work and interviews.

Maps

Maps are intergenerational tools. Following experiences in Canada, one part of the audit focused on mapping knowledge of elders. Mapping was done in partnership between the community, Strata 360, Open Channels and SASI. Maps included cultural landscapes, place names and life histories. Who did the maps? The knowledge came from the old people. They said that they thought it should be mapped. We did interviews with old people and they put one time line on maps. Magdalena Kaasie and Getruda Sols were training to be interviewers. Strata 360, a Canadian NGO, took the information and put it on proper maps. Nigel Crawhall and Hugh Brodie used knowledge of anthropology and logistics to help guide the project.

Maps as Intercultural Sites

Maps create a platform for expressing indigenous knowledge in a way that dominant cultures can understand. The maps show that the †Khomani had many place names in the park and this means that they imported meanings. The San knowledge is being forgotten because the park hides the real names and their meanings.

When the old people were living in the park, they had certain trees that were part of the cultural landscape for them; they were really valuable for them. There was a tree of healing and the tree of healing got its own story.

The community initiated its own projects of intergenerational IKS training. It involves tracking, ethno-ecology and oral history. Young people are getting national accreditation to help them have employment.

Old Skills and New Futures

Youth are being trained in tracking, conservation, anti-poaching, tourism, literacy, languages, computers, business skills and heritage management. Maps and other tools help youth explain their history to visitors and others in the community. There is a bridge between the elders and the young. The knowledge of elders is part of a cultural system best learned on the ground. And elders need coaching to make their knowledge available didactically. For the future of this knowledge, youth need coaching and skills to help them explore their culture and history. Some youth will feel emotional blockages important to find leadership skills, rebuild trust in families and communities.

‘Use It or Loose It’

Knowledge and intangible heritage must have functional value for youth to maintain them. This means ‘recycling knowledge’. We find new applications for old knowledge. Europeans recycle a lot of their rubbish (glass, paper etc.). In Africa we also reuse things a lot but now we are saying that even knowledge can be recycled.

!Khodja n/a tju ng! Thank you for listening to me!

Maps can be seen at <http://64.26.155.237/website/maps/Kalahari/Kalahari.html>

The maps are the property of the =Khomani community. They may not be used for any commercial activity or reproduced and modified without the permission of the community

Collin Tsima, Chairman of the †Heku Trust, Chairman of the Regional WIMSA Board (Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa): *'Our Land is Our Life – The NG 13 Project in Northern Botswana'*

I am here on behalf of WIMSA (Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa), as I am chairperson of WIMSA. One of the aim of WIMSA is to assist the San in gaining better political recognition, and to help San to achieve a higher level of education. At the moment we are busy with developing a Regional San Council that will represent the approximately 100,000 San living in Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe. We hope that the San Council will allow us to have a stronger voice with our respective governments. In total San number around

I am also here as a Buga Khwe representative from the north-west of Botswana, in the Okavango sub-district. In total there are about 8,000 Buga Khwe, living in southern parts of Angola and Zambia, in Namibia's Caprivi Strip, in the northern part of Botswana and also in South Africa. The South African Khwe, along with !Xu, were trackers with the South African Defense Force during Namibia's liberation struggle, and moved to the northern Cape in South Africa at Namibian independence. I was born in Botswana and my wife is from Namibia. I lived in Namibia for some years and am now based in Gudigwa, a village not far from the Okavango Delta, in Botswana.

Some years ago, an old man from my community approached the Kuru Family of Organisations (KFO), through TOCaDI (Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives) to ask for help to develop a petrol station at a place deep in the bush along Botswana's northern border with Namibia. Although, the petrol station was not viable, soon it became clear that the old man's real concern was to regain access to land that was part of his traditional area, but that was now off-limits. This land, now classified as NG13 by the Botswana government, was part of the heartland of Khwe people – people lived there, hunted there, and collected food and medicine there. But as happens elsewhere in Botswana, residents of the area were encouraged to settle at established settlements where they could have access to services, such as schools and water. After leaving the area, NG13 was re-classified by government and the communities who had lived there before were no longer allowed to re-settle on the land. With assistance from TOCaDI, the communities who once lived in NG13 mapped the area, showing historical occupation, and land use areas, migration routes of wildlife, medicinal plants and water points. A community-based organization, †Heku Community Trust, was established to mobilize the former residents and to apply to the government for use of the land. Up to now, the process of land application is still underway. If we are allocated the land, my community has plans to establish a natural resources management project that will include tourism activities.

Land loss is not the only concern facing my community. The Khwe, and in fact, all San in Botswana are struggling with official recognition of our languages and with improving access to quality education for our children. The media of instruction in Botswana schools are Setswana and English. In some schools, our children are not even permitted to speak their language in front of teachers. Because of pressure to adopt Setswana as a mother tongue and as a result of the discrimination that we San people experience, many San groups in Botswana have already lost their languages. Some villages have schools nearby, but for many residents of rural settlements, children are sent to far-away boarding schools where they often experience abuse and are teased about being San. We have set up a language committee to promote our language, Khwedam, and to give lessons in basic Khwedam literacy to our youth. We are also producing reading materials in our mother tongue and lobbying our government to allow mother tongue instruction, at least for the first few years of schooling.

The key issues facing my community at the moment are our efforts to get official recognition for our language and acceptance of our land claims by government. We have a long way to go, but slowly we are improving our status in Botswana.

//Hoeseb, Inspector of Education, Otjozondjupa Region, Namibia: *'Government Commitments to San Education'*

Good morning, Ladies and Gentlemen!

According to the 2001 population census, there are 1,8 million people living in the Republic of Namibia, a suzerain secular unitary state that was established on March 21st, 1990, and is situated on the South-Western coast of Africa.

The topic of my presentation today is connected with the commitment of the Namibian Government towards San education, but the main focus will be on educational provision in the Tsumkwe Constituency, where we find two San groups which are the !Kung and the Ju/'hoan. We have other San groups also to which we are providing education, which are the Hai-//om, outside the Tsumkwe Constituency. For example, in the Omaheke Region, we have state funded schools in places like Vergenoes and !Gainas. In the Kunene Region, the majority of more than 1,000 learners there are of Hai-//om origin. At Queen Sophia School, just outside Outjo, we have the absolute majority of the learners there that are Hai-//om. And in St. Michel's, a state aided church school. In our own region, the Otjozondjupa Region, we have a school that is attended by San children at Dai Boro Ge, and just 5 km outside from that we have Shamalindi, Omulunga in the town of Grootfontein itself, San children whose parents have been laid off by the farmers when the government introduced labor laws. And then we have many San children attending schools at St Isodor, which is a state aided church school and Otjituuo which is a state school. If we go to the Oshikoto Region, we have Tsintsabes, also a state funded school for San children. And you will also find a lot of San attending school or being trained as teachers by the co-aided colleges of education as well as at the University of Namibia and at the Polytechnic of Namibia.

The main focus of today's topic is in the Otjozondjupa Region, in the Tsumkwe Constituency. Now, the schools in this Constituency are grouped under two clusters: one cluster is called the Mangetti Dune cluster. In the Mangetti Dune cluster we find the Mangetti Dune Primary School, which is a hostel school and the biggest one in the Tsumkwe Constituency. And in this area mainly the !Kung speakers are attending school. We have Omatako Primary School, M'kata Primary School, Grashoek, Kanovlei – these are the schools in the Western part of the Tsumkwe Constituency. You can see for yourself the number of learners appearing there. When we talk about absolute majority, I will say that roughly one or two learners at those schools are coming from other language communities, other than the !Kung. So the absolute majority are the !Kung.

Then we have the other cluster which is called the Tsumkwe Primary Cluster. Tsumkwe is the headquarters of the Tsumkwe Constituency. I can say it is the capital of the Tsumkwe Constituency. Then we have a combined school, a lot of learners of whom the absolute majority are San; but you also find a significant number of blacks attending school there because their parents are employed by institutions in that constituency. This school offers curricula from 1 to 10 and it also has a hostel. Close by we have Aasvoelnes Primary School and then we have the Baraka Village School, but these are actually five village schools: it is the Baraka Village School itself which is 35 km outside Tsumkwe, then we have //Auru School Village, some 60 km outside, //Xa/'ba, #Aqbase, and then Den/ui Village Schools. At these village schools, all the children attending school are Ju/'hoa.

We are not talking about the Ministry's commitment towards San education. When we employ teachers, there are minimum entry level requirements. A person to be employed as a teacher needs to have grade 12 and a three year teacher training, but we do not find people from these communities that have grade 12 and we need teachers. So what the government did was: we relaxed these requirements in order to have teachers employed. So we are employing people who have a minimum academic qualification of grade 9 and very few were progressed before the level of grade 10 - because we are recruiting teachers who are the language speakers, and with whom the children can identify themselves at these schools. I will talk about the upgrading efforts that are under way to inskill these teachers later on. And then we have a learner-teacher staffing norm in our country. In primary schools the ratio is 1 teacher for every 35 learners. In the secondary schools the staffing norm is 1 teacher for every 30 learners, and you will see when you go back and look at schools that

you can find schools like Aasvoelnes with 141 learners. If we apply the staffing norm of 1 teacher for every 35 learners, the school only qualifies for 4 teachers. Sometimes we look the other way around: we know the learner number do not justify. Now these figures I am giving you are the 15 School Days Statistics which are taken in February every year, but learners are dropping out. We collected the other day the Annual Education Census Statistics which indicated a significant drop out of close to 10% in the Tsumkwe cluster. But we still have to retain the teachers although the learner numbers do not justify. Then all the teaching and learning material that is used in these schools is supplied by the government, starting from the pens to the pencils and every little single thing, and the text books. We also have to transport the teachers who are teaching in these village schools. In the picture you see one; the //Auru Village Primary School, some 60 km away. And you do not just need a 4x4 vehicle, you need a reliable 4x4 vehicle, and we have learnt that the Toyota is the best, the only that lasts in that part of the country. So we would have to collect the teachers and transport them also back to the school. All the schools are participating in the school feeding programme and the government is responsible for the purchase and transportation of this school feeding maize and food rations to the schools. It is a very costly exercise. It is a pity that I did not bring along the figures, but given that I am just a person who is monitoring the implementation of the educational programmes, I do not look at the financial side of the story. Because when I also think about money, we will not implement any programmes in our schools. It is a lot of money. This school feeding programme was introduced when the government came to learn that learner drop out, the low level of enrolment in schools and the low level of retention are a result of the fact that children do not have food to eat when they go to school. We introduced this programme and you will see in these schools of ours, when for one or the other reason, the delivery of these food rations is not done on time, there is no school. And since these are underemployed and unemployed communities, sometimes the community members are sharing this school feeding programme maize of the children of the schools, so they run out of stock very quickly and then there is no school. No food, no school!

A curriculum committee was established for the Ju/'hoansi first language. In fact we have a member of that curriculum committee here, a teacher also of San origin, Mr. C. Cwi, here. The committee is in the process of analyzing the lower primary syllabi and just before we came here he was in Obahamkwe when they completed teaching and learning material production in Ju/'hoansi for natural science, environmental studies, and towards the end of this month they will finalize the text books for mathematics and the literacy text book in Ju/'hoansi so that in 2006 we might have these books in the school for the children to receive instructions through the medium of their mother tongue. These curriculum committee members are all coming from the Tsumkwe Constituency and they have to travel to Okahandja, which is maybe more than 700 km away from Tsumkwe. It is state funds that we use to collect these members, to accommodate them, to feed them and to make sure that they do their job. Then we also have in-service staff development programmes. We are running these for the teachers with the support of NAMAS. We are currently running multi-grade teacher training courses because in these small village schools, as a result of the low learner numbers and the enrolment numbers, we do not meet the staffing norms as set by the government and we are forced in some cases to group grades together. (It is a skill for the teacher to handle a mono-grade and let alone when you add another grade and it becomes a multi-grade!) We are also busy with a process of lower primary syllabus revision. And we have been training teachers ever since last year and this training is also going to be for grade 3 and 4. Grade 1 and 2 were completed last year. And early next year we will proceed with other staff development programmes because the schools and the teachers are the ones who inform the ministry about their in-service training needs. The advisory teachers when they visit schools do the same and we design programmes in order to meet the needs of the teachers.

You have seen that I have talked about hostels. Some of the children are staying in hostels, especially at Mangetti Dune, Omatako and in Tsumkwe and the government is paying for the meals, the water, the electricity, and maintenance of those hostels, and on top of it we make sure that these children are taken care of. We have appointed superintendents and supervisors of these children and they are getting an allowance on top of the fact that they are staying for free in the hostels. The teachers are receiving a salary and they are also eating there. The government is so serious that we set up a multi-sectoral task for us to look at the education and plight of the children that are educationally marginalized. Not only San, but we also have children whose parents are not employed, who are staying in what we call the 'temporary settlement area' in towns. And we are looking

at the plight of these children. Nowadays we have the scourge of HIV and AID, we have a lot of orphans and vulnerable children and this task of ours is also looking into that matter when it comes to education.

Some of the challenges we face are the low enrolment and the low retention rate especially in the Tsumkwe cluster, but we are addressing this: like I said, we have the school feeding in place, we have the support of NAMAS, we are involved in school training where we go from village to village, where we talk to the community members through community mobilizers about the value of education to the parents. And there are quite a lot of positive results. Provision of water in these villages is very costly. It is a challenge. Sometimes the elephants are also responsible for vandalism of water installations. So if there is no water, the communities are forced to move away and if the people move, there is no school. The roads are bad and the distances are long. Multi-grade teaching is also a challenge, but we are doing something about it. There are encouraging developments, one of which is the support we are receiving from the partners in education, stake holders such as NAMAS. We have a steering committee, on which traditional leaders of the Ju/'hoan and the !Kung communities are serving, recognized traditional authorities, registered under the Traditional Authorities Act. They are the ones who decide what should be done and what should not be done. They are involved in the planning and the implementation of what is planned. Then we talk about the commitment of traditional leaders and the Constituency Counselor. The Constituency Counselor happens also to be a San. He is a Ju/'hoan and he is a very committed person. The government's attitude towards the plight of the San in particular is also positive. Of late, the Namibian Cabinet charged the Deputy Prime-Minister to travel around the country, to look at the challenges these people are faced with with regard to weather, food, and their recommendations are already being implemented.

Teaching and learning materials that are used in those schools are the same as the ones we are using in the other schools in the rest of the country. They conform to the national standards. The teachers are trained together with the other teachers we have in the country. We already have two teachers trained like this and the government has paid for their studies, Mr. Mandjoro and Mr. C. Cwi, who are here. Mr. Cwi has been teaching for many years and Mr. Mandjoro is completing his teacher training course this year and from next year on he will join us. Then, once the materials are available in Ju/'hoansi we can introduce the language as a medium of instruction as per the language policy of the Republic of Namibia.

And now please allow me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to introduce to you the Director of Education at the Otjozondjupa Region, Miss Faustina Caley, and the NAMAS coordinator, Trine Strøm Larsen. These are the sabot structures that we have. And we will make sure that the children from the Tsumkwe Constituency will some day, and I hope from next year, come and stand here and talk about their plight themselves.

Thank you!

Svein Orsnes, Managing Director, Namibia Association of Norway: *'Our experiences from Namibia'*

I will not spend a lot of time on the Namibia Association. Mr. Kavari, who is the Rector at the Ondao School in Opuwo, in the North-Western part of Namibia, will have most of my fifteen allotted minutes, but I would like to say a few words about the Namibia Association because some of you probably do not know what we are busy doing.

We are a Norwegian NGO which is actually celebrating its 25th anniversary this year. We focus on activities and programmes in Norway and in Namibia. The ten first years we primarily worked towards refugee camps where Namibian refugees were staying in Angola, Zambia, Congo. After the liberation and independence, we have been working on educational projects within Namibia itself. We are an organization that is not very large. We have two hundred members and our headquarters are in the city of Elverum, but a local engagement has made it possible for us, through these twenty five years altogether, to have about 350 million Norwegian kroner for projects. We focus a lot on education and, in recent years, the focus has been education connected to indigenous groups within Namibia.

We have been presented some of the activities in Tsumkwe and Mr. Kavari will tell us more about the activities in Opuwo. What has been important to us is to be involved in projects that are sustainable. In the Namibian setting, that implies that we have a very close cooperation with the Ministry of Education, and we have a very close cooperation with the target group for our projects. And I have noticed when I have been to the Forum Conference in recent years here in Tromsø that there have been very few representatives from the governments of the different countries represented here. We work very closely with the local authorities and we find this necessary in order to construct projects that will be of durability longer than the time than we will be present there ourselves. I think I will leave it at that and I leave the floor to Mr. Kavari.

Mr. Kavari: *'Education for "Educationally Marginalized Children" of the Ovahimba and Ovazemba children in Namibia'*

The Ovahimba and Ovazemba are two groups of indigenous people living at the North-West of Namibia.

We inhabit an arid area of Kunene Region, stretching over 3000km along the Kunene River, on our Northern border with Angola. The area is known for its poor rainfall and this makes life for the herders more difficult. In search for water and grass we tend to move more often from one place to another. This is a difficult task to be done by parents without the support of the children and this in way made it impossible for the parents to send their children to schools far way from their area. Only five children among those, managed to attend school on their own will.

During the war for independence, this area was regarded as a war zone and schools were built. These two factors had contributed to the marginalization of many children.

This scenario remained till our country became Independent in 1990. A policy option for "Educationally Marginalized Children" was drafted to ensure education access for our children.

The Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture has approached the then Ambassador of Norway, Mr. Bernt H. Lund to conduct a desk study about the best way to take school to the Ovahimba and Ovazemba. The study proposed the introduction of a mobile school concept. A year later a field study was conducted by the late Hans Hvidsten (first NAMAS expatriate) and myself. We visited many communities in this regards. This concept of schooling was welcomed by the communities as it seems to fit our way of life. The mobile school concept entails teaching under a classroom tent and dismantling of it to follow the communities when they move to the next point. The advantages of the system are the provisions of schooling while assisting with domestic activities at home. By so-doing children perceive their culture. Parents have developed an understanding of education for their children and many communities are on the waiting list.

Currently the project has recruited 72 teachers paid by the government for 38 communities. This recruitment is done with help from the communities concerned. In-service trainings are being offered to teachers to upgrade their professional competence. About 2,500 children are enrolled each year. A group of learners who finished grade 7 last year are now furthering their junior secondary education in Opuwo.

I proudly can say that the project is a success and our partners both locally and internationally should continue to assist us to ensure access, equity, quality and democracy for our people.

I thank you!

Welcome to Sápmi! Bures boahtin Sápmaí!

The Sámi are located in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. I am representing the Sámi Council which is an organization that comprises the main Sámi organizations of the four countries. I was going to talk about indigenous to indigenous cooperation, but I have been asked to talk a bit about the Sámi Council. I could share some of our experiences.

The Sámi Council was established in 1953 so it is an old organization that concerns indigenous peoples. Our focus has been changed through the years and today we are working on four main units. The first is what we call the 'Cultural Unit'. We have received 2,000 Norwegian kroner from the Nordic Council of Ministries. This is cultural funding that we divide after application from Sámi, organizations, and so on. This is one of our units. The second unit is the one on Environmental and Arctic issues. We are working with different processes in the UN system, for example, the bio-diversity process, and we have been involved in these processes for many years.

I am going to tell a little bit more about what we call the Arctic issues. We are a so-called 'permanent participant' in the body of the Arctic Council. The Arctic Council is an environmental body for eight Arctic states: Russia, USA, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland, and we are six indigenous organizations. And this is a really special body when it comes to decision making and how it operates. It is our status as permanent participants that we have the possibility to make suggestions and take part in the discussions. The last meeting was in November when we concluded the two years work for nearly 500 scientists and where we ended up with a declaration given by these countries and the six indigenous organizations. That means we had to agree about that because the Arctic Council is an organ of consensus. And it is quite amazing to sit at the same table with the Foreign Minister of the United States, the Foreign Minister of Russia, the Foreign Minister of Canada, the Foreign Minister of Norway, the Foreign Minister of Sweden, and we need to agree. The Arctic Council is a very special body. And it has given us, the Sámi Council, a very special position. This way of working should apply to many other issues that concern the indigenous peoples. There is a web page called 'The Arctic Council' that you can access if you are interested.

I need to be brief, so I go to the third unit: the Human Rights Unit. I see here Mattias Åhrén who is the Head of this Unit. Mattias Åhrén is a lawyer. He worked with the UN Declaration – we have our own proposal for the UN Declaration on indigenous issues. He worked in WIPO and he comes here from the discussions they had there yesterday. WIPO is an organization of world intellectual property, intellectual rights for indigenous peoples in the World Bank. We have worked with the ILO 169 and the ILO system and even more. Also Mattias has taken part in the Sámi Convention, that is – from what I have heard – finished. It is a convention of three Nordic countries that shall try to have a common convention for the Sámi and this is also an expert group.

And then we have the fourth unit, the Indigenous to Indigenous Unit. Before I start with that, I shall say that we also work especially with the Russian side. We have established a Sámi Radio in Russia, financed together with the Sámi broadcasting system in Norway, Sweden and Finland. We have a Cultural House in Lujávve together with the state, trying to finance it. And then we come to the Indigenous to Indigenous Cooperation. It is a quite new body inside the Sámi Council because we saw that the main reason is: we have been collaborating with our indigenous brothers and sisters, especially from South America for many years, from North America, Canada, and so on. But we have seen the international arena for many years and there have been very many participants especially for Asia and Africa. So the idea is how to create voices of the indigenous peoples from Africa and Asia. Because when you see the representatives are very few from Asia. That is the first thing, but the second thing is that they are not organized at all. And the persons who speak for them are often not connected even to an organization, but they are still persons who speak for indigenous groups, for example in Geneva. But this we found to be quite a difficult task. And I think I will end with this: the main problem is how the whole system of development and aid is built up. There are new guidelines, but still they do not help the

Sámi Council because we are not a development organization. We are an indigenous rights based organization. And moreover, compressing things together as I mentioned when it came to the Cultural Unit, the Human Rights Unit and so on, that means, if we shall have the possibility to share our knowledge and our experience, we need to have some kind of basis. And there is no possibility to found our own basis, as we have talked to NORAD: we need at least two persons as a Secretariat, and then we can work with our groups.

I will end just with the projects we have. If you all remember the tsunami catastrophe in Asia, we were just finished three days before: we had a Human Rights course concerning international bodies, with our cooperation with the umbrella organization in Indonesia, AMAM. And three days after our workers left, the country was hit by the tsunami. After that we worked together with them to help them get funding and other. And we have had these courses also in Africa and in all other places in Asia. We have tried to establish an organization called OIPA for Africa (Organization for Indigenous Peoples of Africa) and the meaning was to create a voice, but we did not succeed. We have stopped the project. Four years ago I said: 'Even indigenous peoples have the right to failure!' And I know there is a lot of failure when you work, but it seems like it is not possible for the indigenous peoples or the indigenous organization to fail. And I am very sad that we did not succeed and it was not possible to get forward with this project because I think it was a really good project. The other cooperation we have now is with the advocate of the First People in Kalahari, in Botswana, and we are also involved in the court case.

With regard to this Indigenous to Indigenous cooperation, the rules in Norway are not meant for this cooperation at all because, if I can explain it more, it is very easy if you have in a budget 30 million because then the administration cost will be very low, but if you have a budget of 3 million, then the administration cost may be 30% and that is not legal in the guidelines. So there are many things like that. And how do you measure? It is very easy to build things, but how do you measure this people-to-people related cooperation.

I will end with these words, especially for my Guatemalan indigenous brothers and sisters: there is one thing that we have learnt in the Sámi struggle. Because they always say about the Sámi: 'you talk with one voice', as if all the Sámi had the same kind of thinking, but I will say the opposite: all the indigenous have the right to disagree.

I would like to start this closing session with a quote from the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai. I found it laying on the photo-copying machine this morning, and I feel it addresses the underlying topic of this conference. Appadurai has said (*Modernity at large*, 1996)

As groups' pasts become increasingly parts of museums, exhibits and collections, both in national and transnational spectacles, culture becomes less what Pierre Bourdieu would have called habitus, (a tacit realm of realm of reproducible practices and dispositions) and more an arena for conscious choice, justification and representation, the latter often to multiple and spatially dislocated audiences.

I feel that this conference has been addressing modernity and global processes in this perspective. The papers have shown the need for justification and representation that is felt most strongly by indigenous peoples, and the reasons have been clarified throughout many of the presentations.

I want to thank you all: thank you for excellent papers, thank you for openness in presentations! There has been critical scrutiny of one's own situations, one's own country, very open, and very factual, and very to the point. I also want to thank for the commitment displayed through the presentation, for the engagement in discussions, and for the way in which so many papers have reflected lives lived in the service of understanding and improving of the indigenous situation.

In this closing session we want to invite your comments on the present conference and on the ways forward, and also to reflect on topics for future conferences. Before the floor is opened, I will start with some reflections on two papers that opened up the conference and, in some different ways, set the tone.

The first is the paper by Russel Barsh, who reminded us of the very important difference between free trade and fair trade. He called for social justice subsidies, which must be explained and justified, that trade must be harmonized with human rights and environmental concerns, and he reminded us that the amount of money used to development assistance remain small compared to the amount of money extracted from the areas of indigenous peoples. Let me quote something from the journal *Development Today*, which came a couple of weeks ago and which I think illustrates very nicely Russel Barsh's point:

Norwegian oil revenues in Africa exceed aid to the continent. Norwegian oil firms revenues from Africa are likely to reach 12 billion Norwegian kroner annually or almost three times the Norwegian bilateral aid to the region.

So much for the Norwegian generosity!

We should keep this gross profit in mind, when we revisit the introduction by Jon Bech the guidelines for Norwegian development assistance to indigenous peoples. Bech focused on the need to tackle indigenous peoples' poverty with right-based strategies which include consideration of collective rights and cultural integrity and he pointed to some inherent contradictions between the centralized development approaches implemented by most donors and governments and the indigenous peoples struggle for their rights as peoples. And in particular he mentioned the millennium development goals which do not specifically identify indigenous peoples' priorities for development. So he pointed to the need for the specificities of indigenous peoples to be acknowledged and addressed and to avoid the risk that development efforts to achieve the millennium goals might lead to homogenization instead of equality or enjoyment of rights. Recognizing indigenous peoples' right to self-determination implies establishing methodologies for the entire development process that respects this right.

The papers given have made valuable contributions towards different methodologies. Many papers have looked at international legal instruments, education, mapping, critical perspective, warning against making too simplistic assumptions about how education leads to poverty reduction. The focus has been more on *how* and *when* does education contribute to poverty reduction. *How* and *when* do legal instruments work? And *how* and *when* can the Norwegian policy for indigenous peoples contribute to a better understanding of these processes. Bech pointed to a development policy which has adopted specific policies and strategies addressing

and supporting indigenous peoples. The policies reflect an increasing recognition that indigenous peoples are central to the objective of poverty reduction while a lot remains to be done in order to document how this could be carried out in specific implementation activities.

Two instruments have been demonstrated during the session here central to these sessions here. One instrument is the NUFU Programme and the place given to university collaboration on indigenous issues. This conference would not have taken place if it had not been for the contributions from NUFU partners, particularly from Guatemala and Nicaragua, but also from Botswana. These contributions have been very strong to remind us that this is a global issue which is addressed in different, but complimentary ways, on different continents. And the other instrument at play is the Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples. Here my partner, Henry Minde, will say a few words on the re-nomination of the Forum Board.

Henry Minde: The Forum Board is an advisory board for the Centre for Sámi Studies and so formally it is the University of Tromsø which appoints the members. Presently the Forum Board consists of 3 persons from the University of Tromsø and 3 persons from a wider circle of academics and NGOs in Norway. There is one representative nominated from The Sámi Council, the NGO which represents the Sámi in the Nordic countries and Russia. Another is a member of the Development Aid NGOs in Norway. The third, Georg Henriksen is both professor at the University of Bergen, and also the Chair of the IWGIA boards. As he now has to leave for reasons of health, the feeling is it will take two persons to replace him. We propose one more board member representing the international Development Aid NGOs, and specifically we are thinking of IWGIA, and one from an academic institution. We invite comments or proposals for names now or during the next few weeks following this conference.

Sidsel Saugestad: If anyone has comments please get in touch with the Centre for Sámi Studies within the next 2 weeks. We will take it up from there.

Finally, we would like to ask you for comments, reflections and criticism of the present conference. This is a time for winding up and saying how did we do it? What did we get out of this event? The next few minutes are open for feedback, comments, questions, and we invite suggestions for next year's conference. The floor is open.

Ragnhild Therese Valverde Nordvik: The organizers should offer an introduction to the different presentations, a contextualization of the speakers and their presentations.

Walter Añacata Avendaño: The conference should be accompanied by some cultural activities, such as a photography exhibition, dance, music, food.

Lars Løvold: When the themes are announced, you should not feel obliged to fill the programme. When the Board decides what is going on, maybe you could send out wide invitations to the NGOs, to the academics, inviting papers and contributions. You can select what you think is fitted, but that would mobilize generally the academics to a larger extent in advance and in that sense the Forum could become even more of a Forum. There was very little time to discuss. Discussions should happen not only in corridors, but also in the plenary – a very important function of this Forum. You should allow some time for real debates, not just ask questions and answers.

Keitseope Nthomang: I want to make two points. Firstly, if a call for papers is made, there should also be discussions for some of the papers that raise critical issues. That will allow some kind of follow up on some of the indigenous peoples' issues all over the world. The other point relates to the cooperation itself. Looking through the history of this cooperation, it seems to me that it was conceived at the University of Tromsø and it has been held here on an annual basis. To me, a Forum for Development Cooperation – resources permitting, of course – should rotate. And given that, the partners here have been involved with the Forum since it started, in particular the people from Latin America, Guatemala, Nicaragua. I would suggest that in future the Conference should be held in Guatemala or Nicaragua. To me it makes a lot of sense: Tromsø people should

also travel to Africa, Guatemala and hold a very interesting conference in the soil of the indigenous people there.

Francisco Puac: It is important to talk about follow-up, but what kind of follow-up do we wish? I do not think that the most important is what took place here, there is a lot more importance in the implications and the agreements that are entered into. And a general recommendation is that we should use our time better to highlight conclusions and findings through the presentations and this could be obtained if the talks were less descriptive and less presentations of historic facts but rather suggestions from the speakers how to improve conditions in specific societies. Thank you very much!

Joel Mejia Ortiz: Let me first thank you for the development of this annual activity and personally I find this very good for Guatemala. There is a lot of information that we were presented during the conference, but it is not just a question of challenges relative to the globalization. It would also have been very interesting to have a run through the experiences relative to what has already been done in countries among indigenous peoples in the framework of globalization, experiences that could be used in other places. Of course, our aim as indigenous peoples is to achieve development for our people at the same time with maintaining our identity and having a free development, and I am certain there are experiences that we could look more closely at. I think, for instance, relative to creating a federation or associations like the Sámi have done, we could do that in Guatemala as Doctor Demetrio Cojti Cuxil was saying. There is a suggestion for the creation of a federation of the First Nations Peoples which might be relevant to Guatemala. I found here in the library a document written by Doctor Cojti and this is the first report written in Guatemala about the transition from a mono-ethnic people to a multiethnic one. The indigenous population is actually the majority, but it is not treated as a majority. This is one experience that we might address and also to consider the experiences from the African area, to see how things have changed in South Africa since the abolition of the Apartheid. Thank you!

Sidsel Saugestad: Thank you for the very constructive comments! Thank you for mentioning the crowded programme in a very polite way and we have noted that we need more time for discussion.

We are winding up. We have asked Ray Hooker to say a few remarks to send you on your way with a good feeling.

Ray Hooker: We have been privileged to participate in a conference of this nature. This has been a very valuable experience. This conference has been strengthened by the cultural diversity and heritage of Africa with the powerful example of Nelson Mandela teaching politicians of the world how to gracefully relinquish power and not be consumed by power. This conference has also been nurtured by the example of Norway, which before WWII was one of the poorest countries in Europe, now one of the wealthiest of the world, sharing without imposing, sharing with very high levels of respect some of its knowledge, wealth and values with the less fortunate of the world. This is a conference which has been enriched by the presence of Latin America, grappling with the challenged of trying to come up with an identity system in which the indigenous presence, the presence of Africa and the presence of Latin America is reconciled. This is a conference which has been made very valuable because of the Sámi struggle which is showing to the world and its indigenous peoples the positive results which can be achieved when indigenous peoples and the central government can live together in an environment of mutual respect and ever increasing levels of understanding.

This conference has also been enriched by the academic presence of the United States which many times is stimulating. These three days we have been grappling with fundamental issues. We have been trying to grapple with the nature of culture, cultural renewal, cultural flux and change, cultural strengthening and survival. During this conference, initial contacts which have the potential of becoming lasting and fruitful relationships and friendships have been established. We have an opportunity of establishing if we work at it a network of workers of knowledge, where the joint values and strength of Africa, Europe, Latin America, can be combined.

I want to thank, hopefully in the name of all participants, the organizers of this conference for providing us with a wonderful opportunity where we have been able to exchange ideas, experiences and aspirations. I know

we will return to our respective homes, countries and continents as better men and women because of this fruitful experience. Thank you very much!

Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples

Forum conference 2005

“Globalization, Cultural resources and Indigenous Peoples”

Program. For more information: <http://www.sami.uit.no/forum/indexen.html>

Tuesday 04.10.2005

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.

Wednesday 05.10.2005

Opening of conference

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

09.15-09.25: Opening by rector at the University of Tromsø: Jarle Aarbakke.

09.25-09.45: Henry Minde, Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples: “Welcome and Background for the Conference”

09.45-10.15: Jon Bech, NORAD: “Indigenous peoples, poverty and rights in a global development framework”.

10.15-10.30: Coffee

10.30-11.15: Russel Barsh, Director Center for the Study of Coast Salish Environments, Anacortes, USA: “Trade and intellectual property rights: How do they affect indigenous knowledge, local plant varieties, and the other “ecological and intellectual resources” of indigenous peoples”.

11.15-11.30: Discussion

“Globalization and Indigenous Peoples: Poverty and Education”

Focus on Nicaragua

Focus on Guatemala

15.30-16.00: Professor Kay Warren, Brown University, USA: “After the Peace Process and the Referendum: The Prospect of Democracy and Social Justice in Guatemala”

16.00-16.30: Dr. Demetrio Cojtí Cuxil, San Carlos University, Guatemala: “The relation between higher education and the indigenous movement”

16.30-16.45: Discussion

16.45-17.00: Coffee

Forum update

17.00-17.15: Lars Løvold, Director Rainforest Foundation Norway: “Culturally and linguistically tailormade education: an important element in the fight for Indigenous Peoples rights. Lessons from Brazil”.

17.15-17.30: Angel Valdez, Director IDEI: Capacity building and university co-operation. The case of Maya Competence Building.

17.30-17.45: Keitseope Nthomang, University of Botswana and Coordinator, South, of the Collaborative Programme for San/Basarwa Research and Capacity Building: “Challenges for minority education and capacity building in Botswana”.

18.00: Dinner at Cantina Faculty of Law

Thursday 06.10.2005

“Globalization and Indigenous Peoples: Poverty and Education” continues

Focus on Guatemala

- 09.15-09.45: Eduardo Enrique Sacayón, San Carlos University, Guatemala: ”Higher education and multicultural society. The case of Guatemala”
- 09.45-10.15: Professor Georges Midré, University of Tromsø: “Education and poverty reduction. Experiences from Guatemala”
- 10.15-10.30: Discussion
- 10.30-10.45: Coffee
- 10.45-11.15: Pablo Rangel, University of Tromsø: “The Unfinished Mission: The History of the ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous Peoples in Guatemala”
- 11.15-11.45: Juliana Turqui, University of Tromsø: “Indigenous Workers in Guatemala City and the Mayan Movement. Exploring the Representation of Ethnic and Labour Demands”
- 11.45-12.15: Discussion
- 12.15-13.15: Lunch

“Cultural resources documentation and mapping”

- 13.15-13.45: Hans Petter Hergum, Norwegian Church Aid: “A culture and heritage program - an example from Southern Africa”.
- 13.45-14.15: Liv Skaare, Norwegian Church Aid: “Behind the pictures - encounters with paintings from the Kuru project”
- 14.15-14.45: Karine Rousset, Kuru Family of Organization: “Mapping as Development Tool – Experiences and lessons learnt through mapping and cultural programmes of Kuru”.
- 14.45-15.15: Discussion
- 15.15-15.45: Guided tour to art exhibition
- 15.45-16.15: Coffee
- 16.15-16.45: Anetta Bok, †Khomani San (South-Africa): “Mapping in the sand – The experiences of the †Khomani with mapping in the Trans Kalahari Transfrontier Park that led to a successful land claim”.
- 16.45-17.00: Discussion
- 19.00: Dinner at Radisson SAS hotel

Friday 07.10.2005

“Cultural resources documentation and mapping” continues

- 09.15-09.45: Collin Tshima, Chairman of the †Heku Trust, Chairman of the Regional WIMSA board. (Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa): “Our Land is Our Life – The NG 13 Project in Northern Botswana”.

Forum update

- 09.45-10.00: //Hoeseb, Inspector of Education, Otjozondjupa region (Namibia): “Government commitment to San education”
- 10.00-10.15: Svein Ørsnes, Managing Director, Namibia Association of Norway: “Our experiences from Namibia”.
- 10.15-10.30: Geir Tommy Pedersen, Saami Council: “Indigenous to Indigenous Cooperation”
- 10.30-11.00: Discussion

Summing up

- 11.00-11.30: Professor Sidsel Saugestad, Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples: “Status and the way forward for the Forum”
- 11.30-11.45: Closure of the conference
- 11.45-12.30: Lunch

List of participants

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University of Tromsø

Arnegaard Turid

Norad

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