



OKICIYAB

"To help each other"

Promoting Best Practices in Indigenous
Community Development

Final Report

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**First Peoples Worldwide of the
First Nations Development Institute**
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

First Peoples Worldwide (FPW) was initiated in 1997 in response to the overwhelming international request from Indigenous Peoples for the type of effective and culturally appropriate community development. First Nations Development Institute (FNDI) had been providing domestically for twenty-five years. FPW's programs have been grounded in the belief that assets are the building blocks of wealth and that Indigenous Peoples own substantial assets but lack the asset control necessary to benefit from them. FPW also believes that successful economic development is a holistic process which does not solely rely on financial assets but takes into account political, social and cultural variables of a community.

FPW noticed that many programs funded by large, influential development donors saw the practices of Native Peoples as impediments to economic development. This provincial approach is gradually being replaced by more progressive models that encourage the identification and leveraging of those aspects of Indigenous cultures that serve as catalysts for development. However, in researching the efficacy of this approach, FPW noted the scarcity of recorded information regarding Indigenous Peoples' development programs and interventions. FPW proposed to conduct a study to evaluate programs and study their design frameworks to determine models that have been successful and to map the incorporation of Indigenous cultures into successful and non-successful program designs.

In 2004, FPW partnered with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Bank in undertaking this case-based study. Soon after its initiation, the study was named *Okiciyab* (pronounced "Oh-kee-chee-yub"), which means "to help each other" in the Lakota Sioux language. FPW used two asset-based frameworks to analyze three previously conducted projects intended to enhance the economic development of Indigenous communities. The nature of the study was to identify Native people's own views of success and failure in an assortment of externally funded Indigenous development interventions. What distinguishes this assessment from all others is its comprehensive analysis of these programs through the application of FNDI's "Elements of Development" framework.

Elements of Development Framework

Originally conceived in 1991, the Elements of Development framework evolved from FNDI's extensive experience working with dozens of tribes in the United States. Its purpose was to present a more holistic, comprehensive approach to development than that offered by economics-centric development models, one that could be used in both planning Indigenous development interventions and evaluating their impact. The *Okiciyab* research project represents the first time the framework has been systematically applied in assessing Indigenous development experiences outside of the U.S.

The following 16 Elements of Development provide the basis for determining the outcomes that are expected for each project tracked during the grant period, and what differences are made in the community.

- ◆ Income: This element refers to improvements in the financial well-being of the community.
- ◆ Trade/Exchange: This element attempts to capture changes in the economic relationship between the community and others by measuring both the direct and indirect impact from economic activities.
- ◆ Productivity Skills: This element refers to changes in employment, skills and knowledge in the community. It is related to building human capital.
- ◆ Vibrant Initiative: This refers to the creativity and entrepreneurial spirit within the community, and is related to leadership and innovative use of resources.
- ◆ Responsibility and Consequences: This element relates to strengthened integrity and accountability within the community. At the organizational level, this may be measured as improvements in the management capacity of the organization.
- ◆ Health and Safety: This element refers to a sense of security and well-being within the community.
- ◆ Political and Civic Participation: This refers to the degree to which the community engages in the political and civic life both within and outside the community.
- ◆ Social Respect: Social respect is closely related to political and civic participation, but refers to the type of networks and collaborative partnerships formed between the community and others.
- ◆ Cultural Integrity: This element captures the maintenance and strengthening of traditional knowledge and cultural practices.
- ◆ Choices and Vision: This element refers to the expansion of opportunities in the community and engagement in long-term strategic visioning.

- ◆ Hope/Future Orientation: Closely related to choices and vision, this element captures the level of community investment in its future and its people.
- ◆ Environmental Balance: This refers to the environmental or ecological impact of economic activities, and the degree to which a balance is maintained between ecological and economic outcomes.
- ◆ Control of Assets: This element refers to the ability of the community to control their assets in order to create wealth.
- ◆ Personal Efficacy: This element refers to a sense of confidence in one's own ability. A community needs people with confidence in their own ability.
- ◆ Kinship: This element relates to the networks among community members and families.
- ◆ Spirituality: This element refers to the underlying value system of the community, and the sense of well-being among community members.

FPW chose FNDI's Lakota Fund project, which has been running completely independent from FNDI for over twelve years, USAID's "Protecting Biodiversity Habitats" project for the Awa in Ecuador, and the World Bank's Mgahinga Bwindi Impenetrable Forest Conservation Trust (MBIFCT) for the Batwa in Uganda.

Between 2004 and 2006, FPW staff conducted field research trips to these areas to administer surveys and interviews regarding the affects of the respective intervention projects on the Indigenous communities involved. This data was then compiled in separate trip reports and analyzed by FPW according to the Elements of Development framework.

Case Studies

The Lakota Fund project was a microcredit project that the Lakota community undertook on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, USA. The Fund made loans to individuals in the Lakota community for purchasing land, starting businesses, or developing other economic infrastructure. The oldest of the projects studied, by 1992, the Lakota Fund had become self-sufficient.

The second study was a project spearheaded by a number of different assistance organization, including the MBIFCT, to assist the Batwa (pygmy) people living in the vicinity of the Mgahinga and Bwindi Impenetrable National Parks. The Batwa had been evicted from the area—their traditional homeland—in the early 1990s. The situation among the Batwa was so serious that the MBIFCT scrapped much of their original design of the project in order to help the Batwa gain access to land. However,

due to funding constraints, land could only be purchased for a little over half of those originally targeted for the assistance. The project then changed to supporting education of Batwa children.

The third Study involved the Ecuador Awa. The project was a coordinated effort among a number of stakeholders, including the Awa Federation, FCAE, to control the logging initiative in Awa territory and to create value-added positions for the Awa in the harvesting of timber. While the project clearly helped the Awa gain control of their assets, some of the Awa families became impatient at the slow pace of the project and began making deals with industrial logging operations outside of the Awa community.

Analysis

The following is a summary of the findings from all three case studies in respect to the “Elements of Development” framework.

Lakota Case Findings

One prevailing theme that was voiced by all of the residents interviewed during the Study was that the Lakota Fund was ‘Lakota’, meaning it represented the cultural values of the community. This resulted in positive community development. There was overall community ownership of the Fund, and both current and past employee and Board members of the Fund acknowledge responsibility for both the Fund’s successes and failures. Over the past two decades preceding this study, there has been an increase in the number of small businesses owned by Lakota people on the reservation and members of the younger generation expressed an interest in also starting business on the reservation. Through the Fund there was a positive increase in almost every one of the Elements of Development, which FPW posits as integral to the community acceptance and long-term success of the program.

Batwa Case Findings

Of the three Indigenous peoples whose ethnodevelopment experiences were researched during this project, the Batwa’s situation was found to be the most dire. The MBIFCT purchased 326 hectares of land for the Batwa between 1998 and 2002, enough for only 58 percent of Batwa households. This purchase fell short of its target of 400 hectares of land for 100 percent of households due to a funding shortage. Because the intervention did not necessarily consider the effects that this partial land

provision to some community members would have on the elements of kinship, community, social respect, and personal efficacy these elements suffered as a result of the intervention. Only Batwa who were granted land saw any increase in the quality of their situation and only the community of Nketo (one of several communities involved) saw positive increases in elements such as Cultural Integrity and Personal Efficacy which was largely due to isolated programs initiated by American missionaries. While the case study details the best intentioned efforts of both civil and public sector actors to help the Batwa, it also points out that unless there is an increase in culturally appropriate assistance offered to them, these efforts are not likely to amount to anything more than overdue remediation.

Awa Case Findings

In reviewing the activities proposed to accomplish the project goals, it is clear that they were largely oriented to capacity building (by providing technical assistance and training), in areas that went beyond the sustainable forestry effort that was the main subject of the case study. The major focus of the Project was to raise incomes and increase levels of trade and exchange, in a manner that would help to maintain environmental balance in the Awa Territory. This program was largely successful as a result of the implementing organization's direct consultation of the Indigenous community members.

The quality of the assessments of ethnodevelopment outcomes and impacts in the *Okiciyab* case studies paints a valid portrait of where the donor agencies should be going with respect to their continued support for Indigenous community development. FPW holds that the correlation between the Elements of Development and success is in direct proportion to number of specific elements that are incorporated within the design. Planning documents indicated the Lakota Fund incorporated all 16 of the Elements within its intervention strategy. Field research identified at least 12 to 14 of the Elements as part of the design in the Awa PHB intervention strategy. Both of these projects were considered successful, with the Awa project only slightly less so than that of the Lakota Fund.

An analysis of the cross-case, Elements-driven findings indicates a progression that mirrors the evolution of approaches to Indigenous development within the large donor agencies. Each of these steps in the continuum are development intervention models that can be expressed as follows:

1. The idea for an Indigenous community development intervention originates outside of the community affected. It is financed, designed, implemented, and monitored/evaluated by the external agency, with little or no participation by community members. It does not have the generation of benefits for the Native community members as an explicit goal, and it does not anticipate risks to the community that may emerge.
2. The idea for an Indigenous community development intervention originates outside of the community affected. It is financed, designed, implemented, and monitored/evaluated by the external agency, but with some to considerable participation by community members. It has the generation of benefits for the Native community members as a primary or secondary goal.
3. The idea for an Indigenous community development intervention originates outside of the community affected, as does the financing and some ideas for the design. However, the intervention is largely designed and implemented in participatory fashion by Indigenous organization(s) and/or intermediary NGOs supporting them, for the direct benefit of community members.
4. The idea for an Indigenous community development intervention originates within the community itself. It is designed, implemented, monitored/evaluated, and perhaps even partially financed by Indigenous organization(s) and/or intermediary NGOs supporting them, with additional financing and technical assistance from the external agency.

The first two positions signify the stage at which the multilateral and bilateral development agencies have been and, in many cases, continue to be. The latter two positions, which are much more in keeping with the strategies and aims of true ethnodevelopment, signify the stage at which Indigenous Peoples would like the agencies to be. With respect to the interventions themselves, the application of the Elements of Development to the findings clarifies at which stage of the continuum a particular program is operating. In turn, this helps to explain the responses of the intended beneficiaries in each case and, even more importantly, the extent to which the positive transformations promoted by each project are likely to endure. The Uganda-Batwa case is largely summed up by the first model, but could be considered closer to the second one, as the MBIFCT did have as one of its (lesser-priority) goals the support of the Batwa through land grants. The U.S.-Oglala Lakota case falls between the third and the fourth steps, but could be considered closer to the third, as the idea for the Lakota Fund did not originate on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The

Ecuador-Awa case provides the clearest example of the self-directed development intervention described by the fourth step, because the Protecting Biodiversity Habitats project sought to support a program already being managed by the Awa Federation, rather than create a new vehicle for project implementation.

Conclusions

Having analyzed the findings from the three case studies, FPW has arrived at the following general conclusions that apply to undertakings to address economic development in Indigenous communities:

1. Development is a systemic process that must be integrated with the political, social and economic sectors of the community
2. “True” ethnodevelopment is culturally appropriate, and supports project designs that are explicitly tailored to local realities.
3. Funding for project implementation should be tied to essential developmental processes that include specific benchmarks for increasing the community’s capacity in control and management of assets, cultural integrity, and political participation.
4. FPW’s research concluded that the interventions had multiple, varied, and sometimes contradictory impacts and that when using the holistic Elements framework for evaluative assessment or design analytic purposes, it is very important to be aware of the dynamics arising from the interdependency of the different dimensions of the framework.
5. The cautionary tale presented by the Uganda-Batwa experience implies that donors such as USAID or the World Bank would do well to commission a study on the ways in which current forms of development assistance are negatively impacting Indigenous Peoples’ rights.

Recommendations

Based on the conclusions listed above, FPW has developed a set of corresponding recommendations for funders interested in supporting Indigenous economic development programs.

1. Regardless of the specific project or intervention strategy, a framework such as the Elements of Development must be utilized for systematically designing and integrating the intervention strategy into these sectors
2. FPW’s Elements of Development *should occupy a central design principle* within

any organization's intervention strategies for IPs and programming for many years to come.

3. At a minimum, it is recommended that any intervention strategy be designed to incorporate the following three elements: control of assets, cultural integrity and political participation.

4. It is recommended that FPW's interrelated frameworks or some such other culturally appropriate mechanism be used throughout the entire intervention strategy implementation by which such changes could be recorded, analyzed, enhanced, mitigated and/or self corrected adaptations be made.

5. There is an immediate and pressing need for further research on the current effectiveness of and future prospects for externally induced Indigenous community development.

Ultimately, the contributions of this research project rest on the depth, and not the breadth, of its analysis. Neither the Asset Building nor the Elements of Development frameworks are seen as static. Research findings indicate that as FPW's work proceeds and we continue to use the asset building approach and apply the EOD in both design and assessment of intervention strategies key lessons and better understanding of culturally appropriate development theory and practice will evolve.

PREFACE

Since its inception in 1997, First Peoples Worldwide (FPW) has forged partnerships with Indigenous communities throughout the world to implement a range of asset building programs. The program model employed by FPW flows from the asset-based development strategy pioneered by its former parent organization, the First Nations Development Institute (FNDI).

The foundation of this strategy is that systemic development is a holistic process that integrates the social, political and economic variables of a community to a project. Indigenous People around the world own substantial assets (e.g., land, natural resources, wildlife, etc.) but, because they do not control them, they fail to derive benefits from those assets. FPW strongly believes that development is a **systemic process** and not a project. Consequently, development systems must be integrated with the social, political and economic sectors of Indigenous communities. Through the effective deployment of assets, these communities can continually generate income and other resources, and ensure the maintenance and creation of wealth into the future.

“What distinguishes this assessment from the others, however, is its comprehensive analysis of Indigenous assets, through the application of the “Elements of Development” framework. This framework provides a mechanism to measure the multi-dimensional and qualitative impact of projects on community development.”

In late 2003, FPW first conceived an international research project that was designed to identify and disseminate examples of best practice in Indigenous community development. The research was to be based on two asset-based conceptual frameworks developed by FNDI. In recent years, a number of noteworthy studies and evaluations have been conducted to provide recommendations on Indigenous development; this study is complementary to the previous works. What distinguishes this assessment from the others, however, is its comprehensive analysis of Indigenous assets, through the application of the **“Elements of Development”** framework. This framework provides a mechanism to measure the multi-dimensional and qualitative impact of projects on community development.

FPW has always recognized the deficiencies of many public policies and economically heavy development theories, especially in their treatment of Indigenous Peoples. Historically, researchers and policy-makers either overemphasize the problems in Indigenous communities without offering any viable solutions, or they support

continuing misrepresentation of Indigenous priorities through overly narrow or partial research. Furthermore, some policy-makers seem all too inclined to adopt or support policies that limit the effective control that Indigenous Peoples exercise over their natural and other resources, and over their potential contributions by overlooking the strong tradition of sustainable management at the core of many communities.

It was with these factors in mind that FPW developed this research project. Its focus was to identify Native people's own views of success and failure in an assortment of externally funded Indigenous development interventions. We discussed our thoughts

“Development comes from within. It cannot be done to people, or for people, but must ultimately come from people.”

with a number of professionals in the large international development organizations that were most likely to sponsor such interventions, and found that many of them were keenly

interested in what we were planning to do. It had been quite evident that Indigenous community development or “Ethnodevelopment” was notoriously difficult to do well. The large development donors needed more advice on how to improve this aspect of their lending and granting process. Accordingly, they seemed more than willing to support a global research effort built on FPW's holistic, participatory, and asset-centered approach.

In reading this report, it is important to keep in mind three key factors relative to Ethnodevelopment:

1. First and foremost, it has been well established that there is a development crisis in poor communities around the world, which is being fueled by the development paradigm that produces the crisis. Without the tools and the use of empirical data that is aged, it is difficult to measure or assess whether the new development paradigms have or are having any recognizable impact on the Indigenous People who are to be benefited. There is clearly a need for a new paradigm to bring about a development process which is people-centered, sustainable and self-reliant.
2. FPW's view of development goes beyond economics to focus on the development of a people. It is our view that development has traditionally focused on only one quadrant of the “Elements of Development” model—i.e., Economic and Financial Assets—and ignored other aspects of Indigenous life so it will never provide the *balance* necessary to improve the quality of life for

all. Balance is a necessary component of Indigenous Peoples understanding of the world.

3. Development comes from within. ***It cannot be done to people, or for people, but must ultimately come from people.*** It follows that the “Elements of Development” serves as a guide, as well as an overall framework, which can be used by individuals and groups to develop their own measures and indicators of ethnodevelopment success and accomplishment. A first step in empowerment is recognizing that your values, belief systems, and traditional knowledge are valid and important.

Because little material exists on developing an extensive framework for asset identification or classification, especially for Indigenous Peoples and their communities, research and data collection in the context of this project was problematic – we found no useable information on projects that was more than two (2) years old. This dearth of information posed a tremendous research challenge, but it was one that we were committed to trying to overcome. It is our hope that this Report begins to fill that void. With this initial effort, First Peoples Worldwide has begun to articulate more precisely the complex scheme of Indigenous community development and the assets comprising it.

Accordingly, we hope that the large development organizations will join us in disseminating the results of the research and in trying to build on its conclusions and recommendations.



Rebecca Adamson
Founder and Executive Director
First Peoples Worldwide

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BIA	U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs
CDFI	Community Development Financial Institution
CEFOVE	Grupo Nacional de Trabajo sobre Certificación Forestal Voluntaria en Ecuador / National Working Group on Voluntary Forest Certification In Ecuador
CONAIE	Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador
CoP	Community of Practice
CTF	Centro de Transformación Forestal / Wood Processing Center
EGAT	Bureau of Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade
FCAE	Federación de Centros Awa del Ecuador / Federation of Awa Centers of Ecuador
FNDI	First Nations Development Institute
FPW	First Peoples Worldwide
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GIS	Geographic Information System
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
MBIFCT	Mgahinga and Bwindi Impenetrable Forest Conservation Trust (“the Trust”)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
PQLI	Physical Quality of Life Indicator
SUBIR	Sustainable Use of Biological Resources program
UN	United Nations
UNPFII	United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

INTRODUCTION

Background

In early 2004, First Peoples Worldwide, then the international arm of FNDI, partnered with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Bank in undertaking a case-based study of best practices in projects and programs involving Indigenous People in different parts of the world. Soon after its initiation, the study was named *Okiciyab* (pronounced “Oh-kee-chee-yub”), which means “to help each other” in the Lakota Sioux language.¹ The study was designed to focus on development projects that had a least one component oriented to benefiting Indigenous Peoples; and to make a retrospective assessment of the intervention strategies, implementation experiences, and outcomes in a small set of completed Indigenous development interventions that received technical and financial support from the three sponsors of the research: USAID, the World Bank, and FNDI. Additionally, the study was also designed to examine the application of FNDI’s “Elements of Development” framework in the collection of data around Indigenous assets and the measurement of community perceptions of project results.

The overall goal of the study was to generate a number of suggestions and recommendations that would enhance future grant awards in support of Indigenous community development, especially in developing countries. The recommendations, which appear in the final section of this report, although primarily directed at the international development agencies, will hopefully have applicability to the grant making activities of large private foundations.

The *Okiciyab* Project was carried out over a two-year period with a total budget of approximately \$350,000. Although originally slated to last approximately one and a half years, through the end of December 2005, in order for FPW to satisfactorily complete all of the Project deliverables it received a no-cost extension from USAID through the end of June 2006. Most of the Project funding (\$200,000) came from a grant made by the Office of Poverty Reduction in USAID’s Bureau of Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade (EGAT). The partnership between FNDI and EGAT took the form of a Cooperative Agreement in April 2004.² At about the same

¹ Project coordinators in FPW chose the word *okiciyab* because they felt it reflected the mutually beneficial relationship between Indigenous respondents and their interviewers in FPW, as a reflection of the larger collaborative dynamic that the Indigenous-managed FPW hopes to create in its work with kindred Indigenous communities overseas.

² Beyond providing a synthesis of research findings that can serve as the basis for dissemination and debate, this Final Report serves to satisfy FNDI’s reporting obligations to USAID under Agreement no. EEM-G-00-04-00003-00.

time, the World Bank provided a grant of \$100,000 from the President's Discretionary fund, and counterpart funding from FNDI accounted for the rest of the Project's funding.

The Search for New Approaches to Indigenous Community Development

During the last 15 years, there has been a noticeable shift in the way multilateral and bilateral development agencies have approached projects and programs involving Indigenous Peoples. Large, influential development donors like the World Bank have moved away from models that treated the distinctive beliefs, values, and practices of Native Peoples as impediments to economic development that needed to be changed. This previously provincial approach has now been replaced by more progressive models that encourage the identification and leveraging of those aspects of Indigenous cultures that serve as **catalysts** for development. This evolution is the result of growing public pressure on governments and corporations to respect internationally recognized human rights, and an increasingly effective transnational activism by Indigenous Peoples themselves. Recently Indigenous leaders and their allies, both outside and within international development agencies, have been actively trying to convince these agencies to engage with Indigenous and tribal Peoples on a whole new level. The focus of this initiative is for these entities to not simply address Indigenous needs through discrete projects in health, education, environment, and other sectors, but to engage Indigenous Peoples as full partners in more integrated programs built on the concept of "development with identity."³

The fact remains that the multilateral and bilateral development agencies are devoting increasingly larger amounts of financial and human resources to initiatives involving Indigenous Peoples. Accordingly, the focuses of such interventions are going beyond the mitigation of adverse impacts on Indigenous and tribal Peoples.

The World Bank and Indigenous Peoples

A recent example of the World Bank's growing attention to Indigenous development issues can be found in its support for the Global Fund for Indigenous Peoples. The Fund was the result of a collaboration that began to take shape in late 2002, after a meeting facilitated by First Peoples Worldwide between the Bank and 15 Indigenous leaders from around the world. The Global Fund is composed of three components:

³ See Nieuwkoop and Uquillas 2000. "Development with identity" is also the term used in the Inter-American Development Bank's Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples, which was under consideration for much of the *Okwijab* project period before finally being approved in February 2006.

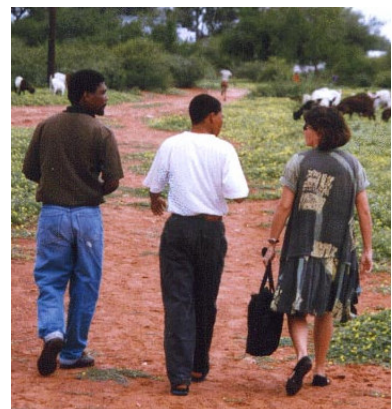
(a) financial support to strengthen the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues; (b) a capacity building program for Andean Indigenous leadership in the South America region; and (c) a Grants Facility for Indigenous Peoples, which was to be run out of the Bank for an incubation period of three years. The Facility was created to offer Indigenous organizations the possibility of designing and implementing sustainable development projects based on local cultural preferences.

Now in its third year of implementation, the Facility has successfully completed two rounds of grant making, awarding over a total of US \$869,000 for 55 projects in all six major regions where the Bank does business.⁴ The Grants Facility is administered by a Board having Indigenous representation in a voting majority, and by a Secretariat responsible for administrative, technical, and financial matters. At the time of this writing, arrangements were being made to transfer the Grants Facility to its new institutional home in the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD).

The *Okiciyab* research project was originally intended to serve as the base of operations of the Grants Facility for Indigenous Peoples. It was envisioned that this structure would; (1) serve as the main focus of the research; (2) provide for the analysis of the research data collected; and (3) supply analysis data for preparation of recommendations and conclusions. The intent was to show how the “Elements of Development” could be used both as a sort of “design template” and as an evaluative framework for large development donors wishing to provide support to Indigenous organizations and their intermediaries directly, in the form of grants. Sometime following the inception of the *Okiciyab* Project, FPW amplified its scope to examine cases of the World Bank and USAID development and lending initiatives of Indigenous Peoples in a broader sense. At the same time it was decided that the focus on providing recommendations to development donors involved in grant making for Indigenous community development would be retained.

USAID and Indigenous Peoples

It is well established that USAID provides grants for Indigenous community development in various parts of the world. A large number of its grants support integrated programs for international and local NGOs.⁵ The Agency has quite predictably promoted modes of



⁴ World Bank Group 2005, 6

⁵ United States Agency for International Development 2005, 7

overseas economic development that mirror certain aspects of the U.S. national character. This has been seen, on one hand, in regulations that prohibit granting to countries whose governments engage in gross violations of human rights and, on the other, in policies and programs designed to promote the consolidation of democratic institutions around the world. Since at least the early 1990s, USAID has encouraged granting for such objectives as strengthening the rule of law and respect for human rights, promoting a politically engaged civil society, and improving democratic governance in developing countries.⁶ It has an even longer history of supporting aid programs in sectors that are directly related to Native Peoples' most urgent development needs, such as health, education, and human resources development. There is surprisingly little evidence of an effort on the part of USAID to address Indigenous development issues in any systematic fashion, or at an Agency-wide level. Most USAID reports and publications that discuss Indigenous Peoples' issues and concerns are linked not to the health, education, or governance sectors, but to the Environment/Natural Resource Management area of the Agency's programming. In this particular area, however, USAID's attention to Indigenous issues has increased in recent years. The Agency's informal working group on Indigenous Peoples was set up on the initiative of its Environment staff. On the operational side, Indigenous livelihoods enhancement has been pursued as part of substantial forestry-related investments by the Agency in Bolivia and Russia since the mid-1990s.⁷ Additional examples of how USAID Environment staff has begun to recognize Indigenous protagonism in environmental stewardship can be found in the ten-year Sustainable Use of Biological Resources (SUBIR) program in South America.⁸ The Agency now appears poised to build on this trend, through an upcoming \$50 million effort, the Amazon Basin Conservation Initiative, in which Indigenous resource management and livelihoods issues are front and center.

The desire to come to grips with increased Indigenous participation in the programs and projects it is supporting was part of the reason staff in EGAT's Office of Poverty Reduction decided to commission a study of best practices in Indigenous community development. FPW has responded to EGAT's request not only by focusing one of the three case studies in the *Okiciyab* research project on USAID-funded activities in Ecuador, but also by building the research questions and assumptions on the type of conceptual foundations that are sure to generate interesting and relevant recommendations. These foundations are summarized in the next section.

⁶ Most of the projects and programs in this area have been coordinated through the Agency's Democracy, Governance, and Human Rights office.

⁷ United States Agency for International Development 2003, 23-25; 41

⁸ Stocks and Oña 2005, 6

RESEARCH FOUNDATIONS

The focus of the *Okiciyab* Project design was to examine the outcomes and impacts of three very different ethnodevelopment cases from diverse areas of the world; (1) the U.S. Ogala Lakota People of South Dakota; (2) the Batwa People of Uganda; and (3) the Awa People of Ecuador. The Project utilized two analytical tools/frameworks during both the desk and field research activities and the data analysis stage of activities. Both tools were developed by FNDI through many years of trial and error and organizational learning. The first framework, “Asset Building,” contains a broad typology of assets that reflects the holistic nature of Indigenous conceptions of value, together with a listing of the strategies that can be used to mobilize assets in support of Indigenous sustainable development. The second framework “Elements of Development,” links those assets and asset strategies to a multi-dimensional tool for conceiving of development processes involving Native Peoples in a more holistic, integrated way—a way that, in FNDI’s experience, reflects the holistic worldviews of Indigenous Peoples themselves.

The Asset Building Framework

The history of asset ownership and management in Indigenous communities is different from that in most other rural communities. According to international legal standards such as those outlined in ILO Convention No. 169, Indigenous People own (or otherwise possess) many assets, including land; natural resources; cultural and intellectual property; legal, political, and human capital; and, in some cases, financial assets. All too often, however, Indigenous People do not control these assets. Therefore, they neither receive the benefits of nor derive the revenues from the assets, as the wealth associated with them is captured by outside interests in the form of governments, multinational corporations, large conservation organizations, and powerful individuals. The single unifying issue facing Indigenous Peoples everywhere in the world is how to contend with the “asset stripping” arising from this imbalanced pattern of asset control.

“Indigenous People own (or otherwise possess) many assets, including land; natural resources; cultural and intellectual property; legal, political, and human capital; and, in some cases, financial assets. All too often, however, Indigenous People do not control these assets.”

In the course of implementing numerous Indigenous capitalization projects, FNDI developed a framework and a related set of tools for helping Indigenous Peoples in building assets those individuals, organizations and communities can acquire, develop, improve, or transfer across generations.

An asset offers a way out of poverty because it is not simply consumed; it is a stock that endures and can be used in various ways to generate economic, psychological, social, and political benefits that foster resilience and social mobility. Assets identified within this framework include the following:

- Financial Assets: This is perhaps the most common form of community or individual wealth. Financial assets include savings, trust funds, stocks, bonds, and other forms of monetized investments. Financial assets are the most liquid form of assets and can be readily used to acquire other assets.
- Natural Assets: Land and natural resources provide Indigenous communities with a sustainable means of livelihood. These assets are often of cultural significance and provide environmental services such as cleaning, recycling and renewing air and water. The ability to manage these resources in a sustainable manner while generating economic benefits is a challenge for all communities.
- Human Capital: The skills, knowledge, education, and experience of people within a community are important for community-based development. Nurturing the productivity and creativity of people is fundamental to community well being.
- Social Capital: Social relations and networks (e.g. age sets, or kinship systems) within a community can support the building and maintenance of assets but do not in themselves generate income. Leadership development, community empowerment, and social justice are ways of increasing the social assets of a community.
- Legal and Political Assets: The legal rights and claims that an Indigenous community may have can support the ownership and control of economic assets. Similarly, “political” assets, such as sovereign status, tax immunity, or quota systems, can create economic opportunities.
- Institutional Assets: The institutions and organizations within a community can attract resources to the community and recycle them there. Such

institutions may include women's groups, producers' cooperatives, political bodies, and nonprofit organizations.

- Cultural Assets: These refer to the customs, traditions, and knowledge that are specific to an Indigenous community. Language is a cultural asset, as is a band or a tribe's intellectual property. Cultural assets are often "intangible" elements that underpin community life. However, the material expressions of culture can generate income and other assets.
- Psychological Assets: These provide a sense of security, control, and confidence, and a belief that one can take advantage of opportunities. They can provide an incentive to reduce risky behavior. They can engender a desire and ability to look toward the future, make plans, and take an interest in additional steps toward independence.

Focusing on assets as the building blocks of sustainable development is hardly new. Whether the aim is poverty alleviation or more effective natural resource management, asset-based approaches are, by now, well established in development practice and policy. USAID's "nature, wealth, and power" framework has attempted to integrate attention to environmental management, economic development, and good governance in the development of programmatic approaches to poverty alleviation in rural Africa.⁹

Complementing this enumeration of assets are a number of "asset strategies" that Indigenous Peoples can and do use to combat asset stripping and pursue their own development agendas. These strategies include the ability to manage, create, retain, leverage, utilize, and increase assets. In FPW's viewpoint, the ability to organize and direct the assets of a community in ways that improve its well-being provides the basis for an asset-based sustainable development strategy.

The Elements of Development Framework

Originally conceived in 1991, the Elements of Development framework evolved from FNNDI's extensive experience working with dozens of tribes in the United States. Its purpose was to present a more holistic, comprehensive approach to development than that offered by economics-centric development models, one that could be used in both planning Indigenous development interventions and evaluating their impact.

⁹ See United States Agency for International Development 2004

(See Appendix 1 for background on the development of the Elements). The *Okiciyab* research project represents the first time the framework has been systematically applied in assessing Indigenous development experiences outside of the U.S.

These Elements of Development provide the basis for determining the outcomes that are expected for each project tracked during the grant period, and what differences are made in the community.

One set of elements concerns the **economic and financial changes** in the development process. This includes such factors as income, employment, savings, and business activities.

- ♦ ***Income:*** This element refers to improvements in the financial well-being of the community. Specific indicators include a change in the financial valuation of an asset, an increase in the personal savings rate, or a decrease in the level of poverty. Changes in financial well-being can be measured at the individual, organizational, or community level.
- ♦ ***Trade/Exchange:*** This element attempts to capture changes in the economic relationship between the community and others by measuring both the direct and indirect impact from economic activities. Specific indicators include changes in the level of sales, increase in marketing outlets, the number of subsidiary businesses/activities supported, the level of additional resources secured, the type of resources secured (private vs. public), and the number of new clients assisted or served.
- ♦ ***Productivity Skills:*** This element refers to changes in employment, skills and knowledge in the community. It is related to building human capital. Specific indicators include the number of jobs created, the number of training workshops held, the number of individuals trained, the number and type of skills acquired, the amount of knowledge obtained, and the type of positions created.

A second set of elements relates to **leadership, community and institutional capacity and security**.

- ♦ ***Vibrant Initiative:*** This refers to the creativity and entrepreneurial spirit within the community, and is related to leadership and innovative use of resources. Specific indicators include the number and type of leaders developed, the

number of entrepreneurial activities, the amount of participation by leaders, the innovative use of resources, and the use of self-help or self-directed activities.

- ♦ ***Responsibility and Consequences:*** This element relates to strengthened integrity and accountability within the community. At the organizational level, this may be measured as improvements in the management capacity of the organization. Other specific indicators include the number and type of new organizations and entities established, financial stability, staff and leadership stability, ability to leverage resources, and increased community inclusion in decision-making processes.
- ♦ ***Health and Safety:*** This element refers to a sense of security and well-being within the community. Defined broadly, indicators include an improvement in health status, a decrease in the crime rate, and an increase in the availability of food resources.

A third set of elements addresses **social, political and cultural changes** in the development process.

- ♦ ***Political and Civic Participation:*** This refers to the degree to which the community engages in the political and civic life both within and outside the community. Specific measures include the number of political positions held, the number of people who attend community activities, changes in legal rights and authorities, and the number and type of resolutions, laws and policies passed.
- ♦ ***Social Respect:*** Social respect is closely related to political and civic participation, but refers to the type of networks and collaborative partnerships formed between the community and others. Specific indicators include the number of collaborative partners, the number of new partnerships and networks formed, the quality and diversity of networks, and the level of collaboration or coordination.
- ♦ ***Cultural Integrity:*** This element captures the maintenance and strengthening of traditional knowledge and cultural practices. Specific indicators include the degree to which indigenous knowledge is protected and promoted, the maintenance of language, and the continuation of traditional practices.

A fourth set of elements relates to the future in terms of **planning, opportunities and sustainability.**

- ♦ ***Choices and Vision:*** This element refers to the expansion of opportunities in the community and engagement in long-term strategic visioning. Indicators include the existence of a strategic plan and the number of people engaged in the planning process.
- ♦ ***Hope/Future Orientation:*** Closely related to choices and vision, this element captures the level of community investment in its future and its people. Specific indicators include the number of youth and elder participants in projects, the number of young adults who stay in the community, changes in educational attainment, and changes in the level of financial investment.
- ♦ ***Environmental Balance:*** This refers to the environmental or ecological impact of economic activities, and the degree to which a balance is maintained between ecological and economic outcomes. Specific measures include the degree to which natural resources are utilized or reproduced, the use of sustainable materials and technologies, the maintenance of genetic variety, and the use of risk analysis and cost/benefit analysis to assess alternatives.

In addition, there are four **significant relationships and cross cutting themes in the development process**, called transversal elements, that link the other elements together.

- ♦ ***Control of Assets:*** This element refers to the ability of the community to control their assets in order to create wealth. Examples of indicators are an increase in the access to land rights and an increase of control in the decision-making process.
- ♦ ***Personal Efficacy:*** This element refers to a sense of confidence in one's own ability. A community needs people with confidence in their own ability. Indicators include the ability to problem solve, increased self-esteem, a positive outlook, increased knowledge and skills, and the ability to engage in teamwork. On a community level, indicators include improved tribal leadership, community cooperation, and teamwork.
- ♦ ***Kinship:*** This element relates to the networks among community members and families. The kinship network connects the individual to the family and the tribe. Indicators related to the strengthening of kinship ties can focus on family

and extended family gatherings and shared services. Indicators include the extent to which a project strengthens family ties, and the number and type of extended families within a community.

- ♦ ***Spirituality:*** This element refers to the underlying value system of the community, and the sense of well-being among community members. Spirituality gives a person a sense of vision, a sense of who they are and meaning within the community and the larger universe. Indicators include instilling traditional values in children, helping children learn traditional language skills, and helping community members maintain a balance in life. Other indicators are the design, goals, and work patterns of the projects and whether they contribute to community well-being.

Graphic Depiction of Elements

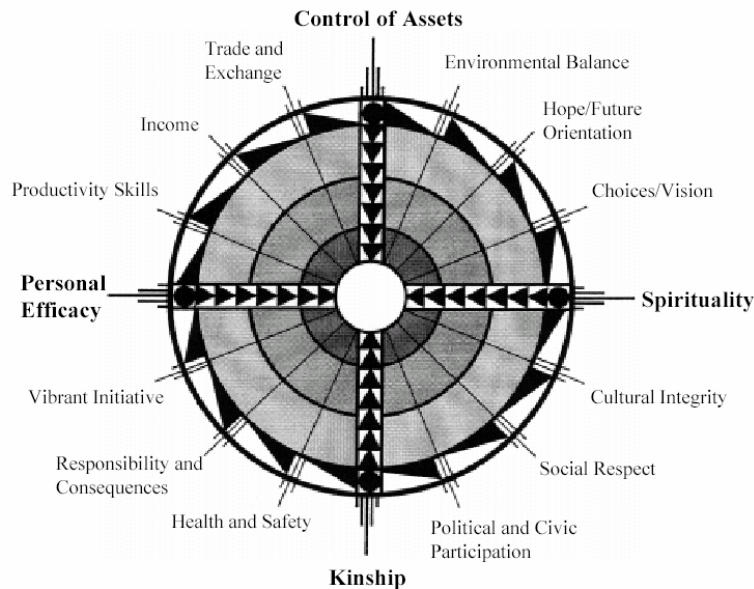
In order for the Elements framework to be fully appreciated, it must be viewed graphically (See Figure 1 below). The circle represents the interconnectedness of all things and the balance of life. The circle is useful to demonstrate a holistic model by visually indicating that we cannot look at parts of a whole, but must see the entire picture.

The four endpoints of the two main axes of the circle (the transversal elements) represent significant relationships and cross-cutting themes in the development process: *Assets*, *Kinship*, *Personal Efficacy*, and *Spirituality*. Within the four quadrants formed by the two axes are 12 other spokes denoting the actual Elements of Development. All the elements are interdependent and further connected through concentric circles on the individual, project, community, and national levels. This structure also lends itself to plotting the changes in asset utilization over time.

In subsequent analysis in this report, the affect of impact of the study on each element will be described not only in the text, but will be represented graphically through the Elements of Development Graph. Negative effects of the treatment of each element in the study will be represented in dashed red lines, and positive aspects will be in yellow. The arrows plot the points on the chart. The graphs are plotted on a four-point scale, which correspond to the concentric rings encircling the center of the graph. The points of the three charts depicted for the three case studies are relative and are used for comparative purposes. It is important to clarify that the elements are not indicators in and of themselves, but are dimensions or aspects of the development

process that can be used to formulate more broadly applicable indicators and set development goals.

Figure 1: The Elements of Development



Source: First Nations Development Institute (1991).

The quadrant framed by Control of Assets and Personal Efficacy contains the elements of **trade and exchange**, **income** and **productivity**. These elements directly equate with conventional economic measures such as informal household subsistence activities. Measures of employment could include a culturally specific definition beyond formal wage labor and focuses on providing a dignified livelihood. Trade and exchange could focus on how, and from whom, basic and other needs are being met.

The quadrant framed by Personal Efficacy and Kinship includes the elements of **vibrant initiative**, **responsibilities and consequences**, and **health and safety**. Vibrant initiatives is entrepreneurship in all facets – not just starting businesses, but improving government, initiating new programs and new activities, or reviving traditional activities. For development to occur, people and communities must assume the responsibility and consequences of their actions. Health and safety refers to the sense of security and physical well being within the community.

The quadrant framed by Kinship and Spirituality includes the elements of **political and civic participation, social respect, and cultural integrity**. This quadrant is symbolized by how people participate to demonstrate empowerment, and how that is perceived by themselves and others.

The final quadrant formed by Spirituality and Assets can be interpreted as the future. It includes **choices and options, hope and future orientation** or vision, and **ecological balance or environmental management**. Choices and options are critical for Indigenous Peoples. They have a worldview that stresses considering today's actions on future generations. The final and critical conceptual piece of the diagram is that it must operate within the limits of the earth, not separate from it or dominant over it. Therefore the model is shown within the ecology.

The Community of Practice for Okiciyab

At the inception of the *Okiciyab* Project, FPW convened numerous Indigenous leaders from around the world and other experts in the fields of anthropology, law, governance, Indigenous Peoples' rights, self-determination, and community development to provide guidance on the research premises and process. The result was a diverse Community of Practice (CoP) for the Project made up of Indigenous and non-Indigenous representatives of community-based organizations, international development agencies, philanthropic organizations, and academia. (See Appendix 2 for a complete list of CoP Members). FPW employed the methodology summarized in Table 1 to ensure that the membership of the CoP was representative of cultural, professional, geographic, and gender differences. In selecting the CoP Members, FPW looked for candidates who had some connection to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), since part of the idea was to realize cost savings by scheduling CoP meetings to coincide with UNPFII annual sessions.¹⁰

¹⁰ For more information on the Permanent Forum, see <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/>

Table 1: Criteria Matrix for CoP Members

	<i>PROFESSION</i>	<i>EXPERTISE</i>	<i>GEOGRAPHY</i>	<i>OTHER</i>
REPRESENTATION	Legal	Land Rights	Africa	Gender Balance
	Advocacy	Human & Indigenous Peoples' Rights	South America	Age Diversity
	International Indigenous Peoples' Representation	International Conventions	South Asia	UNPFII
	Community Practitioners	Economic Development	Eastern Europe	Costs
	Traditional Leader	Culture & Development	East Asia	
	Academic	Anthropological Research	Mesoamerica	
	Philanthropy	Funding	North America	

The CoP Members provided expert and insightful inputs that helped to structure and develop the priorities of the Okiciyab research, which reflected the culturally determined needs and values of Indigenous People. The group met for the first time in New York City in May 2004, to discuss project design matters and review proposed data collection and analysis techniques for the different phases of the research. At this meeting, the Members were engaged in an unstructured discussion of their personal experiences with successful and unsuccessful community development, and were then asked to list the characteristics that they associated with true ethnodevelopment. These questions were raised prior to the introduction and discussion of the Elements of Development framework.

A summary of the list generated by this exercise, which benefited from the robust participation of the CoP's Indigenous Members, can be found in Table 2. It is instructive to note that the characteristics identified by the CoP Members are identical to the elements in FNDI's framework except for semantics, such as the reference to "optimism" instead of "hope." Ad hoc meetings and formal meetings yielded the same results. These results served as an unqualified endorsement of the Elements as an appropriate framework for assessing and understanding the impacts of Indigenous development interventions.

Table 2: CoP-Reported Characteristics of Successful Development and the Elements of Development

<i>Element in FNDI Framework</i>	<i>Characteristics Reported by CoP Member(s)</i>
Control of Assets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political independence to economic dependence • Control of resources • Secured rights • Break the dependency • Autonomy
Personal Efficacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self confidence • Gain autonomy • Development on one's own terms • Local problem solving • Self respect • Self reliance
Kinship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring for one another • Skills transfer • Trust
Spirituality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring for one another • Traditional systems • Ceremonies • Sacred sites
Trade and Exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subsistence barter and global market
Income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political independence to economic dependence • Embedded local economic opportunities • Jobs
Productivity Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incremental capacity building • Bicultural skills • Skills transfer • Community-based empowerment
Vibrant Initiative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political independence to economic dependence • Self help
Responsibility and Consequences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incremental capacity building • Participation • Local decision-making
Health and Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less alcoholism • Better health

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No fighting •
Political and Civic Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved relationships • Participation • Networking
Social Respect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved relationships • Secured rights • Networking • Partnership equality
Cultural Integrity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional systems • Cultural identity • Sustain culture
Choices and Vision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Systemic reform • Development on one's own terms
Hope and Future Orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Future generations • Values of community
Environmental Balance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture of sustainability • Values of resource use • Clean environment

Also in its first meeting, the CoP Members expressed their preference for an approach to the research that was firmly grounded in the struggles and experiences of Indigenous People, over one that was overly complex and abstract and that relied on the heavy use of quantitative research techniques. The CoP met again in May 2006 to review the final results of the research and comment on FPW's plans for follow up to the *Okiciyab* Project.

RESEARCH METHODS

Framing the Research

During the first few months of the project, a number of different research designs for *Okiciyab* were proposed and examined. The focus of those involved in the discussions—FPW and FNFI staff, consultants supporting the work, USAID officers in the Economic Growth and Agricultural Track Office, and CoP members—was to devise the best approach for answering the proposed research questions, given the limited time and financial resources at FPW’s disposal. A significant amount of time was spent exploring whether the design favored by FPW for the *Okiciyab* Project was sufficient to produce valid and quantifiable results as to the causal link between Indigenous cultural particularities, and the perceived or actual impacts of ethnodevelopment interventions. Finally, budgetary issues and staffing changes led FPW project coordinators to determine that a compromise solution was necessary. This decision was affirmed by the feedback received from a number of social science research experts during a Methods Workshop held at the World Bank in late 2004.

The final design for the Project incorporated retrospective judgments of what did and did not work well in a limited set of cases, based on findings from both the desk research conducted and the on-site collection of primary data through semi-structured and structured interviewing.

Based on the foregoing, FPW selected the following questions for inclusion in the Case Studies to be performed during the Project:

1. What are the distinguishing characteristics of the Indigenous People(s) in the site?
2. What is the current “state of development” of the Indigenous People(s) in the site, in terms of (a) the allocation of tangible and intangible assets across communities; and (b) the strategies community members have for utilizing those assets?
3. What is the nature of the intervention being studied, and what have been the distinguishing features of its design, implementation, and evaluation?

4. What has been the impact of the intervention on the Indigenous People(s) named as its beneficiaries, in terms of the Elements of Development?
5. What lessons can be drawn and general recommendations made for future investments based on the impact of the intervention?

A copy of the generic questionnaire that FPW used for collecting the data in the field to answer these questions can be found in Appendix 3.

Selecting the Case Studies

As with the selection of suitable candidates for the Community of Practice, the identification of appropriate ethnodevelopment interventions for investigation through *Okicijab* required the application of a systematic methodology based on clearly articulated criteria. Two sets of criteria were devised: “homogenizing” and “diversifying.” The former term refers to requirements that provided for commonalities across all the cases. The latter term refers to requirements that provided for some variety in key aspects across the cases.

During the case study selection process, the homogenizing and diversifying criteria had to be revised. Originally, FPW had anticipated using project data that was 8-10 years old, and, finding few cases of this age, FPW revised the age of the case studies it anticipated analyzing to five years. However, **virtually all the USAID and World Bank interventions we found that were viable according to other criteria were relatively new.** Also, we decided that in order for the case-based discussion to be more relevant, it made sense to include not just those interventions considered by the funders, implementers, and putative beneficiaries as good examples of ethnodevelopment, but also those that, for various reasons, could be considered problematic. The period of the study was also adjusted to include short-term projects. At the same time, budgetary shortfalls made it necessary for FPW to cut the number of cases included in the study from seven to four.¹¹ The interventions that were finally selected for investigation are summarized in Table 3.

¹¹ For example, after considerable discussion, both the Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank declined to become involved in the project, removing an obvious source of support for the inclusion of ethnodevelopment projects in Asia and limiting the work in South America.

Table 3: Ethnodevelopment Interventions Selected as Case Studies

<i>Project/Program Name</i>	<i>Region & Country</i>	<i>Beneficiary People(s)</i>	<i>Start</i>	<i>End</i>	<i>Donor(s)</i>	<i>Recipient(s)</i>
Lakota Fund	North America, U.S.A.	Oglala Lakota of the Pine Ridge Reservation	1985	1992	FNDI, Ford Foundation	Lakota Fund
Bwindi Impenetrable National Park and Mgahinga Gorilla National Park Conservation	Africa, Uganda	Batwa	1995	2001	World Bank/GEF	Government of Uganda
Ecuadorian Awa Territory: Protecting Biodiversity Habitats	Latin America, Ecuador	Awa	2001	2004	USAID	WWF-Colombia, FCAE, and Fundación Altrópico
Science and Traditional Knowledge in Water Quality	South-Central Russia, Gorno-Altai Republic	Altai	1999	2002	USAID	Association Liaison Office for University Cooperation in Development

A note with regard to the last listing in the table: The “*Science and Traditional Knowledge in Water Quality*” project in the Altai Region of Russia, which was identified with USAID’s assistance, was a late addition to *Okiciyab* Project. The inclusion of this study followed the cancellation of plans to carry out a case study in Colombia due to political turmoil, after the literature search and the desk research on the chosen intervention there had been completed. However, a site visit conducted in Russia in August and September of 2005 found that the Russia-Altai project, which looked promising on paper, turned out to only indirectly involve the Altaian communities it was supposed to benefit. Therefore only a trip report, rather than a full Case Study, was prepared; it is included here as Appendix 4.

An added note about the selection of FNDI’s Lakota Fund project for inclusion in *Okiciyab* is warranted. Given that FPW was including one of its former parent organization’s own projects in the assessment, it had to make certain to ensure that there was an appropriate analytical separation between the researchers for this case and their object of inquiry. The integrity and objectivity of the U.S.- Oglala Lakota case study findings were in no way compromised by the fact that, while FPW was still a part of First Nations, the line authority and reporting of FPW staff was entirely separate from that of FNDI staff. Consequently, the FPW researchers conducting the

Pine Ridge–related research were independent and their findings objective. Additionally, the Lakota Fund had been completely independent of FNDI for over twelve years at the time of the Case Study. None of the original field staff that worked on the Lakota Fund were still at First Nations at the time of the research, which eliminated any possibility of type of “insider” bias.

Limitations of the Research

As is the case for any applied research project, the various stages of research for *Okiciyab* were not free of difficulties. The problems that arose in the course of data collection and analysis were eventually either compensated for or overcome, but not without first testing the coordination abilities of FPW project staff and posing challenges to the validity of the research findings. One such problem, relating to the delays in project implementation stemming from uncertainty over how to fine tune the research methodology, has already been addressed.

Another problem related to the levels of preparedness and interaction among the various case-specific research teams. Although it was intended that prior to embarking on the field research in the Indigenous communities, all interviewers would be trained in the Elements of Development and in questionnaire administration techniques, this did not happen. There was virtually no overlap in the periods of data collection and analysis among the various teams, making it difficult to organize meetings for joint trainings or methodological discussions. Such discussions could have helped produce greater uniformity in the application of the Elements framework and the interpretation of data. As a result, there was inconsistency in the application of the Elements framework, and variations in the questions posed to interviewees, thereby precluding any quantifiable cross-case analysis of the results. Even so, we do not feel that this negatively impacted the validity and veracity of the overall research findings, since they were either drawn from the particular circumstances of each case or were based on emergent comparisons between and among cases.

BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS OF PROJECT

This section provides a summary of the three Case Studies conducted during the course of the *Ockiciyab* Project - **The U.S.-Oglala Lakota; The Uganda-Batwa; and The Ecuador-Awa**. A discussion of the background, difficulties encountered, the findings and outcomes gives the conceptual variables and the circumstantial specifics as a backdrop to the deeper discussion of the negative and positive aspects of each according to an Elements-based analysis. A visual representation of the positive and negative mapping on each of the Elements as reflected in the Project's design is also presented.

U.S.- Oglala Lakota Case Study

This case study focuses on the Oglala Lakota people, who live on the Pine Ridge Reservation in the southwestern part of South Dakota in the United States. The subject of the study was an innovative micro credit project that the Lakota people undertook on their reservation, with assistance from the First Nations Development Institute (FNDI). This project (the Lakota Fund) was the first Native financial institution to appear in the Dakotas, and the first ever micro-enterprise peer-lending fund on a reservation. It was established to target the reservation's informal sector economy in such a way as to build a Lakota-owned private sector economy. The project succeeded beyond all expectations from its inception in 1986. After several years of continuous financial and technical support from FNDI, the Lakota Fund became self-sufficient in 1992, and was eventually certified as a Community Development Financial Institution (CDFI). By mid-2005, the Fund had made \$3.5 million in loans to over 290 different tribal members, and also provided numerous indirect benefits to the Pine Ridge community, in terms of its ability to generate employment and attract additional sources of credit for various purposes. The Lakota Fund continues to build the Oglala Lakota's entrepreneurial capacity and contribute to the bottom-up development of the Pine Ridge Reservation.

The U.S.-Oglala Lakota Case Study, more so than the other Case Studies, focuses largely on the Elements of Development framework. The creation of a community based micro-credit institution that would not just provide loans, but would also provide a mechanism for the residents of Pine Ridge to control their own destiny, was one of the Fund's primary goals. Whereas more traditional CDFIs focused their performance on charting trends in credit-to-savings ratios and default rates, the Lakota Fund from its inception promoted an entrepreneurial approach to economic activity and productivity on the reservation, and helped to instill a renewed sense of

personal self-esteem and collective cultural pride. The Case Study did reveal that there were links between increases in business and household income and the rise in the incidence of such traditional Oglala Lakota ceremonies as powwows, Sun Dances, and sweat ceremonies, although it does not provide specific documentation on those links in detail.

General Findings

One prevailing theme that was voiced by all of the residents interviewed during the Study was that the Lakota Fund was Lakota. There was overall community ownership of the Fund, and both current and past employees and Board members of the Fund acknowledged responsibility for both the Fund's successes and failures.

Access to credit was difficult or next to impossible to attain for the Native community on Pine Ridge; the reservation itself covers nearly as much landmass as the state of Connecticut, and did not have a single bank where residents could conduct daily banking activities. Even though the Tribal government offered lines of credit and business loans to Pine Ridge tribal employees, the Lakota Fund was seen by many as the only viable source of loans on the reservation.¹²

Poverty influenced many of the activities on the reservation and there continued to be a very high rate of unemployment and alcoholism, though both had decreased over the years.¹³ There was very little infrastructure by way of electricity, sewage, water, communications, housing, buildings for businesses, and roads. The majority of residents had to drive off the reservation, often one hour each way, to purchase household and business supplies and conduct banking and business activities. Access to basic necessities such as water, housing, and fuel for heating homes was problematic for many residents and the attention and resources directed to these issues seem to directly impact the ability of the Tribal government to pursue development objectives for the reservation as a whole. At the same time, there was a vibrant undercurrent, which according to many of the residents interviewed, had always existed in varying degrees. Members of the community had a strong desire to develop the reservation so as not to continue dependency on federal funds. There was also recognition and respect for the Lakota people on Pine Ridge who did not engage in commerce as it was practiced in the mainstream capitalist society. Over the

¹² Pickering and Mushinski 1999, 27-8

¹³ Shannon County, South Dakota 2000 Census population, Demographic and housing information: Economic characteristics. (n.d.) U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 11 Apr. 2004 from http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTable?_bm=y&-qr_name=DEC_2000_SF3_U_DP3&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SF3_U&-_lang=en&-_sse=on&-geo_id=05000US46113

past two decades preceding the Study, there has been an increase in the number of small businesses owned by Lakota people on the reservation and members of the younger generation expressed an interest in also starting businesses on the reservation.

An Element-Based Analysis of the Findings

Control of Assets

When Indians were forced to live on reservations, they lost control of their traditional lands, and with that came a loss of independence and sustainable livelihood. For generations Indians on reservations needed to have basic necessities provided to them because they no longer had control of their livelihood to freely provide for themselves as they saw fit. Today, the Oglala Lakota still lack significant control of their assets as the federal government continues to manage their land and oversee policies that form their existence. The Lakota Fund was established in this environment to assist the Lakota people to control and develop their assets and, through that control, build the capacity to direct their economic futures in ways that fit their cultures.

As a result of the Fund, Lakota people began receiving loans to purchase land and to develop land that was held in trust. Historically, banks would not loan on trust land because there was virtually no second market.¹⁴ For the most part, no one but Indians had an interest in living on the reservation, and the Lakota themselves did not have access to credit to develop this land.

Though there is no second market, and little to no appreciation of land value on the reservation, the Lakota still have an incentive to invest there. The investment motive is not based on profit margins but on securing a future for their children, grandchildren, and so on. This reflects a different value system that is not creditworthy to conventional lenders. The Lakota Fund supported this different value system by providing loans to people who wanted to invest and develop on trust land despite of the lack of a second market. As a result of the Lakota Fund, Pine Ridge residents have been financially and technically supported to pursue and control their own goals based on their own values.

Trade and Exchange

When the Lakota Fund was being designed, it was common knowledge that there was a high degree of informal economic activity on Pine Ridge. Whether it was childcare,

¹⁴ A second market is one in which an investor purchases an asset from another investor, rather than an issuing corporation. There is no second market on the reservation because these markets need to be highly liquid and transparent which land in trust is not.

hunting and trapping animals, gardening, or guiding tours for hunters and tourists, people on the reservation were trading and exchanging goods and services outside of a formal market structure. The Fund was formed with the intention of providing credit to households engaged in informal market activities and building the private sector in order to circulate monies within the Pine Ridge economy. Many of these informal sector activities have now been transformed into Lakota-owned businesses.

Many Lakota businesses continue to operate and increase their services and/or inventories annually to keep up with the increases in demand, and several business owners that were interviewed mentioned how they had to return to the Lakota Fund for a loan to expand their operations.

Income and Employment

“Individual wealth is not a concept of Native people.”¹⁵

Personal income was not a topic community members raised or referenced in relation to the Lakota Fund. A few business owners discussed how their revenues were steadily increasing year after year, and partially attributed this to the ability to increase store inventories or expand services with loans from the Lakota Fund.

The available statistical data regarding income and employment in Shannon County (Pine Ridge) demonstrated significant improvement during the overall period that coincides with the operation of the Lakota Fund. Recorded values for some of the leading income and employment indicators revealed the following:

- Employment in the county increased 108% from 1969 to 2002, compared to 71% for South Dakota as a whole;
- Real earnings per capita increased 51% from 1969 to 2000;
- Real per capita personal income increased 102% from 1969 to 2002;
- From 1985 to 2002, the real per capita personal income growth rate was 80%, outpacing the rate for South Dakota as a whole, which was 44%;
- Native income had grown from 20% to 46% of the income of non-Native South Dakota;
- Census data for the last few decades shows that 1990-2000 was the best decade for economic growth in Shannon County, in which growth in all

¹⁵ Interview with Harvey White Woman, 5 Feb. 2004

- income measures outpaced rates in both South Dakota and the nation as a whole; and
- Shannon County growth in per capita earnings was 92% in the 1990s, whereas it was 73% for South Dakota.

In 1994, the Oglala Lakota Tribe opened a casino on Pine Ridge that could have also contributed to increases in income and employment after the mid 1990s. However, this does not account for the increases in growth prior to the 1990s, when significant changes in these indicators occurred on the reservation.

Productivity Skills

Forced dependency of the Lakota people by the federal government fundamentally changed Lakota survival strategies from being highly productive and self-sufficient to near incapacitation. Historically for the Lakota, self-reliance was met with massacre and the only way to survive was to exist as dependents of the government. This dependent mentality continues today. However, there is awareness that this learned behavior can and must change in order for the community to truly direct its own future and further revitalize its culture.

Pine Ridge residents working with the Lakota Fund have been instrumental in this shift away from dependency toward a genuine self-determination. Community members recognize that they have always been highly productive within an informal sector that was virtually unnoticed by the formal sector. As the Lakota Fund grew, so has the community's capacity and presence within the formal business sector. One noteworthy outcome from the Fund was the formation of the Pine Ridge Chamber of Commerce in 1999. Pine Ridge business owners using seed funding from the Lakota Fund set up the Chamber. At the time of the Case Study the Chamber was made up of approximately 120 businesses, 100 of which were Native-owned.

Personal Efficacy

In part through trial and error, Lakota Fund borrowers have learned how to develop, maintain, and expand their businesses. The increase in small and large businesses and the economic growth that occurred on the reservation clearly indicates that these borrowers have been "figured it out." This was also true for the Lakota Fund and other Native institutions on the reservation that had been building their capacity to serve the needs of their community. The idea that the community can create change for itself is evident through increases in collaboration among the Native institutions within this community. For example, even as Pine Ridge residents have come together to build the formal business sector, the Lakota Fund, Chamber of

Commerce, and Oglala Lakota College have come together to create the Wawokiye Business Institute, a project designed to provide a customer-centered, hands-on coaching system uniquely tailored to the needs and circumstances of the community's small businesses.

Vibrant Initiative

One of the most striking findings that emerged from the Case Study on Pine Ridge, was that almost every person interviewed had ideas for improving the community through revitalizing and practicing traditional customs, starting a business, and improving access to education, commerce, information, and opportunity. While there was clearly a wealth of innovative ideas coming from the reservation's residents, there was a noted disconnect between what people set out to do and what actually got accomplished.

One challenge faced by the community was that many of the ideas required access to resources that were not readily available on the reservation. Even objectives such as revitalizing traditional customs required outreach, which is difficult to do in a location that has a limited communications infrastructure. Here again, many community members looked to the Lakota Fund and other institutions off the reservation to either provide financing, or for other types of collaboration such as student exchange programs or sharing Internet and cellular connectivity capacity.

Though there was a shortage of financial resources, the Lakota Fund was able to support community members as they negotiated with institutions off the reservation, expanding their services beyond lending and technical assistance, and also by changing their lending practices to accommodate the growing demands for credit.

Responsibility and Consequences

“Lending in a small town, when you know everyone, makes repossessing a lot harder.”¹⁶

There are a number of circumstances that make lending on Pine Ridge challenging. According to many people interviewed, a passive mentality was developed by many Pine Ridge residents from generations of oppression and forced dependency. The only way for Indians to survive was to stop resisting the changes that were transforming their livelihoods, and to participate in assimilation programs and accept the forced dependency that was created by broken treaties and federal policies.

¹⁶ Interview with Monica Terkildson, 6 Feb. 2004

Forced dependency and the passivity that results from it has contributed to many attributes that hampered development on the Pine Ridge.

For the Lakota Fund, one of the greatest challenges stemming from the community's passivity was that few people had financial borrowing experience. Attitudes about repayment of the loans were a problem, as most people were not familiar with how a loan from a lending institution really worked. To be more specific, loans were perceived as being like grants. The enforcement of consequences with borrowers who were not responsible in repaying their loans was initially not well received by many borrowers. However, Lakota Fund staff nevertheless took pains to enforce repayment requirements as a way to reestablish notions of responsibility that were lost through generations of dependency. During the first two years the overall default rate was 37.5% by individual, and 32% of the total loan amount. Today, overall default rate for loans are slightly less than 19% by individual, and 14% of the overall loan amount.¹⁷

Kinship

As mentioned earlier, the Lakota Fund is a community-based organization, managed and staffed by Oglala Lakota people. Although the Lakota Fund has standard procedures and guidelines for qualifying and approving loans, one of the findings that emerged from the interviews was that many lending decisions were based on how well the decision makers knew the applicant(s). The research did not determine either way whether or not this was actually true. However, as a consequence of this perception, there were some community members who expressed that they would not apply for a loan because they were not in good personal standing with Lakota Fund staff and/or Board members. At the same time, some people interviewed who were in good personal standings with Lakota Fund staff and Board had never applied for loans, and some said that they did not participate in Lakota Fund programs because they could not meet program requirements, such as saving money for Individual Development Accounts (IDAs) or setting aside time commitments for workshops.

A more apparent and significant role that kinship has played in the Fund's management is that, as cultural insiders, the Lakota people who run the Fund were well placed to design and implement programs that were appropriately tailored toward assisting their own community. Though there is contention around who does or does not receive loans, everyone interviewed remarked on the appropriateness of the programs.

¹⁷ Lakota Fund 2004

Political and Civic Participation

When the Lakota Fund was getting started, several community members came together and met with FNDI to design the Fund, from Board composition to programs. The community had several ideas of what it wanted and needed, but had not been able to secure or leverage the resources and expertise necessary to accomplish the change they envisioned. The development of the private sector required and continues to require new levels of civic and political participation from small business owners and Lakota Fund staff. The tribal government continues to lack sufficient laws and processes for debt collection, does not have the capacity to handle business claims, and does not process leases or engage in other bureaucratic tasks in a timely manner, which created excessive delays and costs for start-up businesses.

In response to these types of hindrances to development, Lakota Fund staff have been active in supporting borrowers who deal with the tribal government and other institutions to get the resources they need, such as connections to water lines, electricity, phone services, improved legal infrastructure for debt collection and leasing, and access to credit from conventional lenders. Borrowers in turn have become more active in supplying the community with the resources and backing it needs by, for example, selling essential commodities much closer to home, improving community infrastructure through the building of sidewalks and roads, or providing bail for community members in exchange for skilled labor. Another example of positive civic action by a Lakota Fund borrower is how one of them recently filed and won a lawsuit against the state of South Dakota to recover illegally imposed gasoline taxes on Indians on the reservation.

As mentioned above another positive indication of Civic Participation took place in November 1999, when small business owners got together to form the first Chamber of Commerce on Pine Ridge. The chamber applies Lakota values such as honesty and wisdom and was set up to develop and support businesses and first-generation entrepreneurs. Today there are over 100 Lakota-owned businesses that are working as part of this organization to expand the visibility of the Pine Ridge business community, and also to increase capacity by learning from each other, mobilizing to promote change, and networking with other businesses off the reservation.

Social Respect

“Before the Lakota Fund, banks would not lend to a [reservation] address. You had to find a friend in Rapid [City], and use their address if you wanted to get a bank loan.”¹⁸

Without exception, every person interviewed, including bankers, expressed how the Lakota Fund improved the relationship between Pine Ridge residents and banks off the reservation. Historically Indians have been denied access to credit from banks, car dealerships, and other businesses that provide credit for the consumption of goods and services. When Indians did receive credit, it was usually at extremely high interest rates, and far below the credit limit requested. These problems still exist, but to a lesser degree.

The Lakota Fund became a unique option for the residents, one that illustrated to banks that they were creditworthy. As one interviewee stated, “The Lakota Fund forced banks to look at themselves” and reevaluate their lending practices.¹⁹ Since the operation of the Lakota Fund banks off the reservation have increased their lending on the reservation in excess of \$28 million.²⁰ At this rate, a one-dollar investment from the Lakota Fund has been able to attract more than \$10 to Pine Ridge from banks off the reservation. As a result of this growing phenomenon, a local bank in 1998 established a mobile banking unit that travels to the reservation five days a week.²¹

“Lakota business owners are being invited to Chamber [of Commerce] meetings off the [reservation]; this never happened before.”²²

Cultural Integrity

Women have always played an important role in Lakota societies, and according to several people interviewed, women have been the driving force throughout the operation of the Lakota Fund. There is no indication that gender representation within the Fund has ever been an issue. For women to have a substantial role within the Fund appears to have been the culturally appropriate choice. During the early design stages of the Lakota Fund, community members did discuss issues of representation and inclusiveness. However, the main concern expressed was about

¹⁸ Interview with Karlene Hunter and Mark Tilsen, 23 Mar. 2004

¹⁹ Interview with Birgil Kills Straight, 24 Mar. 2004

²⁰ Personal communication with Security First Bank staff, 12 Feb. 2004

²¹ Security First Bank customer banking. (n.d.) Retrieved 7 Mar. 2005 from <http://www.security1stbank.com/consumerbanking/badlandsexpress.php>.

²² Interview with Karlene Hunter and Mark Tilsen, 23 Mar. 2004

including people from different employment sectors such as ranchers, artists, business owners, tribal council members, etc.

“People used to say that when we adopted the gun we became less Lakota, when we used cash we became less Lakota.... That doesn't exist any more.”²³

Cultures do not often, if ever, have control over the influences they receive from other cultures. At best, cultures control how these influences are integrated into their own culture. There was a time when people on the reservation would say, “You are not Lakota if you start a business,” because only “whites” owned trading posts. Given this belief it is not surprising that all the monies received by Pine Ridge residents would immediately flow off the reservation to the border towns.

Lakota people have continuously adapted to the wrenching changes their culture has undergone over the last 500 years. Today on Pine Ridge many community members want to expand on their existing entrepreneurial activities and grow the Lakota-owned and controlled formal economy based on their ideas and culture.

Choices and Vision

It cannot be emphasized enough that the Lakota Fund is the only viable lending organization on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Most people interviewed saw the Lakota Fund as the only choice they had to receive credit to pursue their business and/or personal goals. At the same time, some interviewees, all of whom were not approved for a loan, or did not ever apply for a loan, viewed the Lakota Fund as not providing entrepreneurs with the loans they wanted and needed to pursue their goals. The sense from the community is that the Lakota Fund played a role both in the empowerment and disillusionment of applicants. It appears that an unintended consequence of the Fund's status is that, when the Fund declines a loan application, the applicant did not have other lending prospects and became discouraged. Though the Lakota Fund created an opportunity for Indians that they did not have previously, the Fund is in the position of being both a pathway to, and last resort for, attaining credit because it is still the only lender on the reservation.

Though some members of the Pine Ridge community have been discouraged after not receiving a loan from the Lakota Fund, every person interviewed who went through the business training felt the course benefited them in some way. After attending the business training courses many people realized that they actually did not want to start a business. For others, the courses taught them what was involved in

²³ Interview with Monica Terkildson, 6 Feb. 2004

running a business, with the result that these people felt much better prepared in their pursuit to own a business.

“First there was Circle banking—first time people were ever getting loans. Second, there were loans up to \$25,000 to meet the capital needs of the mom and pop stores. Now the Lakota Fund gives loans to create a business up to \$200,000. This change grew out of a need, a vision.”²⁴

Hope/Future Orientation

Many people in Pine Ridge think that the private sector is the way to go if you want positive change to occur on the reservation. There has been virtually no lasting improvement in livelihoods as a result of federal programs, or from the numerous charitable organizations that provide some type of assistance to Pine Ridge residents. According to some residents, there are approximately 1,200 charitable organizations worldwide supporting the reservation by providing clothing, books, food, housing materials, and other supplies.²⁵ This equates to roughly one organization for every five households on Pine Ridge receiving these resources. No community member interviewed expressed the interest or desire to continue being supported by outside charities in this way. The majority of residents interviewed shared their own ideas of what Pine Ridge needed and could be in the future.

“The Lakota Fund permeated the culture with the possibility that something different could be done and captured the imagination of the people.”²⁶

Some community members interviewed were working towards opening or expanding their businesses. Others were working to replace non-traditional foods like beef with traditional Lakota foods such as buffalo, as a way to promote better health and cultural revitalization. Others have detailed plans for commercial, community and residential parks that will “foster the talents and desires of Lakota people.” Some people, including members of the younger generation, were working towards reclaiming the Black Hills of South Dakota for their people’s future.

Many of the future development goals expressed by interviewees required access to capital, and an increase in infrastructure, and strengthened local capacity. The Lakota Fund does not currently have the resources or capacity to support all of these goals. In addition, of course, there exist other barriers that inhibit the Oglala Lakota from pursuing their goals. Despite a surfeit of federal policies that impede meaningful

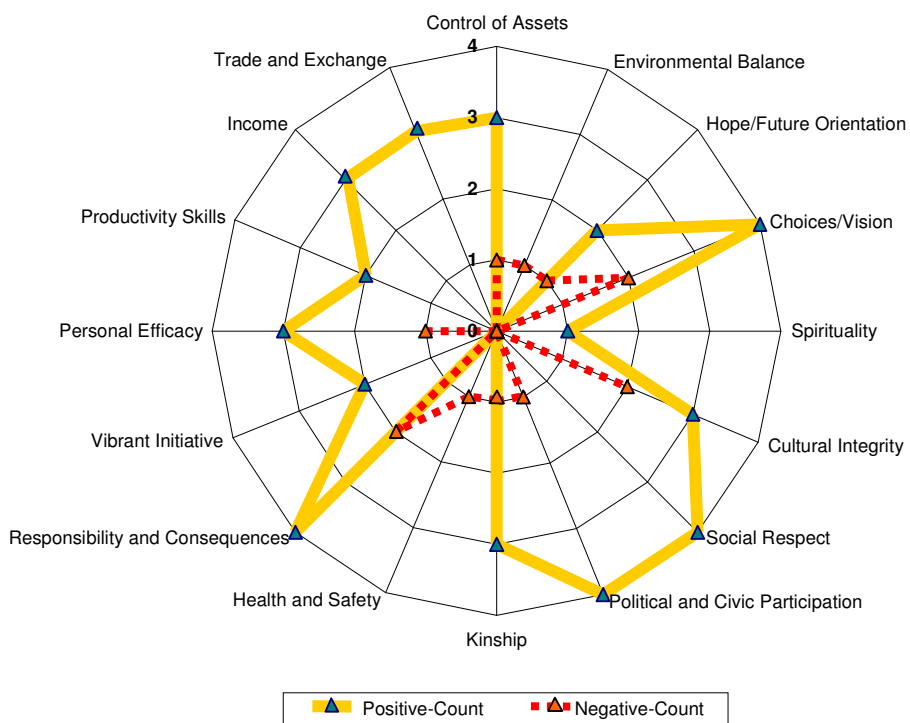
²⁴ Interview with Karlene Hunter and Mark Tilsen, 23 Mar. 2004

²⁵ Interview with Fred Cedar Face, Charles Comes Killing, and Thomas Harvey, 30 Mar. 2004

²⁶ Interview with Mark St. Pierre, 10 Feb. 2004

development, the Pine Ridge community continues to have a strong inclination to improve its livings standards, and those of future generations. As expressed earlier, partnerships continue to be formed between organizations and institutions on and off the reservation as a way to increase capacity on the reservation and generate progress toward collective goals.

Figure 2: Mapping of Elements in Project Design for U.S.-Oglala Lakota



Uganda-Batwa Case Study

This was the first of two international Case Studies to be included in the *Okiciyab* Project. This case study examined the impacts of development interventions geared toward communities surrounding two national parks in southwestern Uganda. These communities include the Batwa ethnic group.²⁷ Development organizations operating

²⁷ “Batwa” has a collective denotation; individual members of the ethnic group are known as “Mutwa.”

in this area now widely acknowledge that the Batwa, who were formerly hunter-gatherers in the forests there, experienced the most dramatic transition after the establishment of the Mgahinga-Bwindi Impenetrable National Parks for conservation and eco-tourism purposes in 1991. They underwent eviction from those forests or had to move to areas farther away from them in search of means for economic subsistence.

Recommendations were made that development interventions be designed specifically for the Batwa as early as 1995, with the establishment of the Mgahinga Bwindi Impenetrable Forest Conservation Trust (MBIFCT, or “the Trust”) under the Uganda Trust Act to support the conservation of biodiversity and ecotourism in Mgahinga Gorilla and Bwindi Impenetrable National Parks. The World Bank through the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) provided the initial funding of US\$4.3 million in a Trust Endowment Fund. The Trust’s multi-pronged approach to conservation and development consists of supporting community development and conservation projects in the 54 parishes surrounding the two parks; park management through the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA); and the ITFC’s research and ecological monitoring.²⁸ However, development project planners did not begin to provide targeted assistance to them until the late 1990s. This oversight mainly occurred because the Batwa were voiceless in the political and planning systems that were developed for these projects or that were already in place in area communities

The MBIFCT purchased 326 hectares of land for the Batwa between 1998 and 2002, enough for 58 percent of Batwa households. This purchase fell short of its target of 400 hectares of land for 403 Batwa households (100 percent of households) due to a funding shortage.²⁹ Although many Batwa expressed gratitude to the Trust for the land, some of the settlements are located on low- quality land that is difficult to cultivate.

Of the three case studies, this one had the largest research team and generated the greatest volume of primary and secondary data. The team was comprised of four graduate student researchers from the Elliott School of International Affairs at The George Washington University. The members of the team, Sally Balenger, Eric Coppenger, Scott Fried, and Kalin Kanchev, donated their time to FPW and *Okicijab* in exchange for class credit. They carried out the field research together in eight Batwa communities in southwest Uganda over a two-week period in March 2005. The team received logistical and translation assistance from Tom Sengalama, a

²⁸ MBIFCT 2004, iii

²⁹ Ibid., 25

Ugandan rural development worker with several years of experience implementing projects in Batwa villages. The team also shared responsibility for carrying out semi-structured background interviews, conducting a literature search prior to going to Uganda, and for analyzing and writing up the results upon their return from Uganda.

General Findings

As the title of the original case study implies (“Between Forest and Farm: Identifying Appropriate Development Options for the Batwa of Southwestern Uganda”), the Team went somewhat beyond the original scope of the Study in conducting its research. Its discussion of the Elements of Development proceeds not so much as an assessment of the impact of MBIFCT operations, but as an examination of how different elements related to the Batwa’s various development needs and aspirations, which are currently characterized by depressed expectations. **Indeed, of the three Native Peoples whose ethnodevelopment experiences were researched during this Project, the Batwa’s situation was found to be most dire.** The Case Study takes on a tone of urgency in showing, as other recent studies have done, the level of harm the Batwa People have suffered from the determination that conservation efforts in the two National Parks would falter as long as they were allowed to live there, and the subsequent decision to expel them from the forest. While the case study details the best intentioned efforts of both civil and public sector actors to help the Batwa, it also points out that, unless there is an increase in culturally appropriate assistance offered to them, these efforts are not likely to amount to anything more than overdue remediation.

Counted among the local stakeholders adversely affected by the gazettement of the Bwindi and Mgahinga National Parks, and who were therefore eligible to benefit from the community assistance activities of the MBIFCT, were up to 1,700 Batwa living in some 12 separate settlements on the lands surrounding the parks. From the beginning, project officials at the GEF recognized the negative impacts of the Batwa’s involuntary displacement from their traditional forest habitat. They worked into the project a number of special measures to try to remediate these impacts and reconstruct Batwa livelihoods. Incorporated into a handful of socio-cultural assessments and a free-standing Indigenous Peoples Plan, these measures included mechanisms for ensuring that the Batwa were represented in the decision-making structure of the Trust, procedures to help them articulate their needs so that an appropriate portion of the funding would go to them, and preferential opportunities

to harvest forest resources that had been so central to their survival prior to expulsion. Thus, in terms of its initial design, the Bwindi Impenetrable National Park and Mgahinga Gorilla National Park Conservation project scored positively on the Social, Political, and Cultural Changes quadrant of the Elements of Development graphic (encompassing **cultural integrity, social respect, and political and civic participation**).

Element-Based Analysis of Findings

Control of Assets

Control of Assets appears to be the critical first step for development in Batwa communities. Batwa no longer have legal access to the forest, which had provided them with food, shelter, and resources they could exchange with their neighbors. Due to the significant profits earned from gorilla tourism and the highly endangered status of the gorillas, the Ugandan government is unlikely to grant the Batwa unrestricted access to the forest for dwelling or extractions in the future. Therefore, the Batwa have lost and are unlikely to regain complete control of their indigenous assets.

However, the land grants that were intended to assist the Batwa in obtaining assets and developing agricultural-based economies have been only partially successful. First, only slightly more than half of the Batwa families promised these land grants actually received them, due to an unexpected decrease in MBIFCT funds for the program. In addition, the Batwa who received land did not receive training on how to manage the land and leverage the land to produce sustainable income. This factor was further compounded by the fact that those who received land grants did not actually receive the deeds to the property, limiting their actual control over the property asset.

The Batwa are aware that the greatest factor influencing their development is **control of assets**, particularly land and land-based assets. Batwa who have received land stated that it benefits their livelihoods, reporting mixed income-generating strategies of agriculture, sale of goods, and day labor. Landless Batwa desire land because they currently must engage in day labor for income. Batwa in the one community we visited (Karengyre), where they did not have land, were open about the fact that every hour they spent away from Bakiga fields meant less food for them.

The Batwa in Iremera, who reported many land security issues, were the most vocal about wanting access to forest resources. Their chairman said, “We would not be so thin if we had access to the forest.”

Trade and Exchange

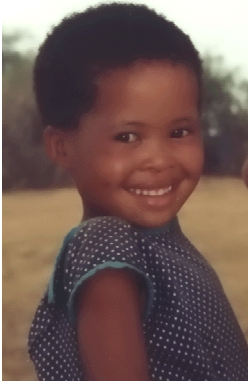
Batwa in the Nteko and LC3 settlements reported increased agricultural Trade and Exchange with non-Batwa. Their surveys reported a number of crops that were grown solely for market purposes. Some Batwa, especially individuals who reported greater agricultural trade and exchange, said that they no longer utilize forest resources.

The Batwa in Iremera still trade their labor for food even though some of them have been given land by the Trust. One man showed researchers the two potatoes he had received for his morning of digging in the fields, something seen later in Karengyre as well.

Health and Safety

Health and safety are among the most problematic issues in the Batwa transition from hunter-gathering to farming. All the Batwa with whom we spoke said they were exposed to new diseases when integration began. Malaria, which is not present in the forest, now seriously affects Batwa communities, especially children. HIV/AIDS infections have recently appeared as well. It is feared that increasing sexual exploitation among a small population could lead to an outbreak that would decimate the Batwa. Fortunately, initial assessments indicate that rates are still low.

Sexual and physical violence is unaddressed by any development agency in these communities. Women often are raped when returning home from working their neighbors' fields. If they report the case to the LC, they risk being locked up for “false accusation.” Batwa males also perpetrate physical and sexual attacks on Batwa women. The silence surrounding these problems exists even though Uganda has one of the most respected women's movements in the developing world. A CARE Uganda official pointed to the poor social status of the Batwa as a reason for the disinterest of the movement in Batwa women because the “women's movement is elitist.”



Cultural Integrity

The cultural transition taking place in Batwa communities, and the poor understanding of their cultural history among the development community, leads to frequent misunderstandings. The Batwa are in transition from the forest to farmland—a cultural shift that makes generalizations about appropriate Batwa development strategies and goals difficult. When development interventions do not take this transition and its historical basis into account, they can have unintended consequences.

The relationship between Kyihembe and Kitariro settlements illustrates the effects that incomplete development approaches and misinterpretations can have. Kyihembe is a semi-arid community located north of Bwindi that has received land and some training in brick making and agricultural practices from the MBIFCT. We found the community suffering from two recent deaths and a labor shortage. The Batwa we interviewed in the two settlements reported that Batwa were leaving Kyihembe for Kitariro to access the numerous charitable projects there. This meant that those who decided to move were essentially giving up their land claims in order to live with relatives in Kitariro. Kyihembe is struggling to maintain a viable community, which now consists of only 10 families.

On the other end of the spectrum, CARE Uganda and MBIFCT extension agents made a serious effort to help Nteko organize around traditional **kinship** networks, which has reinforced **cultural integrity**. This community has achieved one of the highest states of economic development, and at the same time, avoided the social ills reported in Kitariro. The Batwa in Nteko are reaching out as a group and inviting landless Batwa into their settlement. They participate in community associations with Bakiga and Bufumbira. Nteko is also the only settlement where we found both Batwa-owned land and oral history kept through Rutwa song, a sign that this community is passing along **cultural integrity** and perhaps even **spirituality** to younger generations.

Income and Employment

Some Batwa were generating significant **income** from various products they are learning to produce—furniture, crafts, and tourism services. These new income-generating activities are the result of the capacity building efforts of NGOs and individuals. Some of these projects have positive effects on **productivity skills** and **income** generation, according to the surveys.

Personal Efficacy

The Batwa also appear to be improving **personal efficacy**, as individuals broaden their knowledge and skills, becoming more engaged in associations with neighboring ethnic groups. There are also signs that such alternative livelihood projects work well if the traditional **kinship** systems for distribution of assets are used. For example, in two settlements, individuals reported transferring the skills they learned through adult education and agricultural extension to other residents of their settlement.

Several of the development actors we spoke to misinterpreted efforts by the Batwa to ensure that these individual achievements benefit the community as jealousy and backwardness on the part of Batwa leadership. The Batwa who were transferring their skills spoke with great pride, however, about helping their kin network, a common Indigenous expression of **personal efficacy** according to the Elements framework.

Productivity Skills

In Iremera, the Batwa stated that the lack of land titling is used by the neighboring Bakiga to intimidate them. The Bakiga in that community tell the Batwa that the Trust can revoke their land grant at any time. This threat likely affects Batwa motivation, as they have already been displaced once already within the last decade. This threat also is a strong disincentive to invest time or money in the productive use of the land.

Vibrant Initiative

Unfortunately, most likely as a result of the Batwa's dire circumstances, the communities' vibrant initiative was not addressed by interceding programs in an effort to address more immediate needs.

Responsibility and Consequences

The Batwa were denied the chance to exercise responsibility for their own assets when they were not afforded titles to the land they were granted. They also were given no training in land ownership or financial skills. FPW heard from a number of Batwa and non-Batwa that capacity-building activities rarely incorporate training on financial skills. This training is essential since Batwa are participating in the cash economy for the first time. Income can increase quite dramatically over a short time period with several of the new activities, such as tourism. Some Batwa asked for the skills necessary to invest their money in asset building strategies, an obvious sign of their **future orientation**.

Kinship

The potential of working through the Batwa kinship networks to promote the reintegration of their communities seems to have been largely neglected. In fact, much of the MCIFCT project actually had a negative effect on the kinship and community relationships of the Batwa. Because of the lack of funding, only about half of those intended to receive land grants actually received them. This caused internal strife and jealousy within the Batwa community, as those who did not receive expected grants grew jealous of those who did.

Political and Civil Participation

On one hand, all interviewed communities seemed to be doing well in the areas of political and civic participation. Every community, even Karngyre where the Batwa are landless, has a chairperson who mobilizes the community and settles disputes when the community cannot reach consensus. This chairperson also represents the community in interactions with outsiders. However, despite expressly stated efforts by government officials in Uganda to prevent the Batwa from being further marginalized and underrepresented legally, it has been observed that there are legal officials who are still actively prejudiced against the Batwa. For example FPW was told that one of the influential LC officials of Kisoro stated in a meeting that “There will be no projects specifically for the Batwa as long as I am in control of Kisoro.”

The Batwa suffer from discrimination on all fronts, including from neighboring tribes. The social status of the Batwa is blamed for the women’s movement in Uganda to take up the situation of Batwa women. Amelioration of this problem was not part of the original design of the project and failure to account for this difficulty did have a negative affect on many of the components of the project. Other ethnic groups in the region did not understand the need for the Batwa’s reintegration in society nor what they perceive as undeserved preferential treatment of the Batwa (such as in the receipt of land grants). The failure to account for the feelings of neighboring tribes negatively impacted productivity and the ability to form an effective economic system.

Social Respect

Since the programs for improving the Batwa’s situation never directly addressed the pervasive problem of discrimination against the Batwa communities, their social respect was not increased. In fact, their social respect was further damaged because surrounding communities viewed the help the Batwa were receiving as undeserved and therefore harbored jealousy against the Batwa, whom they already disliked.

Spirituality

Development groups demonstrated general passivity and indifference toward the power of the Batwa's spiritual beliefs to bring some renewed sense of meaning to their lives following their expulsion from the forest.

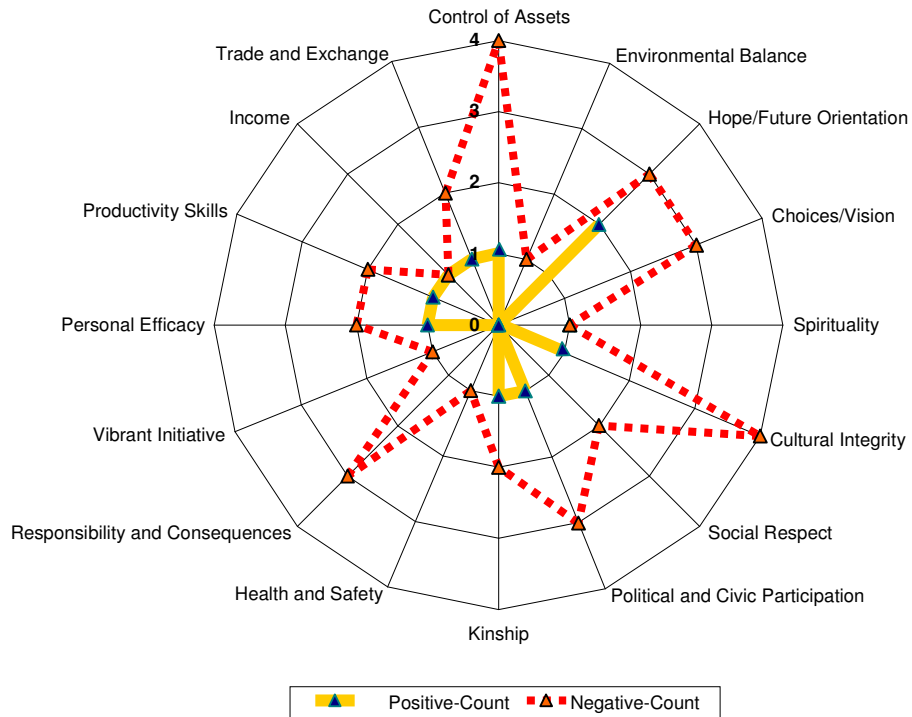
Choices and Vision

Several development actors told FPW stories about Batwa eating seeds that were given to them as a part of agricultural extension. They felt this was an example of Batwa laziness. The literature review, on the other hand, would likely describe it as a sign of the Batwa's lack of **future orientation** due to their hunter-gatherer background. We interpret this anecdote to mean that the Batwa were desperate to eat immediately; they were not able to plan for the future when they had nothing to eat at that moment. Landless Batwa and those struggling with cultivation often identified avoiding hunger or starvation as their most important goal.

Batwa with more secure land spoke of longer-term goals such as education, skills courses, and animal husbandry. In Nteko, a settlement that had received careful and comprehensive interventions, we gave the Batwa a gift of beans when we left, which they said they would plant immediately. This demonstrates this community's **future orientation**. In Nteko and other communities, some of the responses we received from the Batwa showed that they were thinking in the long term, even as they recognized that immediate needs of land and security had to be met first.

In the communities where the MBIFCT has worked, the Batwa are exposed to more choices than they had after losing access to their forest resources. In some cases, however, these choices are founded on building assets, without necessarily addressing cultural predispositions. Many of the development interventions designed for the Batwa are merely replicas of extraneous modes of community development which have been pursued by their neighbors over the generations. Thus, even as trying to teach Batwa to farm on donated land is ill suited to them culturally, it can also be seen as a threat to the agrarian livelihoods of the Bakiga and Bufumbira, many of whom are also poor. This type of assistance is sometimes perceived as preferential treatment, leading to a fair amount of resentment

Figure 3: Mapping of Elements in Project Design for Uganda-Batwa



Ecuador-Awa Case Study

This Case Study of the “Protecting Biodiversity Habitats” project was the product of collaboration among a number of concerned stakeholders, including the Awa Federation, FCAE. It was developed with attention to the Awa’s stated desire to enhance local livelihoods, in light of the threats to their territory posed by industrial logging and the advance of colonization. The Project should be viewed as part of a series of externally supported initiatives aiming, among other things, to keep the FCAE Forest Management Program moving forward. From its inception, the Project was designed to not only develop alternative resource management and income generation activities and to reduce the pressure being brought to bear on the biodiversity-rich forests, but also to strengthen the capacity of FCAE to implement an integrated protection strategy in defense of their territory. In reviewing the activities proposed to accomplish the Project goals, it is clear that they were largely oriented to

capacity building (by providing technical assistance and training), in areas that went beyond the sustainable forestry effort that was the main subject of the case study. The project implementation arrangements encouraged the Federation to act as a protagonist in carrying out project activities and to take responsibility for Project outcomes, which clearly touched on the Elements of responsibility and consequences and personal efficacy. The major focus of the Project was to raise incomes and increase levels of trade and exchange, in a manner that would help to maintain environmental balance in the Awa Territory

Element Based Analysis of Findings

In terms of an overall design, the Project serves as a good example of an integrated, well-balanced approach to Indigenous community development. Though most project activities were oriented to promoting sustainable natural resource management, they were well enough attuned to the multi-dimensional nature of the problems addressed that almost all of the 16 Elements of Development were positively invoked. This is an understandable development, given the fact that the Project evolved from a series of planning meetings between representatives of FCAE and its civil society partners.

Control of Assets

Much of the project focused on the management of the sale of timber from Awa territory—a plan that allowed the Awa to harvest, process and sell the timber themselves. Therefore, the design of the plan was to positively affect Control of Assets. However, as the slow pace of the program spurred some families to consider selling off control to outsiders for short-term financial gain, some of the gains realized by the initial design were negated. Gains were also negated by the apparent dissatisfaction with the financial income that some Awa expressed and the fact that some communities actually went into debt as a result of the startup cost.

Income and Employment

There is little doubt that FCAE-sponsored forest harvesting activities, which have been supported both directly and indirectly by the “Protecting Biodiversity Habitats” project, initially helped to boost the incomes of the participating families. With the first few sales that were carried out in 2002-3, FCAE was successful in multiplying the income that community members received from their timber. Whole timber intermediaries paid \$60 per m³ for sawn chanul, the Forestry Program managed to sell its product for \$240 per m³, with about \$60 going to external costs, \$60 going to community members who worked on the extraction, and \$120 remaining as a

stumpage fee to the community (or family).³⁰ Participating families surveyed for the FPW research reported earning similar amounts over the last two years or so, after the familial mode of harvesting became the norm in most centers.

However, the project design, which was to create forestry-related jobs and income, did not actually have a sustainable impact on Income and Employment. Some interviewees spoke of the high cost of equipment, manual labor and other inputs needed to harvest wood on their household plots, which ate into their profits. Some complained that the advances that FCAE paid to get them started with the harvesting were not enough. At least one forester from two involved communities said that at one point, their costs mounted to such an extent that they were left with no profit at all, or that they went into debt. These reports were frequent enough that it became easy to imagine the income derived from FCAE-sponsored forestry dropping off somewhat over time, if not stagnating altogether. In a few instances the profitability issue actually drove some community members into making deals with outside timber merchants, rather than working through the community organization.

Trade and Exchange

The logical complement to the sudden increases in the circulation of cash in the centers participating in community forestry is the rise in trade and exchange relations between the Awa and outside world. This increase in trade and exchange is linked closely with an increase in the **Social Respect**. FCAE's efforts to commercialize wood extracted from their territory helped them develop business relations, which have been managed mainly by FCAE officers and the Awa Forestry Team members. The project was designed to raise incomes and increase levels of trade and exchange, while helping to maintain an environmental balance. However, while the profitability issue was one among many factors driving some community members into trading with the outside timber merchants, they had no illusions about the merchants paying any better. As one community leader in Pambilar put it, referring to forestry in general, "Yea, it produces results, but the money isn't that good."

Cultural Integrity

What may be seen as a handicap in terms of the ordinary Awa's desire to have more disposable income can be seen as a benefit in terms of the maintenance of Awa Cultural Integrity. There was an increase in Cultural Integrity in the sense that profits derived from FCAE-sponsored forestry have not been so great as to contribute to serious wealth disparities in the communities visited, as has been the case in other

³⁰ Buschbacher et al 2003, 68

externally funded indigenous development projects involving forestry, agricultural development and so forth. Although it seems to be an inadvertent side effect, this has helped maintain the traditionally horizontal and egalitarian nature of Awa social life. At the same time, the Awa need for higher incomes is evident, and competition among kin wanting to take advantage of forestry and other opportunities being offered in the territory and beyond is considerable. This suggests that patterns of intra-community income inequality will emerge eventually if the system is not altered. How FCAE and the Awa manage this process depends largely on the type of educational and training opportunities they have access to in the years to come.

Aside from this unintended and unsustainable maintenance of Cultural Integrity, the element appears to have taken a back seat to income generation in this project. While the sale of timber was controlled to benefit the Awa rather than outside interests, the very sale of timber was a departure from the Awa traditional custom to look upon trees as a form of insurance, to be cut down and sold on an as-needed basis in times of an emergency. In addition, the project design depended on the Awa leadership (Awa FCAE) to prevent the Awa people from straying too far from their cultural roots. This design did not anticipate that there would be contentious elections, and that the FCAE authority would be compromised. However, some components of the project, such as the recovery of traditional food crops and growing of medicinal plants, contributed positively to cultural integrity.

Productivity Skills

On one level, the “Protecting Biodiversity Habitats” project was more oriented to creating or maintaining employment than it was to boosting the productivity of FCAE-sponsored timbering. Both recent studies and interviewee statements during the FPW research cited a lack of working capital needed to support Awa forestry activities. Clearly, a good percentage of the non-equipment project budget was devoted to supporting activities and training, but much of this went to covering the costs of salaries and consultancies.³¹ Meanwhile, wood harvesting rates, which were on the rise when the project started, seemed to have reached a plateau and then dropped off a bit by its end. This was true even though the number of approved Simplified Forest Harvesting Plans (mainly in Pambilar) and Integrated Forest Management Plans (in Mataje) was rising.

According to interviews in Pambilar, there were issues involving temporary suspension of harvesting and temporary shortfall in monies available to FCAE for supporting the wood harvesting, which the Federation was trying to make up by

³¹ Interview with Martha Gómez, 23 Nov. 2005

collecting on debts owed to it by participating families. Low productivity was often identified by many of those close to the FCAE Forest Management Program as a critical issue that needed to be addressed immediately. However, Awa employees of FCAE benefited from instruction in computing, digital cartography and GIS, budgeting, administration, and various other topics all made possible by the forestry project.

Productivity Skills at the local level increased on account of the project, particularly those of individual men in the households carrying out forest management activities. While relatively few in number, the young men working as forestry promoters were given opportunities to learn about a number of topics related to forest management, including elaborating forest inventories, preparing forest management plans, monitoring logging impacts and managing key game species.

Personal Efficacy

For some of the Awa, the forestry training was complemented by training courses in unrelated topics such as courses in legal and constitutional rights, effective leadership and conflict resolution skills. All interviewees involved in these courses reported a positive increase in Personal Efficacy, here defined as a sense of heightened confidence in one's own ability.

Vibrant Initiative

Unfortunately, the Vibrant Initiative of the Awa involved in this study generally seemed to manifest itself in dissatisfaction with the program itself. Community opinion in one center in Balsareño, generally supported the view of one particularly disenchanted participant who said, "Of every \$1 brought in by the sale of our wood, 50 cents of it goes to FCAE... Why don't they just give us the resources we need to prepare our own [forest harvesting] plans to do it ourselves?"

Responsibility and Consequences

When the logging project was designed, a number of technical assistance and training initiatives were planned. However, responsibilities and consequences associated with logging and forestry were not addressed to the extent to which the Awa needed them. The slow pace of the sale of timber and a lack of consensus on the threat posed by dealing with industrial loggers resulted in a situation in which, once some of the participating Awa families got a sense of the earnings that timber harvesting could generate, people grew impatient when FCAE-sponsored logging did not generate the profits they desired. Consequently, they began to make covert deals with outside

loggers eager to expand their zones of operation, which could lead, ultimately, to the loss of asset control and the depletion of their resources.

Kinship

Kinship dynamics were not directly invoked in this study but the program did not necessarily impart negative consequences on these dynamics either. There is an implied improvement in Kinship with the increase in productivity, self efficacy and overall quality of life within the affected communities.

Political and Civil Participation

Political and Civil Participation were not addressed in this case study.

Social Respect

Through this project, FCAE's positive reputation has grown and become increasingly attractive to funders. It managed to leverage the support it received from USAID, WWF, and Altrópico to raise more than a half million dollars in funding from eight different sources, including some (such as Conservation International) that have never supported it before. At the same time, aided by instruction in leadership and training in legal and constitutional rights, Federation staff has been able to inspire ever higher amounts of Social Respect among others involved in forestry activities, helping FCAE come into its own as a political actor operating at different levels. The gains made by the Awa with their Forestry Program have also been noticed by other Indigenous Peoples in Ecuador such as the Shuar in southern Ecuador who recently adopted the skyline yarding cable system used by the Awa for the extraction of logs from their lands.

Spirituality

While not specifically addressed by the study, the training on growing medicinal plants and recovery of traditional food crops touched on the spirituality of the Awa.

Although many cultures have spiritual ties to forests and trees, the spiritual significance of forestry was not addressed in the project.

Environmental Balance

Environmental sustainability has been an explicit goal of the Awa Forestry Program since its inception. Defined in terms of this type of sustainability, **environmental balance** has been a touchstone for the "Protecting Biodiversity Habitats" project as well. Insofar as many of the activities have been oriented to supporting a very low-

impact form of community logging, the project does seem to have maintained intact the largely harmonious relationship between the Awa and their natural environment. The 2003 EIA of the Forestry Program concluded that the Awa's brand of forestry was on minimal disturbance, affecting only 1.2% of the entire territory and 12% of the combined area of the participating communities.

It also found that harvesting was taking place on the order of one to three trees per hectare, which is below the generally accepted threshold managed by promoters of sustainable forestry in Ecuador.³²

Even though FCAE's low-impact approach to harvesting wood has not brought in enough income as far as some Awa are concerned, its environmental benefits have not been entirely lost on them. As one participant in Pambilar said, "In other places, everything's been cut down. This way is better; it keeps the forest in place and gives us more control."

Choices and Vision

The "Protecting Biodiversity Habitats" project aided in the preparation, "socialization," and approval of the FCAE Institutional Strategic Plan, which defined the goals of the Forest Management Program and situated it clearly within FCAE's designs for the overall development of the Awa Territory. On the other hand, the Awa did not make much progress in the development of a document that could have been even more useful from the standpoint of global planning: their Territorial Management Plan (or "Life Plan"). The purpose of the plan is to divide up the territory into different land-use zones. Inevitably, this would include a definition of the quantity and location of land that will be dedicated to forest management, as opposed to the land that will be cleared for agriculture. At the outset of the project, the review and completion of the existing draft of the Territorial Management Plan was considered a central goal. However, the FCAE Governing Council subsequently decided that its finalization would need extensive consultations at the community level, and would have to be followed through in the longer term.

Hope/Future Orientation

In every community visited by FPW, a number of residents expressed the view that they would not be able to continue harvesting wood without some way of extracting the sawn boards more quickly and easily. For them, this means of easier extraction amounted to improving trails into their communities to the point where small vehicles could use them. They felt this would have the added benefit of allowing community

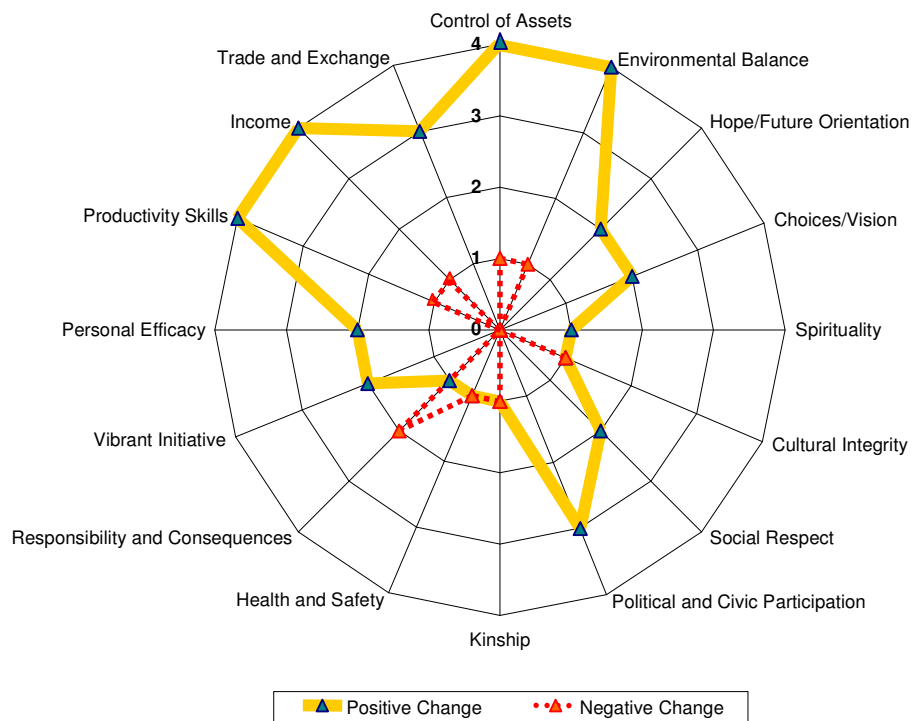
³² Interview with Nubia Jaramillo, 11 Oct. 2005

members to get certain crops and livestock to market. Some have taken a hard line on this issue, conditioning their future participation in FCAE-sponsored forestry on road construction. Thus FCAE officers and NGO staff, inclined to promote a conservation driven **future orientation** for the Awa, have been compelled to return time after time to the challenge of increasing economic growth and productivity that is of greater interest to the average Awa in the territory.

It is also worth noting that FCAE is hoping that the introduction of a new sawmill will take the program to a higher level of efficacy but this hope and gesture of **future orientation** has been articulated and managed largely at the territorial level. Apart from the Awa community members who are working as forestry promoters, there seemed to be littler community awareness of the situation.

A visual representation of the positive and negative mapping on each of the Elements as reflected in the Project’s evolving design is illustrated in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4: Mapping of Elements in Project Design: Ecuador-Awa Case Study



FINDINGS FROM AN "ELEMENTS" PERSPECTIVE

Okiciyab was never intended to be a comprehensive or “scientific” review of the successes and failures of externally funded Indigenous development interventions. Rather, it focused mainly on after-the-fact reports and observations of changes in asset utilization on the part of the Indigenous beneficiaries involved in the three ethnodevelopment interventions selected. Given the centrality of “cultural compatibility” (which is shaped by perceptions to a great extent) in determining the degree of uptake of development projects in Native communities, this approach proved to be fully consistent with the ultimate purposes of the research. While taking place in a more disjointed way than the research coordinators originally planned, the application of FNDI’s Asset Building and Elements of Development frameworks served as a touchstone for different groups of applied researchers investigating what turned out to be very different Indigenous development experiences. It also provided a common set of concepts for connecting the findings from the three case studies resulting from the investigations.

Table 4 below presents the results of a cross analysis between the case studies and summarizes the findings and impact related to each of the Elements of Development (EOD). This table corresponds with the information found in the EOD graphics that follow each case study. The number of positive and negative findings that impacted each Element are reflected on the chart. The net result of the positive and negative findings does not necessarily represent the sum of the findings, as, for example, two small negative impacts may not outweigh a large positive impact.

When examining the data in the table below, it is important for the reader to be aware that certain Elements received little or no mention in the respective Case Studies. It varied from case to case with many Elements being cited frequently and some Elements being cited only once per case or not at all, such as Spirituality. This does not mean that those Elements were not touched upon by the interventions in question, or were other wise not relevant to the complex array of impacts in a particular case. It more often represents the fact that the individual research team/s, due to reasons of space, time or simply to improve the cohesiveness of their analysis, did not address it.

Table 4: Summary of Project-Induced Impacts for Each Project in Relation to the Elements of Development

<i>Element</i>	<i>Lakota Fund</i>	<i>MBIFCT</i>	<i>Protecting Biodi Habitats</i>
Control of Assets	3+ / 1-	1+ / 4-	4+ / 1-
Personal Efficacy	3+ / 1-	1+ / 2-	2+
Kinship	3+ / 1-	1+ / 2- ³³	1+ / 1-
Spirituality	1+	1-	1+
Trade and Exchange	3+	1+ / 2- ³⁴	3+
Income	3+	1+ / 1- ³⁵	4+ / 1-
Productivity Skills	2+	1+ / 2-	4+ / 1-
Vibrant Initiative	2+	1-	2+
Responsibility and Consequences	4+ / 2-	3-	1+ / 2-
Health and Safety	1-	1-	1+ / 1-
Political and Civic Participation	4+ / 2-	1+ / 3-	3+
Social Respect	4+	2-	2+
Cultural Integrity	3+ / 2-	1+ / 4- ³⁶	1+ / 1-
Choices and Vision	4+ / 2-	3-	2+
Hope and Future Orientation	2+ / 1-	2+ / 3-	2+
Environmental Balance	1-	1-	4+ / 1-

Key:

+ → positive impact

- → negative impact

The following discussion provides a description and rationale for the summary information presented in Table 4. The discussion is based on emergent trends in the research findings, in terms of each the Elements of Development framework. Findings that fall under the four primary or “transversal” elements are discussed first.

The Transversal Elements

Control of Assets

Control of Assets is perhaps the most fundamental of all the Elements. In the view of FPW, it embodies the single most important focus any ethnodevelopment project should include. Of the three development Projects included in the *Okiciyab* research,

³³ The positive rating here and in the Elements of MCIFCT’s Trade and Exchange and Cultural Integrity are limited to experiences of the Village of Nteko; otherwise impacts were neutral or negative.

³⁴ See footnote 33

³⁵ The positive rating here takes into account the diverging experiences of the Batwa People who received land from the Trust and those who did not. The impact on those without land can be considered neutral, however, at they are still relying almost exclusively on trading labor for food.

³⁶ See footnote 33

the Lakota Fund clearly generated the most important benefits for its participants in the area of asset control. The Fund provided them with seed capital they needed to build up their businesses and “capture” a large share of monies and services that had previously been flowing off the Pine Ridge Reservation. Loans from the Fund also helped borrowers to purchase reservation lands and to develop lands that were held in trust.

When examining the asset-control objectives of the other two interventions, the results are mixed. Lack of sufficient capitalization of the MBIFCT made it impossible for the Trust’s managers to purchase land for more than 58% of the Batwa who had been displaced from the forests of the two national parks. Consequently, the failure to provide the Batwa with asset control had the negative effect of creating social differentiation where none existed before which effectively stymied their efforts to achieve greater control over land as a group.

The sale of wood by community members in the Awa Territory was not illegal but rather contravened internal regulations about doing business with industrial logging companies and their intermediaries. The “Protecting Biodiversity Habitats” project helped the Awa to gain greater control over their ancestral lands through the sustainable exploitation of the wood resources on it. However, these gains were undermined by threatened and actual timber sales by a handful of defiant Awa to outside companies and intermediaries.

Personal Efficacy

Personal Efficacy, which is measured by the degree of confidence experienced by Indigenous Peoples at every level (personal, household, and community), increased across the board as a result of the Lakota Fund Project. The Fund helped raise the self-confidence and self-esteem of the Pine Ridge residents by giving them the resources and knowledge they needed to create, maintain, or expand their businesses. The boost in self-confidence at the individual or household level among Lakota Fund borrowers gave the Pine Ridge community a collective “shot in the arm” that transcended the sum of the individual improvements, spilling over directly into such elements as **Hope and Future Orientation** and **Choices and Vision**.

Similarly, in the Ecuador Case Study, simple fact that the Awa were allowed to manage their own forests for profit helped build a feeling of ownership and sense of pride that surpassed the increase in self-confidence detected among the direct beneficiaries of the “Protecting Biodiversity Habitats” project.

While the Uganda-Batwa Case Study does not discuss personal efficacy at length, it does attribute positive changes in Batwa self-confidence or self-esteem to greater control of assets (specifically, land) and various training exercises made possible by the MBIFCT. Those households granted land by the Trust gained a foothold that allowed them both to apply newfound knowledge and skills—which were imparted more often by intermediary NGOs than by the Trust—and to involve kin living nearby in this application. On the other hand, the 195 Batwa households still waiting for more secure tenure have experienced serious disruptions in kin relations and also more limited interactions with neighboring ethnic groups, with implied decreases in self-confidence levels.

Kinship

As with other sectors of the Elements of Development impacted by the MBIFCT, positive movement in the area of kinship turned out to be highly localized. The Village of Nteko was the only example where kin relations were deliberately used as the basis for organizing community-based development activities or determining the distribution of benefits under NGO-sponsored programs, with a positive result. In other villages not only were such relations not used to structure development efforts, but also breakdowns in kinship impeded such efforts, resulting in increases in the exposure of Batwa women to sexual and physical violence.

Kinship also proved problematic in the Lakota Fund case. A number of Pine Ridge residents interviewed expressed the view that proximity of kin to Fund staff and Board members was a key determinant in who had their loan applications approved. The *perception* of favoritism gained traction with many in Pine Ridge, presenting the Lakota Fund with the single most important threat to its image as a CDFI working for the benefit of the entire community.³⁷ On the other hand, the negative perceptions in this area were offset by the observation that the kinship connections in play have served to remind everyone on the reservation that the managers of the Lakota Fund are, like the Fund’s borrowers, Oglala Lakota. This has helped to underscore the cultural compatibility of the intervention and the positive effects it has had in the areas of **Personal Efficacy** and **Social Respect**. A similar dynamic can be inferred from the findings of the research in Ecuador, regarding the indirect value of kin relations in the Awa’s management of their own forestry activities.



³⁷ One survey in the late 1990s found that “fear of rejection” was a prominent reason for the decision by prospective Lakota Fund borrowers, especially those in the Small Business category, **not** to approach the Fund for a loan (Pickering and Mushinski 1999, 27).

Spirituality

Of the four transversal elements, Spirituality is the one that is given the least amount of attention in the three Case Studies. FPW's research protocol provided the means for the documentation of basic facts about Indigenous spiritual assets (consisting of belief systems, ritual practices, and the like), and for the measurement of changes in the use of spiritual assets over time. However, making the link between such changes and the development projects under examination was not always possible, due to the inherent difficulty in disentangling the impacts of a single intervention from the sundry other factors influencing the evolution of Native spiritual beliefs.

Additionally, it was difficult to collect data on such an intangible variable in the course of conducting field research using rapid assessment methodologies. For example, in the Uganda-Batwa Case Study, the researchers noted, "A number of Batwa became evasive when talking about spirituality", which was an indication to us that this was a topic that they preferred not to broach with us. Possibly, if we had spent more time in their communities, they would have been willing to share further details."

Conversely, the researchers also found that the Batwa's transition from a nomadic existence in the forest to a sedentary one in the surrounding areas correlated with the spread of Christianity in their communities. Conversion of the Batwa sometimes came at the expense of their traditional animist beliefs and at other times fused with them. While the operation of the MBIFCT itself seemed to have little impact on this trend, many Batwa have no doubt been influenced by religious organizations such as the Kanungu Diocese of the Church of Uganda and the African International Christian Ministry which emerged as key actors, providing development assistance in several of the land grant communities.

Changes in Economic and Financial Assets

In the Economic and Financial Assets quadrant, the clearest advances were registered in the U.S.-Oglala Lakota case. The Lakota Fund was found to have triggered positive changes in all three of the pre-existing elements (**Trade and Exchange, Income and Employment, and Productivity Skills**). Probably the strongest gains occurred in **Productivity Skills** and **Employment**. An array of activities which formerly existed within the informal sector were effectively formalized as a result of the seed capital provided by the Lakota Fund.

A similar dynamic was observed in the Ecuador-Awa Case Study. At the same time that the "Protecting Biodiversity Habitats" project helped boost employment in three Awa centers, it also successfully trained males from the centers in subjects relating to

forest management and the use of the wood harvesting equipment. An even greater impact was found at the territorial level where instruction in computing, geographic information systems, budgeting, and administration was so effective it led to the “siphoning off” of some newly trained staff into higher paying jobs in the city of Ibarra.

When it comes to changes in **Trade and Exchange** and **Income**, the picture across the three Case Studies is not as clear, even though all three of the projects studied had income generation as an explicit objective. In the U.S.-Oglala Lakota case, many informal sector activities were changed into Lakota-owned businesses on the strength of the growing trade that loans from the Fund facilitated. Similarly, in the Ecuador-Awa case, FCAE’s efforts to commercialize wood extracted from the Territory helped the Awa develop more extensive trade relations with the outside world. In the Uganda-Batwa case, increases in trade and exchange were also detected, but not across the board and not necessarily in the way the designers of the MBIFCT had anticipated. Those Batwa with land reported increased agricultural trade and exchange with non-Batwa, although Batwa in all but one village continued exchanging their labor for food as well.

The degree of increase in income was explained mainly by the difference between the situations of the land- and non-land-owning Batwa. Those Batwa living in land grant communities reported higher incomes as a result of a mixture of agricultural production, the sale of goods (such as furniture), the sale of “services” (prostitution and traditional dancing), and access to day labor opportunities. Those without it had little option but to engage in day labor involving labor for food exchanges, precluding the possibility of earning income.

Returning to the Ecuador-Awa case, the researcher noted that while those participating in the “Protecting Biodiversity Habitats” project benefited from generalized increases in trade and exchange, they did not necessarily see a corresponding increase in income. In fact, only some households in one of two participating communities visited reporting sizable increases in income.

In the Lakota Fund case study, data on income changes at the individual and household levels was not collected. Yet business owners reported growth in their operations, and by extension in their revenues, at least in part because of the loans they received from the Fund.

Changes in Leadership, Community and Institutional Capacity, and Security

This quadrant includes the three Elements of **Vibrant Initiative, Responsibility and Consequences**, and **Health and Safety**. Vibrant Initiative actually plays a central role in the U.S.-Oglala Lakota case, with important lessons for other ethnodevelopment projects that would promote market-based economic development. Part of the singular success of the Fund owes to its designers' recognition of this fact, and to the corresponding ability of the Fund to provide dozens of residents with the means to put their innovative business ideas into practice. In the Ecuador-Awa case, on the other hand, Vibrant Initiative took a more complicated and potentially damaging form, as changing attitudes about the value of wood and growing interest in the need to boost productivity and timber sales resulted in sales by certain household heads to timber merchants, thereby undermining the long-term sustainability of the FCAE Forest Management Program.

Similar improvement was observed in **Responsibility and Consequences** on account of the Lakota Fund. Loan default rates dropped over time, as borrowers from the Fund became used to the obligations involved with receiving loans rather than handouts. At the reservation level, the Fund's operations led to the founding of the Pine Ridge Chamber of Commerce.

In stark contrast to this hopeful picture are the setbacks in **Responsibility and Consequences** documented by the Uganda-Batwa research team. As it turns out, in this case, observed decline in levels of integrity and accountability in the everyday interactions of the Batwa were closely related to their deteriorating Health and Safety. Landowning has not prevented alcoholism, violence, and prostitution from ripping into the delicate social fabric of some of the Batwa settlements, especially those where there are few NGO-sponsored assistance or development initiatives. As a corollary to this, cases of malaria and HIV were found to be on the rise in a number of the settlements, and there were increasing reports of violence against Batwa women. Here the difference reemerges between Batwa who received land grants and those who did not: infant mortality rates reportedly were lower among those in the former group. One of the results of the Batwa's forced transition from a semi-nomadic to a sedentary settlement pattern was to cut them off from medicinal plants in the forest that they had previously used to cure common ailments and stay healthy. The impact on the Batwa of this type of asset stripping were so severe that just about any initiative meant to reconstruct their livelihoods and restore their sense of identity and propriety was unlikely to amount to much more than a "band aid"

Social, Political, and Cultural Changes

To some extent, all three of the interventions included in the *Okiciyab* research succeeded in spurring their Indigenous beneficiaries to expand their horizons politically, and to engage with political actors within and outside the communities in fruitful new ways. For example, in the U.S.-Oglala Lakota case, loans from the Lakota Fund gave would-be or existing entrepreneurs on the Pine Ridge Reservation more economic clout. This led to more frequent interactions with service providers off the reservation (including commercial banks), and translated into more political power when it came time to request assistance or resources from the tribal government.

Always concerned with trying to maintain a united front before the various threats to their Territory, Awa leaders in FCAE knew that undertaking social forestry as both a territorial defense mechanism and an income- and employment-generating scheme would require them to interact ever more frequently with a host of outside entities including the Ministry of Environment, logging companies, regional- and national-level Indian rights organizations, and multi-stakeholder groups such as CEFOVE. The “Protecting Biodiversity Habitats” project provided leadership training and engagement strategies that helped them in their dealings with all of these actors.

For the Batwa, one of the byproducts of adopting a sedentary lifestyle was that community members, especially those living in land grant communities, found that they could have more direct access to, and effective representation by, local government officials. Ironically, the Batwa felt compelled to seek support from these government officials because they were excluded from participation in the governance structures and processes of the Trust itself, which could not always accommodate their communal decision-making mechanisms.

Social Respect correlated quite well with **Political and Civic Participation** in two of the three cases. In both the U.S.-Oglala Lakota and the Ecuador-Awa cases, the more the project beneficiaries interacted with outside actors, the more social respect they earned from them. One of the most significant achievements of the Lakota Fund was to leverage improvements in the overall relationship between Pine Ridge residents and off-reservation bank officials, by demonstrating the creditworthiness of the former.

As implied above, one upshot of FCAE’s emerging independently as a political operator at different levels was its ability to inspire higher amounts of social respect among other actors involved in forestry activities (public officials, timber merchants, forest management specialists, etc.).

In the Uganda-Batwa case, increases in political and civic participation were apparently not accompanied by corresponding increases in social respect, largely because of the anti-Batwa prejudices that have persisted in the intervention area. Some Batwa with land were found to be trading agricultural products with the Bakiga and other non-Batwa, but this did not substantially increase their status in the outsiders' eyes. Therefore, no new collaborative relationships ensued.

Cultural Integrity is both controversial and contradictory in ethnodevelopment, due to the challenges inherent in designing and implementing interventions that undertake to change certain aspects of Native social, economic, and political institutions, while at the same time promoting cultural continuity. Indeed, this brand of contradiction was observed in all three Okiciyab case studies. The Lakota Fund helped reinforce Lakota cultural norms by allowing Oglala Lakota women to take up leadership roles from the beginning. At the reservation level, operation of the Fund also helped to counter lingering stereotypes about Lakota culture being incompatible with entrepreneurship.

In the Batwa communities of Southwestern Uganda, Nteko stood out as an example of an MBIFCT-assisted community where new economic relations based on kinship were being successfully cultivated. Otherwise, many Batwa communities who received land grants experienced an erosion of cultural integrity in many respects, including less frequent use of Rutwa, the Batwa native tongue, and the loss of the communal work ethic. Batwa without land were similarly finding many aspects of their cultural integrity under severe stress.³⁸

In the Awa Territory, the profits derived from FCAE-sponsored forestry were not so great as to contribute to serious wealth disparities in the communities visited. On the other hand, the Awa's dogged push for higher incomes led some community members to regard trees in utilitarian terms, as commodities, which went across the grain of the people's long-standing recognition of the interconnectedness of nature.

Changes in Vision, Opportunities, and Planning

While the U.S.-Oglala Lakota and Uganda-Batwa case studies did not address the Element of **Environmental Balance**, it was of paramount importance in the Ecuador-Awa study. It was hardly a stretch to expect environmental sustainability to be one of the top priorities of a community-based forestry project and the outcomes of the "Protecting Biodiversity Habitats" project in this area were found to be generally positive. As of this writing, the Awa Forest Management Program is faced

³⁸ On the other hand, this group was more likely than the landed Batwa to use their native tongue and to maintain some tie to their ancestral forest habitat.

with the twin challenge of achieving higher harvesting output and adding value more quickly, which raises the possibility of slightly higher levels of deforestation in the Awa Territory. But the risks might be worth it if these actions can satisfy renegade community members who wish to concede entire tracts of forest to hungry timber companies and their intermediaries, which is an unacceptable outcome from the point of view of long-term sustainability.

All three of the projects studied were found to produce net positives in terms of **Hope and Future Orientation**, although the way that they did so was quite different. At times, the mere fact of getting involved with a development intervention—assuming that its design is sound and its implementation effective—can have the effect of generating excitement at the local level and challenging beneficiaries to think in new ways about the future. This was found to be the case with the Lakota Fund, which inspired faith in the future by helping certain residents of the Pine Ridge Reservation realize their goals of “doing it for themselves” and becoming less dependent on outside charities. The MBIFCT provided hope to a majority of Batwa displacees, who almost certainly would have continued living under precarious circumstances had it not purchased land for them that they could begin to farm.

The Uganda-Batwa case study found that the Batwa with land were more prone to express long-term goals such as education and training for new income-generating

“An underlying premise of this research has been FPW’s belief that there is a correlation between the Elements of Development and successful Indigenous Peoples projects.”

activities. More recently, the MBIFCT reoriented its programming and began sponsoring Batwa children attending primary and secondary school, which can be seen as an

investment in the future generation. The “Protecting Biodiversity Habitats” project raised hopes of more efficient timber sales and the subsequent promise of higher incomes for the Awa families participating in the Forest Management Program. Meanwhile, the creation of the CTF can be seen as a bold gamble on the future success and profitability of the Program.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

An underlying premise of this research has been FPW's belief that there is a correlation between the Elements of Development and successful Indigenous Peoples projects. In all cases the research has been limited by a paucity of mature longer-term Indigenous People projects and dearth of secondary literature on any ex-post or summative evaluations of existing Indigenous People project assessments. Nonetheless, some promising findings within the three case studies have emerged with perhaps the most compelling finding being the degree by which the EOD may be used to pre-determine the success of a project.

An analysis of the cross-case, Elements-driven findings in the preceding section indicates a progression that mirrors the evolution of approaches to Indigenous development within the large donor agencies. Each of these steps in the continuum are development intervention models that can be expressed as follows:

1. The idea for an Indigenous community development intervention originates outside of the community affected. It is financed, designed, implemented, and monitored/evaluated by the external agency, with little or no participation by community members. It does not have the generation of benefits for the Native community members as an explicit goal, and it does not anticipate risks to the community that may emerge on account of the project.
2. The idea for an Indigenous community development intervention originates outside of the community affected. It is financed, designed, implemented, and monitored/evaluated by the external agency, but with some to considerable participation by community members. It has the generation of benefits for the Native community members as a primary or secondary goal, and it incorporates measures to prevent or minimize the risk of undue harm to the community.
3. The idea for an Indigenous community development intervention originates outside of the community affected, as does the financing and some ideas for the design. However, the intervention is largely designed and implemented in participatory fashion by Indigenous organization(s) and/or intermediary NGOs supporting them, for the direct benefit of community members. It contains mechanisms to anticipate risk and measures to prevent or minimize undue harm to the community.

4. The idea for an Indigenous community development intervention originates within the community itself. It is designed, implemented, monitored/evaluated, and perhaps even partially financed by Indigenous organization(s) and/or intermediary NGOs supporting them, with complementary financing and technical assistance coming from the external agency. The intervention incorporates community-level participation every step of the way and is oriented to generating a variety of direct benefits for community members. It contains clear mechanisms to anticipate risk and strong measures to prevent or minimize undue harm to the community.

The first two positions signify the stage at which the multilateral and bilateral development agencies have been and, in many cases, continue to be. The latter two positions, which are much more in keeping with the strategies and aims of true ethnodevelopment, signify the stage at which Indigenous Peoples would like the agencies to be. With respect to the interventions themselves, the application of the Elements of Development to the findings clarifies at which stage of the continuum a particular program is operating. In turn, this helps to explain the responses of the intended beneficiaries in each case and, even more importantly, the extent to which the positive transformations promoted by each project are likely to endure. The USAID-sponsored project in the Altai Republic of Russia is a clear example of the first model, which is the main reason it was not pursued as a full case. The Uganda-Batwa case is largely summed up by the first model, but could be considered closer to the second one, as the MBIFCT did have as one of its (lesser-priority) goals the support of the Batwa through land grants. The U.S.-Oglala Lakota case falls between the third and the fourth steps, but could be considered closer to the third, as the idea for the Lakota Fund did not originate on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The Ecuador-Awa case provides the clearest example of the self-directed development intervention described by the fourth step, because the Protecting Biodiversity Habitats project sought to support a program already being managed by the Awa Federation, rather than create a new vehicle for project implementation.

FPW feels that the quality of the assessments of ethnodevelopment outcomes and impacts in the *Okicijab* case studies paints a valid portrait of where the donor agencies should be going with respect to their continued support for Indigenous community development. The following section formats specific research findings according to: 1) Recognition of key lessons and 2) Recommendations for how the World Bank, USAID, and similar agencies can contribute to Indigenous development in a more efficient, effective, and culturally appropriate way.

Researchers drew a number of conclusions about the interventions strategies' fitful attempts to meet the needs of Indigenous Peoples and adapt new modes of economic activity and socio-cultural organization successfully with traditional indigenous societies. A basic comparison between the two non-U.S (and most recent) case studies found that the Awa PBH incorporated an exceptionally high percentage of the "Elements" in the design of its intervention strategy and they are achieving a high degree of successful outcomes and positive impact. While the MBIFCT intervention strategy did not incorporate any of the "Elements" in its design and the Trust is tracking a high degree of failure in almost all aspects of the Batwa's development, there is not enough aggregate data to draw causal or correlative conclusions. However, this finding alone indicates a utilitarian function for the EOD in designing intervention strategies or as a donor in assessing which interventions to fund. Following our confidence in the success associated with the EOD, there are five recommendations FPW makes to funders:

1. Conclusion: "True" ethnodevelopment is culturally appropriate, and supports project designs that are explicitly tailored to local realities. If the concept for an intervention is coming from outside of the participating area, establish viable processes and mechanisms for consulting with the full range of prospective Indigenous beneficiaries. Most IPs are in varying degrees of transition from traditional societies (such as hunting and gathering) to modernity (such as sedentary farming) making it all the more crucial for development interventions to take the historical basis and cultural implications of this transition into consideration, or face negative results and unintended consequences.

Recommendation: FPW's Elements of Development facilitate a process by which place-specific, traditional knowledge can be integrated into development intervention strategies, a step *which is crucial* to ethnodevelopment interventions and *should occupy a central design principle* within any organization's intervention strategies for IPs and programming for many years to come.

FPW holds that the correlation between the Elements of Development and success is in direct proportion to number of specific elements that are incorporated within the design. Planning documents indicated the Lakota Fund incorporated all 16 of the Elements within its intervention strategy. Field research identified at least 12 to 14 of the Elements as part of the design in the Awa PHB

"Funding for project implementation should be tied to essential developmental processes that include specific benchmarks for increasing the community's capacity in control and management of assets, cultural integrity, and political participation."

intervention strategy. Both case studies tracked high degrees of success. However the Lakota Fund is a much older project than the Awa PBH and has had the ability to adapt and self correct the design over a period of 18 years. Therefore, while each case study can compare impact and outcomes, the sample size and data collection is too small to draw causal or summative conclusions instead the case comparisons raised more questions than answers. Future research should pose such questions as, “Is there a ‘tipping point’ or minimum number of Elements necessary for success?” However, trends and forecasting patterns have been documented that validate FPW’s contention that to focus on only one area of development without including other aspects of social, political and economy results in improper balance to quality of life to those it is intended to improve.

2. Conclusion: Development is a systemic process that must be integrated with the political, social and economic sectors of the community. For example, the community development interventions affecting the Batwa were never specifically designed to accommodate elements of the Batwa social system, culture, and traditional practices, and consequently their social and cultural fabric was deteriorating. Another example that ran across all three cases was employment. The need for people to be employed was cited frequently in all the communities studied, but any employment intervention strategy that does not incorporate the Element Productivity with Personal Efficacy, Responsibility and Consequences may not have the labor pool to fill the jobs successfully.

Recommendation: Regardless of the specific project or intervention strategy, a framework such as the EOD must be utilized for systematically designing and integrating the intervention strategy into these sectors.

3. Conclusion: Funding for project implementation should be tied to essential developmental processes that include specific benchmarks for increasing the community’s capacity in control and management of assets, cultural integrity, and political participation. The funding mechanisms and delivery of development resources should abandon the one-off, time-bound projects altogether, supporting instead systematic development approaches with more flexible timeframes, cultural relevant outcomes and positive incremental impact. In fact, the most frequently cited recommendation from Indigenous leaders interviewed was for donors to provide core support. Funders have program guidelines and require accountability while communities need flexibility and incremental funding. In addition, the Elements of Civic and Political Participation and Control of Assets require that the design and implementation of the strategy must include the participation of Indigenous leaders

and organizations (along with any supporting intermediary NGOs) in all aspects of the intervention, including the deployment or derivation of tangible benefits for the community.

Recommendation: At a minimum, it is recommended that any intervention strategy be designed to incorporate the following three elements: control of assets, cultural integrity and political participation.

Control of Assets: The design of an intervention strategy needs provide to a process for building the community's capacity to control and manage indigenous assets. The legal vehicles for collective land tenure, communal ownership and control over land and natural resource assets by IPs must be secured. Not being able to gain legal access and the lack of formal titles puts them at a clear disadvantage to be dispossessed at any time, or risk arrest or worst. Assets are the building blocks for development and tangible benefits are derived.

Cultural Integrity: Development organizations should allocate resources for research that provides insights into the traditional practices that can be used to design interventions better suited to the IPs culturally determined preferences. Traditional governance structures like the Batwa preference for consensus-based decision-making should be hard wired into the development process. This could entail entering into basic MOUs rather than hammering out lengthy contractual agreements.

Political Participation: Future development strategies should advocate for IP representation within both their internal and the external decision-making structures of their region. Processes must encourage more active participation at all levels of local government and help promote their enfranchisement and build their capacity. Changes in prejudiced rhetoric need to be facilitated from institutions at both the top and the bottom of society.

4. Conclusion: FPW's research concluded that the interventions had multiple, varied, and sometimes contradictory impacts. This complicated the task of determining whether the impact in a particular Element had been positive, negative, neutral (with positive and negative aspects essentially canceling each other out), or negligible. For example in the Element 'control of asset' the MBIFCT starts from a negative point where the Batwa have already lost all control over their assets by being evicted from their traditional territories. The intervention strategy was to give each adult a plot of land which would indicate positive control of assets. However the

project changes direction midway, leaving half the Batwa without any land and never bestowing titles for the distributed plots leaving any real control open for dispute. The erratic implementation of the MBIFCT strategy had a domino effect on tracking the positive or negative outcomes for each Element. Nevertheless, in most cases it has been possible to capture the thrust of many project-induced changes in asset use and track the beneficiaries' assessments of outcomes to present the overall trend or end result within the 16 categories of the Elements of Development.

“FPW’s Elements of Development facilitate a process by which place-specific, traditional knowledge can be integrated into development intervention strategies, a step which is crucial to ethnodevelopment interventions and should occupy a central design principle within any organization’s intervention strategies for IPs and programming for many years to come.”

When using the holistic Elements framework for evaluative assessment or design analytic purposes, it is very important to be aware of the dynamics arising from the interdependency of the different dimensions of the framework. Accordingly, it should be pointed out that forward or backward movement on one Element might not occur independently of movement on other Elements. In other words, even in the case of the most carefully implemented projects, such as the Awa PBH, forward movement on one Element or variable, like collective control of the forest, rather than being mutually reinforcing around the circle, came at the expense of forward movement on another, like cultural integrity when Awa individuals sold timber for personal profit.

Recommendation: It is recommended that FPW’s interrelated frameworks – Asset Building and Elements of Development – or some such other culturally appropriate mechanism be used throughout the entire intervention strategy implementation by which such changes could be recorded, analyzed, enhanced, mitigated and/or self corrected adaptations be made. These frameworks could be used not only for the study design, but as evaluation and diagnostic tools that would guide changes made during the actual study implementation period.

5. Conclusion: The final recommendation did not come out of the *Okiciyab* research but emerged in the course of conducting this study. The cautionary tale presented by the Uganda-Batwa experience implies that donors such as USAID or the World Bank would do well to commission a study on the ways in which current forms of overseas development assistance are negatively impacting Indigenous Peoples’ rights. Such a

study could review current violations of internationally recognized human rights, as well as cultural property rights, intellectual property rights, the right to health and safe environment (as per the Aarhus Convention), and rights relating to political representation and self-determination, with the aim of strengthening multilateral entities and legal processes for defending these rights. Equally important in the short term would be another comparative, multi-sited research project involving a greater number of examples of ethnodevelopment. Such research would represent a worthy follow-up to the *Okiciyab* project, allowing the bilateral and multilateral development agencies to gain a fuller understanding of the current “state of the art” in the design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation of Indigenous community development interventions.

Recommendation: There is an immediate and pressing need for further research on the current effectiveness of and future prospects for externally induced Indigenous community development.

Ultimately, the contributions of this research project rest on the depth, and not the breadth, of its analysis. Neither the Asset Building nor the Elements of Development frameworks are seen as static. Research findings indicate that as FPW’s work proceeds and we continue to use the asset building approach and apply the EOD in both design and assessment of intervention strategies key lessons and better understanding of culturally appropriate development theory and practice will evolve.

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This document is dedicated to the **Oglala Lakota of South Dakota** in the United States, the **Batwa of Southwestern Uganda**, and the **Awa of Northwestern Ecuador**. It is FPW's sincere wish that the discussion herein may lead to a fuller appreciation of the need to document and adopt better practices in Indigenous community development, for the benefit of not only those Indigenous People involved in this Project, but also other Native groups.

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