URBAN INDIGENOUS
PEOPLES AND MIGRATION:
A REVIEW OF POLICIES, PROGRAMMES AND PRACTICES

UN@HABITAT
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United Nations
Human Rights

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

URBAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND MIGRATION:

A Review of Policies, Programmes and Practices

United Nations Housing Rights Programme

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DISCLAIMER

FOREWORD

"The global urbanisation process increasingly includes indigenous peoples. Although, globally, the majority of indigenous peoples still live in rural areas the limited available data shows that more and more of them are… migrating to urban areas. This migration can be temporary or permanent. Thus, urbanisation is affecting indigenous peoples in many countries, both developed and developing, with diverse impacts." – (UN-HABITAT and OHCHR).

This new report, *Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration: A Review of Policies, Programmes and Practices* is the outcome of joint efforts by UN-HABITAT and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) as part of the United Nations Housing Rights Programme (UNHRP).

The material originates from an international Expert Group Meeting on Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration held in Santiago, Chile, March 27-29, 2007. It seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of migration by indigenous peoples into urban areas from a human rights and a gender perspective.

In this work, particular attention is paid to the varying nature of rural-urban migration around the world, and its impact on quality of life and rights of urban indigenous peoples, particularly youth and women.

Indigenous peoples living in urban areas often constitute more than half of the indigenous population in many countries. This rate is on the increase due to a variety of factors that has led to forced or involuntary movement from rural to urban areas.

The situation of indigenous peoples in urban areas varies greatly. While some are able to adapt and improve their living conditions without loss of cultural identity, many are subject to discrimination, exclusion and violence. A growing number of indigenous peoples, who are amongst the most vulnerable and marginalized urban communities, are living in slums.

Greater attention by the relevant authorities is required to address rights of urban indigenous peoples. Public authorities need to appreciate the multiple identities of indigenous peoples within urban areas and their continuing relationship to their traditional lands and natural resources.

This report highlights some of the innovative and effective strategies, policies and practices currently in force to improve the living conditions of indigenous peoples in cities and to contribute to a better understanding of urban indigenous peoples.

I thank all of those who contributed to this report. I view this work as an important component of our quest for better urban living conditions around the world, and as an important component of UN-HABITAT's new World Urban Campaign for better, more equitable, and thus more sustainable cities.

Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka
Under-Secretary-General and
Executive-Director
UN-HABITAT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND SPECIAL TERMS

ACHPR   African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights

AIDS   Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

BPFA   Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

CARICOM   Caribbean Community

CDCC   Caribbean Development and Cooperation Committee

CEDALE   Latin America and the Caribbean Demographic Centre

CEDAW   Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; and Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

CERD   Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

CESCR   Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

CIPA   Canadian International Development Agency

CONAPO   (National Council on Population)

CSDH   Commission on Social Determinants of Health

DESA   Department of Economic and Social Affairs

ECLAC   Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

ECOSOC   Economic and Social Council

EGM   Expert Group Meeting

ESC   Economic and Social Council

GCIM   Global Commission on International Migration

GDF   Federal District Government or Government of Mexico City

GOK   Government of Kenya

HIV   Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Immuno Deficiency Syndrome

ICCPR   International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ILO	International Labor Organization
INEGI	National Institute for Statistics, Geography and Computing
IPs	Indigenous Peoples
INVI	Mexico City Housing Institute
IOM	International Organisation of Migration
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
IWLP	Indigenous Women's Learning Partnership
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
SJFC	Skookum Jim Friendship Centre
SPFII	Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
TRIPS	Trade in Intellectual Property Systems
UN	United Nations
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
UNHRP	United Nations Housing Rights Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNPFA	United Nations Population Fund
UNPFII	United Nations Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHO	World Health Organization

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There is often an assumption that large proportions of indigenous peoples live in rural and remote areas. However, the rising number of indigenous peoples migrating to urban cities has challenged this perception and the increasingly transient demography of urban indigenous peoples cannot be underestimated.

An Expert Workshop on Indigenous Peoples and Migration: Challenges and opportunities, co-sponsored by the International Organisation of Migration and the Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in Geneva, in 2006 began an important dialogue about the process of migration for indigenous communities both nationally and internationally. This meeting underlined the need to recognise the heterogeneity of indigenous peoples, as well as to acknowledge the difficulty of defining and interpreting the migratory process using blanket and generic terminologies and frameworks.

The meeting was an important reference point for the international Expert Group Meeting on Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration held in Santiago, Chile, March 27-29, 2007. This meeting was an activity of the United Nations Housing Programme co-organised by the United Nations Human Settlement Programme, the Secretariat of the United Nations Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Latin America and the Caribbean Demographic Centre and the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean with the co-operation of the International Organisation of Migration. The objective was to contribute to improving the living conditions and the realisation of human rights of members of the indigenous peoples living in urban areas. As such, the deliberations heightened the visibility of urban indigenous communities and, in particular, their strong indigenous identities. A key point made at the meeting was that indigenous peoples should not be seen as divided between urban and rural, but rather as connected peoples with common cultural identities.

This work stems from the EGM in Santiago, Chile, with the objective of providing a comprehensive analysis of the migration trajectories of indigenous peoples into urban areas. Particular attention has been paid to the ambiguities and paradoxical nature of the rural-urban migratory experience and its affect on the quality of life and rights of urban-dwelling indigenous peoples globally. Moreover, an extensive review was made of a diverse collection of resources, literature and data about urban indigenous peoples and migration using a holistic framework that is inclusive of a human rights approach and gender perspective. This study is divided into five sections. Each section underscores specific themes, but all relate to the realisation of the human rights and living conditions of indigenous peoples in urban areas.

1.	The introduction provides a general overview of the objectives and methodology of the study. Given the global scale, consideration is given to the diversity of indigenous communities as well as to the inconsistency and/or lack of data available on a wide cross-section of indigenous populations. Notwithstanding this, a vigorous analytical approach was applied to the diverse documents of this study, utilising a holistic framework. The data was reviewed from a variety of angles and was open to a multiplicity of interpretations.

2.	There is evidence to suggest that urban migration is not a new concept for indigenous peoples, as some communities have long-standing connections with the urban experience. Indeed, some generations of indigenous communities have only ever lived in cities. Nevertheless, there are debates on the authenticity and indignity of urban indigenous people, which heighten the politics of identity within the indigenous discourse itself. Thus, while there has been much attention placed on the cross-cultural and/or trans-cultural experience of migration for the indigenous person, less mention is made of some of the potential and realistic intra-cultural affects. The tenuous relationship between some rural and urban indigenous communities is a pressing concern as is the dichotomous discourse that often divides the rural and urban groups, despite their many connections. For example, women, youth and indigenous peoples with disabilities face unique challenges. For some is it is a double-edged sword to be indigenous and to be female, young and/or disabled. Much of the literature highlights their particular vulnerabilities

3.	This section highlights both the progress made and gaps that still exist between policy and practice, as well as the perspective of indigenous peoples on education, health, identity, housing and employment. Most telling are the gaps in the data, in particular the inconsistent use of data methods, data indicators and variables to measure education, employment, health, housing and well-being. Despite the many treaties, conventions and declarations ratified by governments to protect the freedom and human rights of indigenous peoples, the direct benefits have been slow to come to fruition. Part of the reason for this lies with the fallacy of compliance. As this report shows, there are governments and states which ratify declarations, but do not follow up with action. A measure of accountability is lacking and this is an area that requires further attention. However, there are best practices and programmes that have become effective in improving the well-being of indigenous peoples. Indigenous organisations and indigenous youth and women's programmes that promote governance and capacity building are providing the necessary skills and confidence for indigenous peoples to live self-sufficient lives. Proactive programmes which build the resilience and

confidence of indigenous peoples and promote self-empowerment have received attention. While much of the literature emphasises the many obstacles women and youth encounter, it is encouraging to find programmes and policies that also focus on their rights.

4.   This section makes reference to a selection of presentations made at the EGM in Santiago and highlights their diverse perspectives on migration and urban indigenous peoples through a multi-perspective lens. Despite the variations in analysis, all papers heighten the visibility of urban indigenous peoples that has, as pointed out in some papers, been dominated by their rural counterparts. Moreover, these papers contextualise the migration process from a variety of cultural, socio-economic, geo-political and gender perspectives and accentuate the contradictory and ambiguous positioning of urban indigenous peoples in current research, literature and policies. These papers highlight issues that are lacking in current data and address a cross-section of methodologies and best-practices from a unique and critical standpoint.

5.   The nature of the migration process is difficult to define in a single framework. Thus, as urban indigenous people's identities become increasingly fluid, the tendency to compartmentalise the migration experience according to push-and-pull factors, rural or urban, voluntary or forced, becomes difficult and less clear cut. This work recognises the many conventions and declarations that aim to protect the freedom and rights of indigenous peoples. However, this is not sufficient on its own. Accountability systems need to be in place to ensure that compliance is equally important and necessary for policy to affect indigenous peoples directly. In light of this, the recommendations call for a rights approach and a gender perspective that is consistent from policy to practice. They also call for a holistic framework in line with the principles of indigenous peoples. Policies and programmes must adhere to the principles of the ILO Convention (No. 169) and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and rectify the discrimination of indigenous peoples with special attention paid to women, youth and the disabled.

1. INTRODUCTION

Issues of indigenous peoples are cutting-edge issues which challenge dominant paradigms and thus are found challenging in terms of developing new discourses and in implementing development and human rights work in non-traditional ways.[1]

1.1. BACKGROUND

Migration and urbanisation are increasingly affecting the lives of many indigenous peoples. As such, research, policies and agencies, including those of the United Nations, recognise the need to better understand the complex processes of urban migration. A recent publication, "Indigenous Routes: A Framework for Understanding Indigenous Migration", for example, states that:

"Because of this increasing trend and the specific impacts of urbanization on indigenous peoples, the topic will remain an ongoing priority of the PFII in sessions to come. The preceding events acknowledge the importance of migration, and of indigenous peoples' migration in particular; yet this nexus has not received sufficient attention from policy makers and researchers."[2]

This study aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the migration trajectories of indigenous peoples into urban areas. Particular attention is paid to the idiosyncrasies of the rural-urban drift and its affect on the quality of life and human rights of urban dwelling indigenous peoples[a] globally. It also exposes not only the devastation that can come from urbanisation, but also the potential developmental, economic and cultural impacts. Moreover, the objective is to address urban indigenous peoples and migration from a holistic framework that is inclusive of a human rights approach and gender perspective.[b]

This report stems from the first international Expert Group Meeting (EGM) in Santiago, Chile on Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration held on 27-29 March, 2007 and funded by the Government of Canada. The meeting was an activity of the United Nations Housing Rights Programme (UNHRP) co-organized by the United Nations Human Settlement Programme (UN-HABITAT), the Secretariat of the United Nations Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), the Office

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a. *There is not a universal definition of indigenous peoples. For the purpose of this paper, the definition provided by the UN Permanent Forum Fact Sheet, 2008 is a useful reference point which states:*
"self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member, historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies, strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources, distinct social, economic or political systems, distinct language, culture and beliefs, form non-dominant groups of society, resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities." (p.1).
b. *This report adopts a gender perspective and analytical framework to ensure women issues and experiences are consistently considered and examined throughout.*

of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the Latin America and the Caribbean Demographic Centre (CEDALE) and the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) with the co-operation of the International Organisation of Migration (IOM).[c] The objective of this meeting was to assess ways to better the living conditions and the recognition of human rights of indigenous peoples living in urban areas. It was also a forum to facilitate varied perspectives on the subject of urban indigenous peoples and migration from a diverse group of participants that included relevant United Nations agencies, government and community organisations and experts and observers from various regions (the Arctic, Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, the Russian Federation, Central Asia and Transcaucasia, Latin America and the Caribbean, North America and the Pacific). The aims were to gain a comprehensive understanding of the research, statistical data, best practices and relevant policies of the urban indigenous experience as well as to identify effective and pragmatic approaches to improve indigenous peoples' quality of life. The collaboration and perspectives of the various local and global representatives and experts were to be used to formulate recommendations for consideration to enhance the realisation of the human rights, livelihood and living conditions of indigenous peoples in urban areas. The EGM in Santiago reaffirmed that the globalisation process increasingly includes indigenous peoples. The deliberations also reinforced the need to collate current research and methodologies, policy developments, grassroots urban developments, best practice programmes, unpublished documents and anecdotal evidence about the urban experiences of indigenous peoples within an indigenous holistic framework.[3] The remarks by indigenous expert speakers highlighted gaps in policy, research, methodology and programmes across governmental, state, legislative and local levels. The regional case studies proved instrumental in shaping the recommendations that underscored the human rights of indigenous peoples to a healthy well-being,[d] healthy living conditions and quality of life. They also reiterated the importance of self-sufficiency, self-determination and governance, with an emphasis on greater inclusion and participation of indigenous peoples in the decision-making process.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

The key themes, issues and points of debate and discussion that arose from this meeting have shaped the framework of this work. Contentious issues and positive developments introduced were followed up with interest paid to context, reliability,

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c. "The EGM was the outcome of discussions held at the Permanent Forum's session in 2002 and an Expert seminar, 'Indigenous peoples and migration: Challenges and opportunities organised by IOM in Geneva, 2006. Also, in 2006, a recommendation of the Permanent Forum was that an expert group meeting on urban indigenous peoples and migration be organised by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT) in cooperation with other UN agencies with the participation of experts from indigenous organisations and interested Governments.
d. Issues surrounding well-being, education and health (physical, mental, spiritual) are approached from a holistic perspective to include indigenous peoples with disabilities.

appropriateness, feasibility, process and progress. Some of the studies, policies and programmes that recognise the political, socio-economic, cultural and personal affects of urban migration and urbanisation processes for indigenous peoples were considered. In particular this work reviews the impact of voluntary and involuntary migration, ethnic mobility and identity, housing, gender, youth and disability on indigenous peoples' rights and living conditions. Comparative studies focussing on best practice models and the living conditions of indigenous peoples in urban areas were also reviewed. Caution was exercised, however, with comparative research that inferred universal terminologies and broad generalisations that discount the heterogeneity of indigenous peoples and their experiences.

Source: G Plunkett, 2003

In turn, the methodological framework of this report is multi-faceted and holistic to reflect the diverse backgrounds, realities and communication styles of indigenous peoples globally. The approach was primarily to collate and assess various sources, including documents, policies, programmes, census statistics and other sources. Thus, a mixture of academic research, government policy documents, state declarations and national and international conventions, as well as statements and studies by non-governmental organisations were examined.

It was also paramount that narratives, definitions and perspectives by indigenous peoples themselves were prioritised as were legislative, statutory and human rights declarations specific to indigenous peoples. Assessing and analysing a series of papers, policies and practices by an agglomeration of regional and international agencies, states, organisations and local authorities was crucial. Sources that were extensively analysed included those that captured both global and regional progress - or lack of it - in human development practices, needs assessment of urban indigenous peoples, disaggregation of data of indigenous populations, evidence-based measures to improve living conditions of urban indigenous people and adherence to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.[e]

A vigorous analytical and accountability framework was adopted for the study. A combination of content, context, thematic and discourse analysis[f] was given to all of the documents. This process required a systematic coding of core themes, key words, subject matter and definitions coupled with an analysis of content, context and discourse variations to uncover theoretical, discursive, gender, cultural and methodological inconsistencies across indigenous and non-indigenous literature. The approach was also to examine ambiguities in terms such as indigenous, gender/women, human rights, quality of life, urban and migration. The inclusion of indigenous critical voices was also essential to acknowledge the request by indigenous peoples for participation in indigenous matters as equal partners and as key decision-makers. Thus, the works of a diverse group of indigenous authors, scholars and policy-makers were important references. They were also instrumental analytical tools, particularly in uncovering gaps (theoretically, methodologically, politically and pragmatically) in practices, programmes and policies for urban indigenous peoples.

It is not within the scope of this document to address all of the approximately 370 million indigenous people in some 70 countries.[g] Therefore the regions addressed at the EGM in Santiago have served as a guideline. Selections of case studies were important contributions as they highlighted a multiplicity of issues and perceptions regarding urban indigenous peoples. Statistical data and census figures were important reference points. Quantitative data was selected alongside qualitative, empirical and ethnographic data, with priority given to research that implemented indigenous methodologies.[h]

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e. This was adopted in 2006 by the Human Rights Council and was submitted to the General Assembly for adoption at its 61st session. According to the Secretariat of the UNPFII "The Declaration addresses both individual and collective rights; cultural and identity rights to education, health, employment, language and others. It outlaws discrimination against indigenous peoples and promotes their full participation in all matters that concern them. It also ensures their right to remain distinct and to pursue their own visions of economic and social and cultural development." (UNPFII, 2007, p.10).
f. A complete discussion of content, thematic, context and discourse analysis can be found in Reinhartz, 1992; Tupuola, A, 2006; Van Maanen, 1988.
g. see http://www.unfpa.org/rights/people.htm
h. This approach reflects the sentiments shared at the EGM in Santiago de Chile, 2007 by Langeveldt & Smallacombe, 2007 p. 4; Tupuola, 2007 p.3; Yanes, 2007 p.8.

Inconsistent data and dated sources were noted.[i] Current policies, programmes, and literature were also emphasised to heighten not only the visibility of contemporary challenges that urban indigenous peoples encountered, but also the progress and benefits. Documents from recent conventions, seminars, conferences and forums, including expert meetings convened and organised by international organisations, including the United Nations, were of particular interest.[j] Conversely, literature, policies and documents that promoted dated perceptions and definitions of indigenous peoples and deficit stereotypes were critically analysed. Material that discounted the heterogeneity of indigenous populations in both rural and urban areas[k] was examined for comparative reasons only. Essentially, this work wants to shift the discourse about indigenous peoples in urban areas towards a rights-based, participatory and holistic dialogue.[l] In light of this, attention was paid to literature, policies and best practice initiatives that highlighted the innovativeness, resilience[m] and unique characteristics of indigenous peoples in urban areas, despite the adversities. This approach was not to dismiss nor undermine the hardships indigenous peoples face in urban areas, but rather to examine the pros and cons of urban migration and urbanisation beyond a dichotomous analysis.

The study includes a wide range of sources and subject matter. Nevertheless, limitations were apparent, particularly with statistical and disaggregated data. Locating current statistical and census breakdowns of urban indigenous populations across the different regions (Latin America, Asia, the Pacific, the Arctic, Africa and Eurasia and the Russian Federation) proved arduous. Furthermore, there seemed to be an inconsistent coverage of indigenous peoples across regions. For example, there was a lot of information available about urban indigenous populations in Latin America and Canada, but little up-to-date data on Caribbean indigenous communities (especially those outside of the main islands)[n] and indigenous groups in Eurasia, the Ukraine and the Federation of Russia. An overall figure for indigenous peoples in urban areas was also not available. This gap restricted a potentially comprehensive statistical break down of the mobility rate of indigenous peoples into urban areas across regions. Furthermore, it was difficult to provide a balanced overview about the urban indigenous experience when coverage in the literature and in research was often limited and dominated by a selected few. Recent conference and seminar papers and remarks by indigenous peoples, researchers and authors were retrieved where possible. Accessing unpublished material also remains a

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i. *Works of the past that were instrumental in contextualising historical migratory trends and causal factors of urban migration have been considered as have Conventions and Declarations, including those by the United Nations that emphasised the importance of human rights and equality for indigenous peoples.*
j. *Documents of particular interest were those that were about urban indigenous peoples, migratory trends of indigenous peoples into urban areas and the impact and consequences of urban migration on their human rights, security, living conditions and overall well-being.*
k. *As noted at the EGM Santiago, Chile, 2007 and IOM, Geneva, 2006.*
l. *The holistic approach is an appropriate framework for indigenous communities.*
m. *This work recognises the different interpretations and definitions of resilience and the limitations of medical models of resilience. A cultural framework of resilience can be found in Tupuola, A (2006).*
n. *This concern has been raised by Caribbean people.*

challenge, despite some improvement made possible by the internet. The limitation continues for indigenous communities that do not have the technological capacity to use the internet to share their perspectives. It would also have been useful to have conducted a complementary semi-longitudinal ethnographic study to gauge a better understanding of the mobility trends and the progression (or lack thereof) of indigenous peoples in urban areas over time.

Overall, the task of this report is to ask these questions:

Who are urban indigenous peoples? What data is available that effectively assesses the needs, living conditions and human rights situation of indigenous peoples in urban areas? What are some of the issues and impacts (personal, socio-economic, cultural and political) concerning indigenous peoples' rural-urban mobility? What effective assessments, effective developments in policies, programmes and best practices have been made concerning indigenous peoples in the areas of employment, housing, education, transition/settlement services, identities and ethnic mobility, cultural and linguistic continuity, human security of indigenous peoples and health? What recommendations must be considered to improve the quality of life and the realisation of the human rights of indigenous peoples in urban areas?

NOTES

1. UN Doc E/C.192006/9: p.7.
2. Yescas Angeles Trujano, 2008: p. 8.
3. Deruyttere, 2001: p. 1.

Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration

2. CONTEXT

Indigenous men, women and children have continued to emigrate to urban centres. In some countries, most of the national indigenous population is currently living in cities; this is the case in Australia, Canada, Chile, the United States of America, Norway, Kenya and New Zealand.[1]

2.1. WHO ARE URBAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES?

There is a regular assumption that large proportions of indigenous peoples live in rural and remote areas. However, the rising number of indigenous peoples migrating to urban cities has challenged this perception.[2] At this stage there does not seem to be an overall figure that captures this growth. As pointed out by Muedin (2007) *"… [we] do not have the data on how many indigenous peoples have moved to urban areas."*[3]

Notwithstanding this, some of the available information does shed light on the unique and diverse characteristics of urban indigenous peoples and the urban migrant experience. Some commentators, however, point out that the indigenous person migrating to the city is not a new phenomenon. The opening remarks by Willie Littlechild (2007) at the UNPFII forum's discussion about Indigenous Peoples and Urban Migration for example, state that:

> *"Policy makers today often think of Indigenous Peoples as living in the countryside, jungles… or in small remote villages in the middle of no-where. It often comes as a big surprise when they discover that huge numbers of Indigenous Peoples reside in major cities. What many people don't realize is that urbanization has been around since time immemorial for many Indigenous Peoples – for example, think about the ancient urbanization of Central and South America and Michu Pichu [sic] in Peru comes to mind."*[4]

Likewise, Maori in New Zealand/Aotearoa hold a long association with urbanisation as, following the end of World War II, their urbanisation rate was the highest in the world.[5] The remark by Fred Caron at the EGM on Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration in Santiago, Chile (2007) also posits that "while many continue to think of Canada as a land of wilderness – Canada is one of the most urban countries in the world."[6a] Likewise, Langeveldt and Smallacombe (2007) claim that "there is a widespread and mistaken assumption that indigenous peoples have somehow vanished or live overwhelmingly in their lands and territories in the rural area… in reality, large indigenous populations live in the urban areas."[7]

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a. *Data recently released from the 2006 Census posit that 54% of aboriginals now live in an urban area in Canada, "an increase from 50% earlier." See www.nationalpost.com/story-printer.html?id=239367*

These different statements underscore that urbanisation has been a historical reality for some indigenous peoples and that there must be caution in overstating the rural connections of indigenous peoples at the cost of undervaluing their urban counterparts.[8] The experience of an urban Aboriginal woman from Australia is a fitting example. She says, "I often get asked, "How often do you visit Aboriginal communities?" And I reply, "Everyday, when I go home." The question reveals the popular misconceptions that "real" Aboriginal communities only exist in rural and remote areas."[9]

The issue of authenticity, although complicating, provides a contextual backdrop to the status of urban indigenous peoples in the indigenous discourse. According to some studies, indigenous communities only exist outside urban centres, thus, those who migrate to the cities lose their indigenity.[b] This seeming tendency to speak of rural and urban indigenous peoples within a dichotomy tends to displace urban indigenous peoples from indigenous communities at large but also undermines their ongoing connection with their traditions and cultures. As pointed out by Langeveldt and Smallacombe (2007), in

> "…much of the social science literature and in government policies…, there is a dichotomy between the remote, rural and urban, based on the lingering stereotype that the authentic indigenous person lives in the remote or rural and that the urban is not genuinely indigenous.... This is in contrast to the way indigenous peoples see themselves. Indigenous peoples in the urban areas often visualize themselves as an extension of the home territory."[10]

A similar point was also made at the EGM in Santiago, whereby "…those members of indigenous peoples migrating to urban centers do not leave their identity behind."[11]

Addressing these issues at the outset is important as they are issues echoed by indigenous peoples themselves in their call for caution that the urban indigenous reality and the diversity of both past and current population of indigenous peoples in urban areas are not simplified nor reduced to a "blanket classification of peoples within either their 'Aboriginality' or their 'Urban-ness'."[12]

URBAN INDIGENOUS POPULATION

Insufficient demographic and statistical information has made it difficult to reach an overall figure that captures the rate and percentage of indigenous peoples residing in urban areas (either temporarily or permanently) and migrating to urban cities. Albeit, urban growth is a reality as "…in 2008 and for the first time in history, half

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b. *Indigenous peoples are debating this assumption. Useful references include Behrendt, (2005); UN-HABITAT, (2007); Langeveldt & Smallacombe (2007).*

of the world population is estimated to live in urban areas... Increasingly, indigenous migrants are becoming a part of this process."[13] Similarly, Julian Burger (2008) states that "there was a trend towards urbanization of indigenous peoples, with some 40 percent living in urban environments"[14] in his address to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD).

Even though a very diverse group of indigenous peoples are widely exposed to urbanisation, coverage of a good cross-section of urban indigenous peoples is lacking in the literature and data. Therefore, the following synopsis can be regarded as a 'snapshot' of the population distribution of urban indigenous peoples.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

The data for Latin America from the 2000 census maintains that there are approximately 30 million indigenous people, with an estimated 12 million of them residing in urban areas. In Guatemala and Mexico "about one in three indigenous individuals lives in urban areas, while in the remaining three countries (Bolivia, Brazil and Chile) over half of the indigenous population live in cities (particularly in Chile, where the proportion rises to 64.8%)."[15] The work by Del Popolo, Oyarce and Ribotto (2007) gives a useful insight into the urban trend. In their view, there

Graph 1: Comparison of Urban/Rural Split for Indigenous and Non-indigenous in Latin America
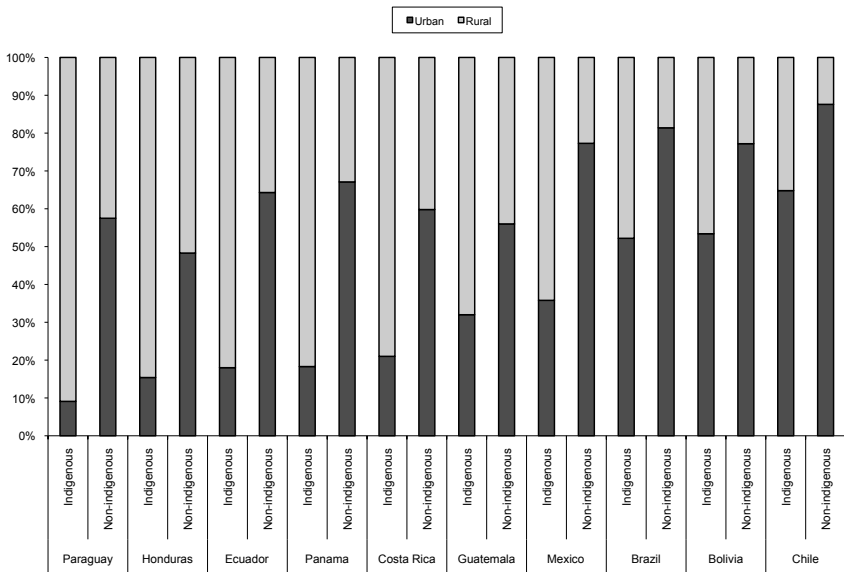
Source: Fabiana Del Popolo, 2007

are three groups of urban dwellers in Latin America. Those who have always and will continue to reside in the cities; indigenous peoples born in cities, many of whom are descendants of migrants who were urban dwellers and urban indigenous peoples who migrated to the cities either from rural areas or from abroad.[16]

THE ARCTIC REGION AND THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Based on available data on the Sámi population, the indigenous people of northern Europe (which encompasses parts of northern Sweden, Norway, Finland and the Kola Peninsula of Russia) are *"among the largest indigenous ethnic groups in Europe."*[17] Although Sámi people are known to reside in largely rural areas they have however become more urbanised in Scandinavia and the Russian Federation.[18] In Greenland, the population is approximately 57,000 with 15,000 in the capital of Nuuk. According to Abelsen (2007), *"in 1960, 58% of the population lived in towns but in 2006 the number was 83%. Out of this number 43% lived in the three largest towns Nuuk, Sisimiut and Ilulissat."* [19]

NORTH AMERICA

In the recent publication of the 2006 census in Canada, it was found that 54% of aboriginals now live in urban areas. This is, in the words of Fitzpatrick (2008), *"an increase from 50% a decade earlier."*[20] As of July 2007, the United States Census Bureau estimated the population of Indigenous Peoples to be 4.5 million[d] or 1.5 per cent of the total United States population. Of this, an estimated 2.9 million self-identified as either American Indian or Alaska Native.[e] Concomitantly, *"there are approximately 560 federally-recognized Indigenous tribes in the United States. Approximately half of the Indigenous population resides on or near federal Indian reservations, while the remaining half reside in urban areas."*[21]

THE PACIFIC

Census information for the Aboriginal population in Australia points out that 27 per cent of the indigenous population live in remote or very remote areas." Comparatively, *"approximately 30 per cent of the indigenous population live in major cities… and just over 40 per cent live in inner and outer regional areas (smaller cities and towns)."* [22] The Maori in New Zealand/Aotearoa continue to be highly concentrated in urban areas. As it stands, 84% of Maori now live in the city.[23] In Samoa, a

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c.   http://maps.grida.no/go/graphic/total_and_indigenous_populations_of_the_arctic_alaska
d.   The figure 4.5 million includes indigenous peoples who identified with more than one race.
e.   The labels 'American Indian' and 'Alaska Natives' have been criticised for their colonial inferences. As pointed out by Yellow Bird (2008), "They are not Indians or American Indians, because they are not from India…. While many Indigenous peoples still prefer to use these… labels, a growing number want to be identified according to their own tribal nation or affiliation." (p.1).

demographic and geographical shift is evident. According to Elisara (2006), *"the most significant development relates to the increase in the overall number of people residing in the North-West Upolu area, with an increase of 35% over the reference ten-year period. Together with the designated Apia Urban Area, North-West Upolu is now home to 51.8% of Samoan residents."* [24]

Graph 2: Total & Indigenous Population of the Arctic: Alaska
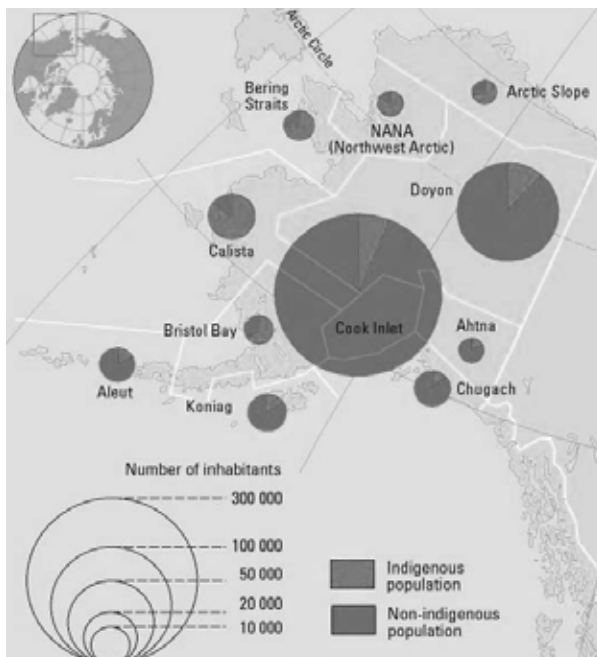
Source: Philippe Rekacewicz, UNEP/GRID-Arendal [c]

Graph 3: Distribution of the Aboriginal Population, Canada
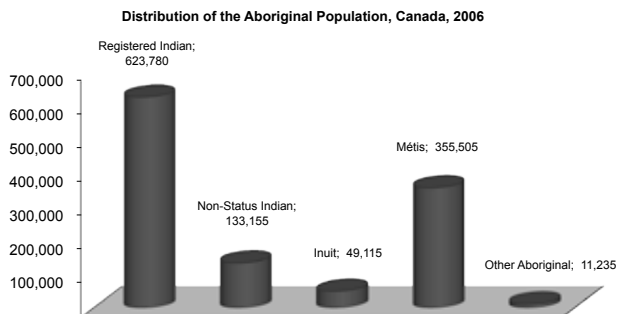
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census, INAC Tabulation Canadian Issues / Thémes Canadiens, Winter 2009, p. 18

Statistical data for India is complicated by the fact that indigenous peoples are not formally recognised. They are known instead as 'Scheduled Tribes'[f] and account for 8.2% of the total population. According to the 2001 census, 15.4% of the indigenous populations in Tamil Nadu reside in urban areas of the State while in the State of Gujarat 8.21% are in urban areas. Additionally, *"indigenous migration to cities has been involuntary as well as, increasingly, voluntary…."* [25] According to UN projections, Africa's urban population will be 54% by 2030.[26] While in Tanzania, 90% of Masai men have migrated to the capital city.[27]

Graph 4: Rural and urban population in developing regions and high-income countries, 1960-2025
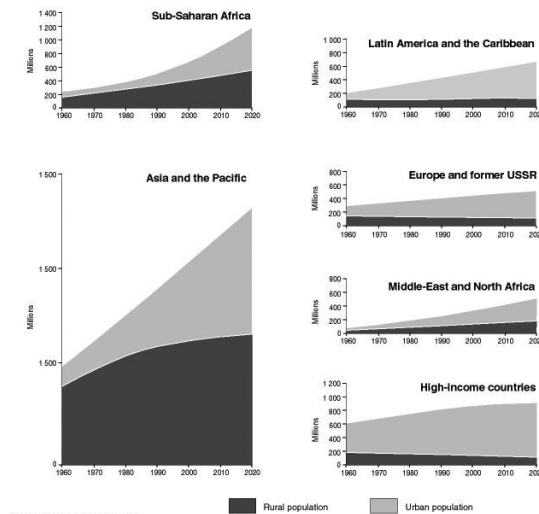
Source: Rekacewicz, UNEP/GRID-Arendal[g]

URBAN MOBILITY AND SETTLEMENT

The mobility patterns of urban indigenous peoples vary from one region to another. For instance, in Latin America: *"the diversity of their circumstances is reflected in at*

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f.   The numerous tribes that constitute the category 'Scheduled Tribes', "also known as the adivasis (the original inhabitants), largely reside in the central, northeast, and southern regions of India." http://www.asylumlaw.org/docs/ showDocument.cfm?documentID=761 For a comprehensive discussion about 'Scheduled Tribes' see http://unjobs. org/tags/scheduled-tribes
g.   http://maps.grida.no/go/graphic/trends_and_projections_in_rural_and_urban_populations_in_ developing_regions_and_high_income_countries
h.   They are: "(1) origin; (2) type of interaction between social groups, according to socio-economic position and status; and (3) the different forms of inter-ethnic contact associated with the specific sociocultural patterns of each people and their urban context.", Del Popolo, Oyarce and Ribotto, 2007:2.

least three dimensions"[28h] In Canada, aboriginal peoples also fall into three distinctive subgroups,[i] the Non-Movers,[29j] the Migrants[k] and the Residential Movers.[l] The Latin America categories seem to perceive urban mobility from a relational standpoint while in Canada urban migration is measured according to residential status.

These two approaches are helpful as they view urbanisation using a combined migratory and settlement framework. As such, indigenous peoples born and raised in the city and who have never known another home have been accounted for.[30] The need to include them was acknowledged and addressed at the EGM in Santiago, as seen in the following:

> *"While it is important to acknowledge the connection between rural and urban centres, it is equally important to recognize that increasingly many members of indigenous peoples, particularly in North America, have known no other home than the urban centre and there needs to be space within the dialogue to consider their views and issues. The failure to do so would exclude a large (and growing) number of indigenous peoples."* [31]

WOMEN AND YOUTH

It is crucial to heighten the visibility of indigenous women and youth in the dialogue surrounding urbanisation and the urban migration process. It has been reported that in Mexico, *"female indigenous migrants constitute a 'important element' of the indigenous migrant population, and are integrated into labour markets as, for example, domestic help…."*[32] Conversely, there is also data to suggest that indigenous migrant women from rural to urban areas *"are particularly vulnerable to discrimination... rape and other forms of sexual exploitation."* [33] Perspectives about the experience of youth however are mixed. Some of the data emphasises the hardships young indigenous peoples face while others accentuate their tenacity and resilience. For example, *"indigenous youth are confronted with delinquency, violence, unemployment and lack of opportunities for upward social mobility."* [34] Notwithstanding this, youth *"have mastered help-seeking skills in order to access educational resources, training facilities and health services not as easily available to earlier generations."* [35]

The available data about urban indigenous peoples, while scattered and inconsistent at times, nevertheless highlights the heterogeneity of this population. Therefore,

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i. *The three migration subgroups were based on the two questions asked in the Census of Canada. "Where did you live 5 years ago?" and "Where did you live 1 year ago?"*
j. *Those who remained in the same residence.*
k. *Those "who lived in a different community at the outset of the reference period."*
l. *Those who "lived at a different residence in the same community at the outset of the reference period."*

trying to reduce the urban experiences and characteristics of indigenous peoples to a single definition seems inappropriate. Information about local and global trends of urban migration is helpful. However, the inconsistent use of indicators, coupled with the lack of appropriate indicators and identifiers makes it difficult to grasp an overall sense of urban mobility and population distribution of indigenous peoples across different regions.

2.2. OVERVIEW OF THE CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH AND DATA

2.2.1. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RURAL-URBAN MOBILITY/MIGRATION

"Increasingly,… indigenous individuals, families and groups are leaving their long-held territories as part of the phenomenon of global migration. These migrations go beyond the customary seasonal and cultural movements of particular groups. Modern migration of indigenous peoples is characterized by its complexity in response to new conditions of industrialized and globalized lives." [36]

The departure from rural areas is becoming a vital part of both rural and urban indigenous peoples' realities. According to the Population Reference Bureau (2007),[37] internal rural to urban migration is leading to a disproportionate increase in urban populations, especially in less developed countries. The claim that *"only two of the 10 largest urban areas projected for are expected to be in the more developed countries"*[38] suggests to researchers, scholars and policy makers alike that in coming years indigenous peoples are likely to migrate to urban cities in developed countries.

Reasons for rural-urban migration are diverse, as are the conditions and effects of the migration experience. Some of the available data and literature describe the migratory conditions as voluntary or involuntarily, i.e. forced (Sema, 2007; SPFII & IOM, 2006; UN-HABITAT, 2007). Studies and policies also recognise the multiple push and pull factors of urban mobility and highlight a range of contributory factors that overlap socio-economic, cultural, developmental and political matters (Del Popolo, 2007; Kipuri, 2007). Some indigenous peoples, for example, are motivated by opportunities in urban areas for *"improved job employment, health, housing, education, political participation, social recognition and visibility or other benefits that they may lack in their territories."* [39] Others are pushed to the cities by poverty, lack of water supplies and the deterioration of traditional livelihoods and environmental degradation (UNPFII, 2008).[40] Accounts by indigenous peoples provide first-hand perspectives that clarify reality from the ambiguous rhetoric sometimes associated with the indigenous migration discourse (Behrendt, 2005; Langeveldt, 2007; Trujillo, 2007). For instance, the exercise of choice commonly associated with voluntary migration is not clear cut, as Ambrosi (2007) points out:

> *"The large majority of indigenous women say that their decision to migrate is a voluntary one; however, behind that decision one finds situations of armed conflict or persecution, conditions of extreme poverty, environmental deterioration, natural disasters and other factors affecting their wellbeing and that of their families."* [41]

In light of this, studies, programmes and policies that recognise the ambiguous and fluid nature of migration in combination with both overt and covert push and pull factors make important contributions to the indigenous migration and urban dialogue (Trujano, 2008). Additionally, indigenous and holistic frameworks of urban migration, ethnic mobility and the population distribution of urban indigenous communities, albeit lacking in much of the data, acknowledge cultural subtleties that are not often discussed (Clatworthy & Norris, 2007). For example, the delicate intra-cultural politics within indigenous communities deserves mention. As Yanes (2007) eloquently points out, *"It is alarming that 40% of Mexicans are willing to become organized in order to request that a group of indigenous people not be allowed to settle near their community."* He also continues to assert that *"...a correction must be made. Mexico City has mega diversity, but it is hidden."* [42]

Mindful of the cultural, individual and collective idiosyncrasies of indigenous peoples themselves, there is a lack of data that interpret the contributory factors of migration within a context that acknowledges internal politics among indigenous peoples. Likewise, consideration should be made for a holistic perspective that is inclusive of individual, collective, trans-cultural and intra-cultural factors and to some of the covert issues that underlie voluntary and forced migration. Work by Clatworthy and Norris (2007) is worth noting as they recognise the multi-faceted nature of the migration experience. They claim that:

> *"...migration reflects the interplay among personal characteristics... and characteristics of communities of residence, and those of potential destinations. The propensity to move is influenced by stages in the life cycle and personal attributes... Community characteristics, such as location are also known to affect migration."* [43]

VOLUNTARY AND FORCED MIGRATION: A HOLISTIC PERSPECTIVE

The lure of the urban centre is often the pursuit of a good quality of life. The decision for indigenous peoples to leave their rural surroundings, although complex, is usually a deliberate and pragmatic move for better education, employment opportunities and access to better facilities and services (SPFII & IOM, 2006). Noteworthy is the debate about the applicability of the concept of voluntary migration within indigenous contexts. This concern was central to discussions held at the Expert Workshop On Indigenous Peoples and Migration: Challenges and Opportunities in

Geneva, 2006. As indigenous peoples having strong attachments to their land, many participants considered forced migration as the consequence of loss of land, loss of land rights and land conflicts. Furthermore, *"…participants alluded to the fact that it is difficult to consider as wholly voluntary processes that are spurred by poverty, lack of education or disparities in employment opportunities."* [44m] Such cautionary perspectives are reminders that the interpretations of voluntary and forced migration are not clear cut. The migration process of the indigenous peoples or "Scheduled Tribes" of the North-Eastern region of India is a useful example. According to Sema (2007), *"Though the root causes may seem similar, the degree and extent of migration vary widely due to reasons ranging from historical background to cultural diversity to individual stages of economic development and the need for survival."* [45] Thus, migration in recent times has been increasingly voluntary despite it being predominantly forced in the past. In effect, even though much of the literature and policies tend to view voluntary and forced migration from a dichotomous standpoint, equal attention paid to regions and indigenous peoples who migrate due to a combination of both voluntary and forced migration is crucial.

In Greenland, the abolition of the "same price system" for example, is *"possibly an important push factor for an urbanization tendency."* The impact of climate change is also specific to Greenland as *"communities living directly with and from nature… are the first to experience change in the climate."* [46] In the Cordillera Region of the Philippines, the countryside population is lured to the city of Baguio as it is the centre for education, government, communications, trade, commerce, tourism and social services. According to Akien (2007), the underlying push/pull factors are *"the need for accommodations along with the need for general services… To many migrant populations that came into Baguio, their general plan was to earn cash to support the meagre agricultural income back home or raise enough cash to go home and start anew."* [47] Unfortunately, the idealistic lure to the city is short lived as: *"The mass expropriation of the traditional livelihood area and the ancestral domain of a people, for the creation of a new American City; has violently disintegrated the community and therefore has consequently created an urban poor population."* [48] Despite adversity, many migrant workers need to remain in Baguio, not out of choice but for economic necessity.

Other reasons also include poor neighbourhood security, inadequate services and facilities, low employment opportunities, poor housing and military conflict. According to Ambrosi (2007), *"The situations involving armed conflict in traditionally indigenous territories are one of the most serious causes leading to indigenous migration and forced displacement creating devastating effects for individuals and for entire communities."* [49] Likewise, Kipuri's (2007) account of pastoralists claims that *"the loss*

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m.   The Expert Workshop on Indigenous Peoples and Migration was cosponsored by IOM and the Secretariat of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII). It was the first expert-level meeting on the nexus between indigenous issues and migration.

of land …, misplaced forms of development…, conflicts/insecurity…, natural disasters…, urbanization [and the] lack of recognition of rights” [50] are some of the many reasons migration to urban cities has grown. Of pressing concern is its effect on women and children who are forced to depart in mass numbers to urban areas for safety.

Source: G Plunkett, 2006

Although circumstances and contexts of migration vary for indigenous peoples it is evident in the data that the violation of human rights is a key underlying contributing factor. This was reiterated in the remarks by Julian Burger (2007) at the EGM in Santiago, Chile as follows:

> *“...causes are closely related to human rights violations on their territories, physical security arising from conflicts,… unwanted and damaging development projects… and… the prevailing and widespread poverty and the complete absence of services such as health, education or facilities to support economic development.”* [51]

Ironically, this violation of human rights seems to have been transferred from rural to urban areas. Paradoxically, some indigenous peoples who have been forced to depart rural areas for a better life in the cities are now forced to remain there, despite adversity, due to detrimental health and psychological effects.

GAPS TO CONSIDER

There is a growing amount of literature, research and policies that address the migratory processes and the underlying reasons for the shift to urban cities. A comprehensive list of factors contributing to urban migration is also easily accessible. Nevertheless, there are some gaps that should be mentioned.

Using data from the census to examine migration patterns is useful, however, as Clatworthy and Norris (2007) point out,

> *"the census migration and mobility data also present some conceptual limitations. For example, many characteristics of migrants (e.g. education, marital and family status and socio-economic attributes) are known only at the end of migration reference period (i.e. at the time of the census). Migrant characteristics at the time of migration may differ. The census also does not capture multiple moves, migrants who leave and return to the same location, or those who die during the time interval."* [52]

Much of the migratory discourse and debates regarding indigenous peoples are often from the standpoint of the 'adult'. A consistent space should be provided in the urban migration discourse for indigenous youth, with attention also paid to those who do not associate urbanisation with migration:

> *"…some adult narratives about urban youth experiences tend to speak of migration as a process of departure (i.e. departing from the indigenous homeland). Given that many urban indigenous youth are now born and/or raised in urban areas, it seems more fitting to develop migration frameworks that explore the processes of urban settlement from their standpoint."* [53]

Rural-urban mobility is a key factor contributing to the increase of the indigenous population in urban areas. However, there is little comparative data to indicate how this mobility process stands against other factors. For example, there are indigenous peoples who have always been urban dwellers. There has also been a consistent urban-urban flow or population churn between indigenous populations as seen in Canada whereby *"Flows between urban areas (i.e. urban to urban) formed the largest component of migration amongst each of the four groups, and accounted for the majority of moves among both non-registered Indian and Métis migrants."* [54]

There is a curious imbalance in the data and literature that covers the numerous positive factors contributing to urban migration and that profiles some of the personal, psychological, cultural, socio-economic and collective benefits of rural-urban mobility.[n] It is critical to highlight the difficulties and indignities that indigenous peoples face that push them to urban areas however there is also a danger of overstating negative factors where they may become a stereotype. For instance, *"negativities can reinforce deficit stereotypes about indigenous peoples. They also can perpetuate self-fulfilling prophecies about indigenous peoples as dependent and helpless rather than creative, innovative and resilient world citizens."*[55]

2.2.2. THE IMPACT OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

"there is a growing body of information on global levels, trends and patterns of migration, the dynamics of indigenous peoples' migration and the extent to which indigenous populations and their communities are affected by migration are not well known."[56]

The impact that urban migration has on indigenous peoples is diverse and difficult to generalise.

The Expert Workshop on Indigenous Peoples and Migration in Geneva (2006) is worth noting as participants commented on the affects of migration on indigenous peoples from both their home and destination communities. Some remarks were made about the impact of migration on the family and community ties in home communities. For instance, family disruptions as men move to the cities to seek employment often leaving women to fend for themselves and the children. Some migrants returning to their home communities lose their indigenous status under some government policies as a result of emigration. Integration is also often difficult as their skills and lifestyles are not always compatible with traditional ways.

In their new destinations, indigenous peoples are susceptible to discrimination and marginalisation. Thus, some indigenous migrants often hide their identities and cut ties with their indigenous language and traditions as a safety measure. The vulnerability, of indigenous women especially, to discrimination, sexual violation and exploitation was also emphasised. The reluctance and disinterest of some governments to integrate indigenous migrants as well as to provide them with the necessary facilities and services was also documented.

Urban indigenous peoples are sometimes seen as an economic and political liability to their local and governmental authorities. The large numbers of indigenous peoples moving from rural areas to urban cities does not help to ease the existing strain on

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n. *There is literature and studies that do acknowledge the benefits and positive developments from urban migration for indigenous peoples. However, these acknowledgments are often made in passing or included in a short paragraph or two without any in-depth exploration.*

services, facilities and infra-structure, especially in overpopulated cities. As pointed out by Cooper and Morris (2003),[57] the homelessness of indigenous women and children living in urban environments is often overlooked and often exacerbated by changing economic and labour market policies.

Conversely, female migrants are also considered an important element of the indigenous migrant population. In urban areas, some are able to integrate into the labour markets as domestic help or in the hotel sectors and seek to earn money independently from their husbands. In effect, the role of the woman in some families has shifted as she becomes the main breadwinner. Nevertheless, the realities of human trafficking and sexual exploitation and harassment cannot be ignored, especially as some women are disempowered during urban migration. Faced with a lack of urban living skills and a lack of skills to access services, some are reluctant to access health and housing services due to *"many years of 'unfulfilled promises, shyness, shame and inability to understand the system."* [58] As a consequence the well-being and quality of life of some indigenous women and their children remain at risk.

Indigenous youth as future custodians of indigenous cultures traditions, skills and languages are confronted with a multitude of issues that affect their standing in their indigenous communities and society in general. According to Ambrosi (2007), there are some young people who are:

> *"… orphans in the communities due to the exodus of their parents as migrants. … they lose all type of connection with their traditional culture and education. They may also be forced… as unaccompanied underage migrants… to… the criminal world through trafficking networks, trafficking in persons, child prostitution… organ trafficking and illegal adoption."* [59]

In turn, there are young indigenous peoples who find themselves in *"a 'no man's lan' between the urban societies that do not fully accept them and their indigenous communities that often fail to offer them the opportunities they need and desire."* [60] There is, however, a generation of indigenous youth in urban areas who, despite adversity, have developed strategies to sustain cultural and linguistic continuity and develop social and cultural cohesion between rural and urban communities through technology and multi-media. By generating a popular embracing of indigenous identities (via youth and popular culture), these young people illustrate the possibility to *"preserve indigenous identities while maximizing the benefits of urban society."* [61o]

Other positive developments and opportunities for indigenous communities are also worth noting. Remittances back to families and communities in rural areas are a common financial and economic life line and a means of maintaining connection between rural and urban indigenous peoples.[p] Indigenous peoples who have benefited from employment and educational opportunities in the city have also become important contacts for support, advice and information to new and would-

be immigrants. Even though home communities are often affected by an increasing brain drain, there have been some indigenous peoples who have made efforts to transfer their skills and new knowledge directly back (see Muedin, 2008).[62] Others have also developed and/or are developing programmes for their communities (in rural and urban areas) that focus specifically on job skills, capacity building and information technology.[q] In Canada, the Aboriginal Friendship Centres have been crucial to the well-being and stable settlement of urban indigenous peoples as

> *"…facilitators of the transition of Aboriginal people from rural, remote and reserve life to an urban environment, enabling them to relate to new circumstances. Through a strong community focus and the provision of critical programs and services, Friendship Centres have contributed to improving the life chances and socio-economic conditions of urban Aboriginal people."*[63]

2.2.3. THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION AND LIVING CONDITIONS IN URBAN AREAS

The reality of urbanised poverty coupled with the 'feminisation' of poverty[r] has made it difficult for indigenous peoples and indigenous women to have adequate housing as well as to maintain a lifestyle that enhances their quality of life and livelihood. According to Selman Ergüden (2006), there are about one billion people globally living in urban slums and while cities can offer economic mobility and social development they also *"generate and intensify social exclusion, limiting the benefits of urban life to the poor,… women,… youth, and other marginalized groups including indigenous peoples."*[64] As such, the human rights of indigenous peoples, particularly regarding their living conditions and quality of life, are often compromised. For instance, some have inadequate access to basic healthcare and education as well as to quality and culturally-sensitive social services. Many are also faced with abuse, discrimination and cultural ostracism from governments that do not acknowledge nor recognise their indigenous status nor uphold policies that prevent displacement and evictions. This is particularly problematic for women and their children where homelessness is an increasing reality. As pointed out by Scholz (2005), *"Evictions in major cities such as Manila or Mumbai are on the increase, with women bearing the brunt of the burden."*[65] Similarly, a combination of the lack of protections for women's rights, seen in the violation of inheritance rights and unequal treatment under law, coupled with their vulnerability to violence, criminal activity and the Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

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o. *A worthwhile recommendation is put forth by the Broome Aboriginal Media Association regarding capacity building and the development of an information infrastructure that will develop ties between rural and urban indigenous communities and to other community groupings.*

p. *This is a useful term coined by Birte Scholz (2005) to accentuate the impact poverty has on women.*

q. *A worthwhile recommendation is put forth by the Broome Aboriginal Media Association regarding capacity*

r. *building and the development of an information infrastructure that will develop ties between rural and urban indigenous communities and to other community groupings.*

(HIV/AIDS) has increased the number of women without adequate housing. Governments and States need to be made more accountable for their obligations to the rights of women, especially where these obligations exist under international law, State Constitutions and United Nations Conventions that *"protect the right to adequate housing and land for all…[and] protect against discrimination based on sex and gender."*[66s]

The exclusion of indigenous peoples across all sectors of society is a pressing human rights violation that is often a result of discrimination (for example, racial, geographical, gender and class), xenophobia and other forms of intolerance. The heterogeneity and culturally diversity of indigenous peoples are not often reflected in current policies, programmes and practices. Likewise, some governments do not formally recognise or acknowledge indigenous peoples in their own societies, often leaving urban indigenous communities to fend for themselves without equal access to the necessary services and facilities and resources. Nevertheless, there are countries that promote and prioritise the human rights of their indigenous communities in their policies, charters and legislation. However, the paradoxical nature of this gesture can be seen in the remarks of Langeveldt (2007):

> *"While the South African government adopted the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on 9th July 1996, it fails to recognize the Khoe-Khoen communities as the first indigenous peoples of South Africa, in violation of their rights to have their dignity as human beings respected and protected, which is the foundation of all human rights. South Africa chairs the UN Security Council meetings during March 2007 to champion the rights of African peoples and their struggle towards a better quality of life, yet in its own backyard it ignores the rights of the first indigenous Khoe-Khoen Africans leaving them vulnerable to abuse by the dominant group."*

The example calls for greater accountability to ensure that governments and states not only develop and ratify policies, conventions and declarations beneficial to indigenous peoples, but also comply with them in a pragmatic and consistent manner.

The inhumane conditions of African pastoralists, as described by Kipuri (2007), also highlight the discrimination and inequality they face in their new urban surroundings. For instance, indigenous workers have been receiving wages below the minimum wage for work despite their tasks and hours of working being equal to those of other workers. Due to a lack of negotiating skills and knowledge of urban living, these workers have little job security and, in turn, lack adequate shelter and

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s.   *A comprehensive list of international instruments relevant to the protection of human rights of indigenous peoples can be found in Ambrosi (2007), The Banks' Policy on Indigenous Peoples (April 1998) and the Policy Makers Guide to Women's Land, Property and Housing Rights Across the World by UN-HABITAT, March 2007.*

security. Likewise, their disenfranchisement and disempowerment, coupled with their lack of information and skills, often leave them vulnerable to the discrimination and exploitation of their employers. An excerpt by Ole Kaunga (2000) captures the experience of pastoralists in urban areas in the following:

> *"Maasai men migrating to urban areas are proving to be a source of cheap and unskilled labour. Their rights cannot be upheld because urban authorities also discriminate and despise them…. They are not protected against unscrupulous employers and the entire urban environment harbors anti-Maasai hatred, bias and prejudice."* [68]

Faced with poverty, some indigenous peoples, in particular women and children, rely on their traditional cultures, arts and skills to generate income in urban centres. Although this is seen as a positive way of promoting indigenous cultures to the general society and of generating employment amongst indigenous communities, the reality is different. Very often, in urban cities, indigenous peoples rely on the informal sector to market their wares which often amounts to the *"commoditisation of indigenous culture and skills as demanded by the tourism industry."* [69] Even though it is the indigenous cultures that are advertised to lure and entice tourists, their remuneration does not reflect this. That is, *"due to their ignorance and not being unionized,… they are not paid for their additional task of advertising…. This amounts to the violation of their intellectual property rights."* [70] This violation of intellectual property rights is also found in the preparation and selling of traditional medicines. In many pastoralist societies both men and women have extensive knowledge about medicinal plants and are using this for financial gain. Unfortunately, in urban areas, indigenous pastoralists often trade illegally to avoid bureaucratic processes and in the process often end up losing the ownership rights to their medicinal traditions. Consequently, *"in the process of selling herbs and traditional medicine pastoralists often end up losing their property, intellectual and cultural rights protection."* [71]

The violation of human rights in urban cities is a continual concern for indigenous peoples, particularly as many of them remain in impoverished conditions with little right to a better quality of life and living conditions. Despite there being mechanisms in place through policies, conventions, legislation and declarations to address the ongoing discrimination, invisibility and unequal treatment of indigenous peoples, there appears to be few measures of accountability to ensure that governments, local authorities and states comply with them in a consistent manner.

NOTES

1. UN Doc A/HRC//32, 27 February, 2007: paragraph 65.
2. UN Doc PFII/2006/WS.3/9: p. 2. See also www.un.ngls.org/spip.php?article281.
3. Muedin, 2008: p. 1.
4. Littlechild, 2007: p.1.
5. Donna Matahaere-Atariki, 2007: p.1.
6. Caron, 2007: p. 2.
7. Langeveldt and Smallacombe, 2007: 3.
8. Langeveldt and Smallacombe, 2007: 3.
9. Behrendt, 2005: p.1.
10. Langeveldt and Smallacombe, 2007:.3
11. UN-Habitat and OHCHR, 2007: p.10.
12. Broome Aboriginal Media Association, 2000:pp. 1-2.
13. Muedin, 2008: Item 8c.
14. Burger, 2008: p.2.
15. Del Popolo, 2007: p.5.
16. Del Popolo,2007: p.2.
17. GÁLDU, 2006
18. UN-Habitat and OHCHR, 2005: p. 162.
19. Abelsen, 2007: pp. 1-3.
20. Fitzpatrick, 2009: p.1.
21. Yellow Bird, 2008: p.1.
22. UN-Habitat and OHCHR: p. 58.
23. UNPFII, 2007: p.2.
24. UN Doc PFII/2006/WS.3/3: p.3.
25. UNPFII, 2007: p.2.
26. Hernández, 2007.
27. UNPFII, 2007: p.2.
28. Del Popolo, Oyarce and Ribotto, 2007:2.
29. Stewart and Norris, 2007: pp. 3-4.
30. UN-Habitat and OHCHR, 2007: p.10.
31. Ibid, 2007, p. 10.
32. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Mexico, 2008: p.2.
33. UN Doc E/C/19/2006/CRP.5: p.9.
34. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Mexico, 2008: p.2.
35. Tupuola, 2007: p.8. See also Marin, 2007.
36. Yescas Angeles Trujano, 2008: p. 7.

37. Population Reference Bureau, 2007: pp.1-2.

38. Population Reference Bureau, 2007: p. 2.

39. UNPFII, 2006.

40. UNPFII, 2008.

41. Ambrosi, 2007: p. 9.

42. Yanes, 2007: pp.2-3.

43. Clatworthy and Cooke, 2007:p. 19.

44. SPFII and IOM, 2006: paragraphs 15-16.

45. Sema, 2007: p.2.

46. Abelsen, 2007: pp. 4, 6.

47. Aiken, 2007: p. 7.

48. Aitken, 2007: p. 7.

49. Ambrosi, 2007: p. 8.

50. Kipuri,2007: p.3

51. Burger, 2008: p.2.

52. Stewart and Norris, 2007:pp. 4-5.

53. Tupuola, 2007: p.2.

54. Stewart and Norris, 2007: p. 9.

55. Tupuola, 2007: pp8-9.

56. UN/Doc E/C.19/2006: p. 5.

57. Cooper and Morris, 2003.

58. Cooper and Morris, 2003: p. ii.

59. Ambrosi, 2007: p. 9.

60. UNPFII, 2007.

61. UNPFII, 2007: p. 2.

62. Muedin, 2008: Item 8c.

63. International Opportunities for Sharing a Canadian Model for Best Practices, (n.d)

64. UN Doc PFII/2006/WS.3/9: p.2.

65. Scholz, 2005: p. 6.

66. Scholz, 2005, p. 6.

67. Langeveldt, 2007:3.

68. Kaunga, 2000 cited in Kipuri, 2007: p. 7.

69. Kipuri, 2007: p. 8.

70. Kipuri, 2007: p. 8.

71. Kipuri, 2007: p. 9.

3. REVIEW OF POLICIES, PROGRAMMES AND PRACTICES

"Why many initiatives have proven unsuccessful relates to the fact that they were developed for the people, not with the people." [1]

3.1. GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF POLICIES, PROGRAMMES AND PRACTICES

A review of the different policies, practices and programmes on the urban migration of indigenous peoples is challenging. Some indigenous communities prefer to use their own terminologies and/or apply their own definitions which make it difficult to maintain consistent data in developing those policies, practices and programmes. Others may choose not to consistently participate in population censuses. In the case of the Caribbean, where data collection and analysis capacity is often limited, *"the information is quite often outdated and does not adequately reflect the situations at present."* [2] Notwithstanding these challenges, it is important to acknowledge and recognise some of the practical initiatives for urban indigenous peoples from gender and other perspectives.

3.2. POLICIES, PRACTICES AND PROGRAMMES AND THEIR IMPACT ON:

3.2.1. EMPLOYMENT

"Indigenous peoples are not under-skilled communities. Many possess complex abilities suited to maintaining their lifestyles and cultural practices, which, in some cases have persisted for centuries." [3]

Employment is difficult to assess in isolation as there are other factors that need to be considered to understand the employment experience of indigenous peoples in urban areas. The reality of brain drain and 'brain gain' are common issues faced by the home countries of indigenous peoples, where skilled workers often leave for security, professional development and social and economic mobility in urban cities either locally or across borders. Concomitantly, social and political unrest coupled with economic instability and high unemployment also push unskilled workers to seek greener pastures elsewhere.

Policies and programmes that address these conflicting circumstances in proactive ways include the Durban Programme of Action which seeks to improve the economic

capacity of indigenous peoples by recognising the importance of training, funding, skills and social networking. As pointed out by Ambrosi (2007),

> *"The Durban Programme of Action seeks to promote the understanding and respect for Indigenous cultures and their heritage and…increasing their employment rates… or expanding Indigenous Peoples' businesses when appropriate. It also strives to implement measures to provide training, technical assistance and loan services. The countries are urged to work with the Indigenous People to establish and start-up programs that will give them access to training opportunities and to services that may contribute to the development of their communities."* [4]

To address the brain drain, governments in the Caribbean have begun to develop policies that intend to attract their young and professionals most likely to migrate to change their minds. A joint initiative undertaken by the Pan American Health Organisation (PAHO) and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM),[a] for example, *"encourages nurses to stay and to promote Caribbean nurses in the Diaspora to return."* [5] At the other end of the spectrum many countries in the Caribbean have expressed concern about the trafficking of women and girls to tourist destinations. To emphasise the need to protect female migrants the Dominican Republic has *"established an inter-institutional committee and has also put in place a shelter for returned women who were trafficked to and from the Dominican Republic."* [6]

Indigenous peoples in rural areas have often lived self-sufficient lifestyles through traditional livelihood systems, hunting and gathering and pastoralism. Unfortunately, these traditional methods have been regarded as inefficient and outdated by modern economic thinkers, leading to detrimental consequences. As pointed out in the summary of the fourth session of the PFII (2005), *"The integration and assimilation of indigenous peoples into the market economy and the dominant society has been the solution adopted by most Governments."* [7] As such, some of the indigenous land has been converted into (but not excluded to) cash crop economies and *"dumping sites for nuclear waste"* [8] at the expense of the indigenous labour market. For example, the pastoralist economy of the Maasai peoples in Tanzania and Kenya has been destroyed *"with the full complicity of the state and the market."* [9]

This shift in the labour market in rural areas has led to large numbers of indigenous peoples migrating to urban areas. Unfortunately, what seems to be happening is a transfer of poverty from rural areas to urban areas. As observed by Noémi Gómez (2005), in Latin America the economies have been *"experiencing high levels of poverty and social inequality"* [10] and employment has been central to political and social problems and linked to other issues such as *"freedom, justice, security and protection."* [11] She also asserts that employment, poverty and democratic governance are directly linked thus *"traditional models of economic growth must be complemented*

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a.   *CARICOM is the acronym for Caribbean Community.*

Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration

with new models of development." [12] Furthermore, *"an institutional approach tailored to the particular context of each country would lead to a reduction of inequality within and among countries."* [13] Other strategies are also worth noting. A presentation by an ILO representative on the trends of unemployment and labour standards in the Americas pointed to several strategies. In his view, there was a need to,

> *"link macroeconomic policy to labour policies.…*
>
> He also reiterated that *…macroeconomic policy could promote employment growth if efforts were focused on increasing productivity, which in turn increased competitiveness…[and] that labour market reform must provide adequate security and protection…and that workers must be included in any formulation of future strategies to ensure they shared in the strategy's benefits.…"* [14]

Source: G Plunkett, 2006

CARICOM have advanced their labour agenda through *"the development of labour legislation, the approval of the Declaration of Labour and Industrial Relations Principles, the incorporation of workers' rights in the Charter of Civil Society and by convening*

meetings of Ministers of Labour."[15] The report of Kenya (2008) on the implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights indicates a mixed commitment to labour standards and employment conditions that can affect the productivity and economic sustainability of indigenous peoples, in particular indigenous women. Some of the legislation recently adopted by the State include the Employment Act (2007) which is particularly relevant to indigenous women and children as it *"prohibits forced labour and child labour, sexual harassment and discrimination…"* and the Occupational Health and Safety Act (2007) which prohibits the *"employment of children in workplaces where their health is at risk…."*[16] Nevertheless, gaps remain in the labour and employment legislation for those in deprived urban areas. There is a need to intensify efforts to increase employment opportunities for women and to ensure that *"the practice of equal remuneration for work of equal value is implemented in practice."*[17] Moreover, there is a need for States to enforce heavier penalties for persons involved in illegal child labour and to consider the needs of families and women affected by HIV/AIDS and other disadvantaged and marginalised groups in the labour sector.

BOX 1: TRANSFORMATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT: ABORIGINAL PEOPLES CANADA

"Transformation of dismal unemployment rates and the lack of employment opportunities for Aboriginal peoples requires:

- a holistic approach to the reasons why they have been marginalised in the first place;

- an emphasis on educational attainment and family supports; and

- an expansion of program approaches that are shown to be working.

Such an approach should focus not only on jobs, but also on the family and the community with a particular emphasis on the role of women."[22]

Unpaid work[b] as performed by women is an area that receives little attention despite the *"contribution of women to the national economy and for assuring women better living conditions."*[18] The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPFA) recognises the *"domestic work performed by women as a key contributor to the economy and to combating poverty through both the remunerated and unremunerated work at home, in the community and in the workplace."*[19] The BPFA also calls for governments to implement *"gender impact analyses of economic policy…[and] to undertake legislative reforms to give women equal access to economic resources and to measure unpaid work performed by women."*[20] Other provisions made for unpaid female workers are the ILO

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b. *A comprehensive definition of unpaid work can be found in LC/CAR/L.118, 18 June 2007*

Conventions including the ILO Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No.156) which is intended to *"promote equality of opportunity and treatment in employment for workers with family responsibilities, and among workers with such responsibilities."*[21]

3.2.2. HOUSING

"Now I understand what you're saying in terms of looking at housing as a key factor that affects the development of children and youth… I always insist that people try to overcome the western European approach of categorizing and individualizing various areas of social existence… I have to remind people that our traditional approach to our existence has been based on recognition that everything is related and inter-related… In that context, then,… I think we have to take the approach that housing is one of the key and basic essentials of life."[23]

The connection to the rights to land and housing is pivotal to understand when exploring the living conditions and quality of life of indigenous peoples across different geographical regions. Moreover, it is crucial that adequate housing and living conditions are considered as a basic human right for all. Thus, *at first glance, it might seem unusual to address housing as a basic human right. Insecure and inadequate shelter, however, threatens physical and mental health and the overall quality of life. In other words, human dignity."*[24]

Much of the literature that examines the housing conditions of indigenous peoples shares the belief that *"the dispossession of indigenous peoples from their lands had a ripple effect and resulted in inadequate housing conditions for indigenous peoples."*[25] This connection between the land and the well-being of the indigenous person is important to understand as land often symbolises the spiritual and psychological ties of indigenous peoples to their cultures and their traditions. As such, land loss and eviction is not only a socio-economic liability but a severing of spiritual, cultural and socio-economic empowerment. Migrating to the urban centre can also be challenging, particularly when indigenous cultures, traditions and identities are discounted or compromised. Even more so given that the troubling conditions they thought they had left behind have transferred to the cities. In recognition of the multiple factors that contribute to the well-being and livelihood of indigenous peoples, including those of marginalised groups such as women, youth and the disabled, housing policies need to be holistic in their approach.

According to UN-HABITAT (2006), *"The year 2007 will also see the number of slum dwellers in the world cross the one billion mark – when one in every three city residents will live in inadequate housing with no or few basic services."*[26] What underscores this reality, particularly for indigenous peoples, is the violation of their land rights, the

lack of policies to address their basic needs and the reluctance of government to comply with treaties, conventions and legislations protecting indigenous peoples' rights, coupled with the dominance of corporate globalisation. As pointed out by Miloon Kothari (2008), UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, *"the deepening inequalities of income and opportunities between and within nations has lead to an increase in the number of people without adequate and secure housing. The human rights of people and communities to housing, water and sanitation…continue to erode as the process of privatisation deepens and accelerates."* [27]

Source: G Plunkett, 2003

Efforts to address inadequate housing within a human rights approach are worth noting. A network of NGOs known as The Habitat International Coalition developed a monitoring tool kit that *"has identified 14 constituent elements of the human right to housing, derived from international treaty obligations and other commonly accepted norms."* [28c] Likewise, there has also been a call by UN-HABITAT for comprehensive housing policies that:

> *"include measures on economic, social, cultural and human rights aspects of human development. While general improvements in living and housing conditions…contribute to the realization of housing rights in general, actions in five specific areas have a more direct and effective impact in this process."* [29d]

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c.   These elements are: " security of tenure; public goods and services, environmental goods and services (water, considered an essential prerequisite to the right to housing); affordability; habitability; accessibility; location; cultural appropriateness; freedom from dispossession; information, capacity and capacity-building; participation and self-expression; resettlement; safe environment; security and privacy." (http://www.choike.org/nuevo_eng/informes/1162.html). A comprehensive discussion about these elements can also be found in UN-HABITAT & OHCHR, (2005), "Indigenous peoples' right to adequate housing: A global overview."
d.   The five areas are: "promoting equal access to housing resources, promoting security of tenure, prevention of forced evictions and discrimination in the housing sector, combating homelessness and protecting the rights of homeless people and promoting access to legal and other remedies. Security of tenure is a key element in the full and progressive realisation of housing rights." UN-HABITAT, 2004: pp.10-11.

Tenure security is an essential prerequisite for adequate housing and is particularly critical to improving the livelihood of indigenous peoples. Tenure security is

> *"the right of all individuals and groups to effective protection by the state against forced evictions. …Under international human rights law, secure tenure is one of the seven components of the right to adequate housing, which again is linked to land ."* [30e]

The need to recognise and meet the needs of women is important when addressing housing as a human right. The principle reason for the increase in the number of inadequately housed or homeless women is the 'feminization of poverty'[31] coupled with the reality that "women, either by law or by action, are excluded from or discriminated against in virtually every aspect of housing." [32f] Consequently,

> *"…housing land rights violations against women exponentially increase other violations – homeless women lack security and are vulnerable to violence, HIV/AIDS rates among women increase in slums, displaced women and children must stop education or lack employment opportunities."* [33]

As such there is a need to *"take positive action to ensure their right to inheritance and the ownership of land and other property, credit, natural resources and appropriate technology, as well as to guarantee their right to security of tenure and to enter into contracts."* [34g]

Treaties, legislation and conventions that are relevant to indigenous peoples and women's realisation of their right to adequate housing are addressed by UN-HABITAT and OHCHR (2005) in some depth. The five treaties include the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD); Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the ILO Convention No. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries.[35] The ICESCR is an important document because *"it codifies the right to housing as a constituent element of the right to an adequate standard of living…. The potential application of the right to adequate housing to indigenous*

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e. *"The other six components are: (1) availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, (2) affordability; (3) habitability; (4) accessibility; (5) location, and (6) cultural adequacy. All human rights apply equally to women and men, and women's equal right to adequate housing, land and property is firmly entrenched in international law." UN-HABITAT, 2004: p. 6.*

f. *See also UN-HABITAT, (2007), "Policy Makers Guide to Women's Land, Property and Housing Rights Across the World."*

g. *See also UN-HABITAT, (2007), "Policy Makers Guide to Women's Land, Property and Housing Rights Across the World."*

peoples, including indigenous women, can be understood through a number of provisions of the ICESCR" [36] such as in Article 11(1), Article 2(2), Article 3 and Article 15.[h] The ILO Convention No. 169 does not make specific mention about housing rights but refers to both the ICESCR and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in its preamble which recognise the rights of adequate housing. The Convention promotes the *"full realization of economic, social and cultural rights of [indigenous and tribal peoples] with respect for their social and cultural identity, their customs, traditions and their institutions."* [37] Additionally, in Part II, the Convention makes an emphasis on indigenous peoples' rights to land which is important for the realisation of adequate housing.[i]

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, (CEDAW) is a broad-based Convention that is relevant to protecting the rights of indigenous women. This document is aimed at *"protecting women against discrimination and ensuring women's equality in political, economic, social and cultural realms."* This Convention also has a number of articles that are relevant to the protection of indigenous housing rights.

Even though these policies, treaties and conventions are in place to protect the rights of indigenous peoples to adequate housing, the extent to which they are complied with by the different governments and states is another matter.[j] In some regions urban governments have some influence over,

> *"who obtains land for housing…, its quality and location, and the likelihood of it being provided with infrastructure and services…. In Kumasi, …at lease many low-income households can find land through traditional or extra-legal land acquisition systems ….. Cebu is notable for having a programme specifically to support the transfer of land ownership to illegal settlers from the official owners…."* [38k]

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h.   A more detailed and comprehensive account of the ICESCR in relation to housing can be found in UN-HABITAT and OHCHR, 2005. Of relevance is the CESCR General Comments No. 4 which claims that seven elements are required in order for housing to be adequate. They are legal security of tenure; availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure; affordability, habitability, accessibility, location and cultural adequacy.

i.   A more detailed and comprehensive account of the ILO Convention No. 169 in relation to housing can be found in UN-HABITAT and OHCHR, 2005.

j.   See also: "The right to adequate housing is not sufficiently addressed in most national constitutions and legislation. For example, South Africa is the only country in Southern Africa whose constitution recognizes this right. Most Latin American constitutions, including Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela, Chile and Bolivia recognise this right. In some countries, such as Ecuador, Uruguay and Mexico, the right to housing features among the essential rights recognized and granted by the States. In others, for example Nicaragua and Peru, it is mentioned together with the inviolability of the home. In Bolivia, Colombia, Paraguay and Costa Rica the right to housing is considered a State duty. In the Colombian Constitution, the right to housing appears as proceeding from the dignity of the human person and in the equivalent Venezuelan document, the right to housing constitutes an obligation of the State and the citizens that is to be implemented progressively. The Argentine Constitution offers one of the best examples of how a State can protect the right to adequate housing as it subjects the interpretation of the constitutional phrasing to that established in international human rights instruments." (UN-HABITAT, March 2007, Policy Makers Guide to Women's Land, Property and Housing Rights Across the World, pp. 30-31).

k.   Also noteworthy is "The ease with which low-income groups can obtain housing, and the price paid for it, is of considerable importance to livelihoods. This lies not only in the proportion of household income… but also in the extent to which the location provides ready access to, and space for, income-earning opportunities." Devas, 2004: p. 21.

BOX 2: PROTECTION OF INDIGENOUS HOUSING RIGHTS

"Articles in ICERD relevant to the protection of indigenous housing rights

•   It protects women's equality in economic and social realms, particularly with respect to securing bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial assistance.

•   It protects women living in rural areas from discrimination and ensures them the right to enjoy adequate living conditions including in relation to housing.

•   It states that rural women should participate in and benefit from rural development.

•   It protects women's equal right to conclude contracts and to administer property.

It stipulates that spouses should have the same rights with respect to the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property."[39]

In New Zealand/Aotearoa, the housing situation remains an issue for Maori and Pacific peoples. As reported in the Human Rights Commission Report, *"Maori and Pacific peoples are disadvantaged in terms of affordability and habitability of housing."*[40] For instance, they are *"four times more likely to live in overcrowded houses than the national average."*[41] Moreover, home ownership rates are lower for Maori than for the general population and *"have declined from 52 to 44 per cent over a 10-year period, and this is likely to continue in the future."*[42]

According to Birdsall-Jones and Corunna (2008), the strongest forces shaping the housing careers of urban indigenous Australians are *"long-term poverty, family and neighbourhood violence, and social housing accessibility and management practices."*[43] They also point out that governments have expressed concern about *"the recent housing boom and the impact of house price increases for low-income housing in particular the impact of these on Indigenous people."*[44] Mention is also made of the publication 'Building a Better Future: Indigenous Housing to 2010' which outlines *"the governments' vision for the development of solutions to the housing needs of Indigenous people. In particular the policy seeks ways to identify and address the unmet housing needs of Indigenous people through the identification of housing needs according to long-term requirements as well as emergent situations."*[45] This policy development in Australia has potential given that, in Western Australia, *"76.6 per cent of indigenous people rent their homes and 18.4 per cent are home owners or are purchasing their homes. More than*

half of all indigenous peoples in Western Australia rent their homes…. This is the highest proportion of Indigenous people renting from the state housing authority nationally." [46l]

An important consideration partly responsible for the housing crisis in Canada is *"the demographic trend indicating that Aboriginal people are changing residences within cities and in and out of cities at a more frequent rate than the overall population."* [47] As a consequence, *"this high rate of **churn**"* among the Aboriginal population in urban areas is having negative effects across different sectors of the Aboriginal community. As such, *"the housing needs must be viewed holistically; all too often however, they are not, nor do housing programs/policies for Aboriginal peoples even provide adequate shelter."* [48] This issue about adequate shelter is pertinent to the well-being of children and youth. Overcrowding, for example, has detrimental affects on the psychological well-being and health of young people. As pointed out by the National Council of Welfare in Canada (2007), *"overcrowding for children leads to stressful homes and no space to study, skipping school more often and poorer education results."* [49] Similarly, a childcare expert posits that *"access to good quality housing is essential for the well-being of Aboriginal children and the federal government should undertake a national housing strategy for all Aboriginal peoples."* [50]

Young people *"make up a crucial component of the homelessness population and Aboriginal youth are overrepresented in this group."* [51] Of interest here are the interviews conducted with Aboriginal street youth for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). For Aboriginal youth *"their cultural background, history, structural conditions and experience on the street were different from other street youth…. The youth spoke of identity confusion and self-hatred, dislocation from home, difficulty in reunification and ignorance of Aboriginal rights, history and culture."* [52]

Projects and practices by indigenous communities play an important role in effectively improving the living conditions and housing of indigenous peoples in urban centres. A programme worth considering is that provided by the Skookum Jim Friendship Centre. The SJFC provides a series of programmes and services to urban Aboriginal people in Whitehorse, Yukon and is currently involved in the SJFC Adaptive Capacity – Homeless Youth Pilot Project. Faced with bureaucracy, disagreements, negative media coverage and numerous challenges, this Friendship Centre *"worked hard to make the pilot project a success. Its hard work paid off."* [53] Furthermore, the flexible and holistic approach that was adopted reflected the needs of Aboriginal youth as *"the best way forward is not necessarily referral to an emergency shelter; it may*

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l. On a cautionary note, policy development for urban indigenous peoples must be appropriate and sympathetic to the sensitivities of indigenous peoples towards mainstream organisations. As an Australian Aboriginal woman asserts: "The policy of diverting resources from urban/rural to rural/remote communities is also underpinned by the ideology of mainstreaming and the belief that communities in urban areas…should be serviced by mainstream organizations. The danger with the move is that policies of "mainstreaming" has failed in the past to shift… poorer standards of housing that Aboriginal communities have experienced…. To date, they have not offered a way in which Aboriginal people can play the central role in making decisions that will impact on their families and communities." Behrendt, 2005: p.5.

be reconnection with family or community, support to go back to school, referrals to other services or a spot in a safe bed. This flexibility allows the Friendship Centre to respond based on the needs of the youth rather than a predetermined solution."[54]

Graph 5: Aboriginal People and Homelessness

Aboriginal People and Homelessness
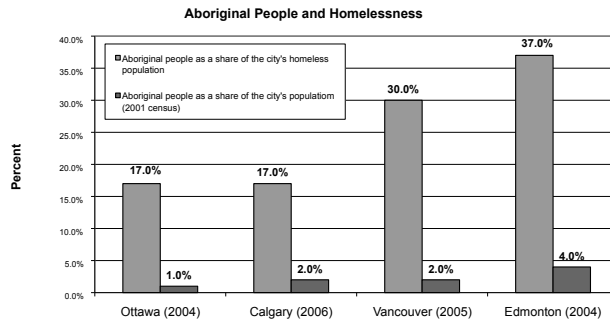
Source: Cited in National Council of Welfare (2007), p.76.

3.2.3. EDUCATION

"Education is an effective means leading to equality, freedom and quality of life. Education principles must ensure non-discrimination (on the basis of race, ethnicity, culture, sex, age, disability or religion). …be an effective means to protect the cultural traditions of Indigenous peoples. … promote… mother tongue learning and include… indigenous knowledge in the curriculum…. Education is a crucial right for indigenous women and girls." [55]

Education is central to poverty eradication and to the socio-economic and political mobility of indigenous peoples.[56] It is also an indispensable tool that is essential to meeting the ideals of *"peace, freedom and social justice and can promote a more harmonious, more authentic human development aimed at eliminating poverty, exclusion, misunderstanding, oppression and war."*[57] Factors that contribute to the low levels of educational achievement, educational retention and poor educational outcomes of indigenous peoples vary. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the UNPFII allude to some reasons:

"indigenous communities nationwide suffer from poverty and exclusion, which represent "obstacles to the enjoyment of the right to education"… According to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, illiteracy rates among the urban indigenous population are four times as high as rates for non-indigenous people living in cities, and indigenous people drop out of school much earlier to look for work."[58]

Within the context of urban migration, education is a core 'pull factor' of the urban city. For many indigenous peoples the lure of the city is premised by their desire to acquire the necessary qualifications that will enhance employment opportunities in the professional sectors. Likewise, education is considered a lifeline for some indigenous peoples to escape poverty and to master the necessary training and skills to be self-sufficient and to live a life surrounded by choice and not by violation and restriction.

Unfortunately for some, the move to the city is filled with unanticipated challenges and the opportunity for better education is more restricted than expected. Discrimination and cultural differences are well cited in the literature as is the lack of affordability for access to reputable educational institutions. The measurement of educational achievement, progress and success is dominated by ethnocentric principles that often require indigenous peoples to learn and master the cultural capital and knowledge codes of the modernised, industrialised and western worlds. In effect, the right to a good quality education is hindered by 'colonial' cultural, institutional and pedagogical methodologies:

> *"… in the new urban environment, indigenous youth are often subjected to discrimination by the wider community and denied equal opportunities in employment and education. Similarly, many course books and its contents are ethnocentric, androcentric and sexist…"* [59]

Other factors that contribute to low retention rates and high rates of unqualified indigenous peoples, especially amongst the young, point to some of the pressures indigenous youth face from their own peers. The reluctance of some young people to excel academically for fear of cultural ostracism and bullying is under-reported in the education discourse. For some youth who want to achieve, the pressure to engage in criminal activity and lifestyle cannot be undermined. Education is also often disrupted for students who are homeless or who live in temporary housing, as they move from one to school to another.

Other vulnerable groups (for example, women and the disabled) face discrimination based on their gender and/or disability. In some indigenous communities the education of girls and women is interrupted by domestic and maternal responsibilities: *"Girls are more likely than boys to drop out of school, either because of pregnancy or to help with household and child-rearing responsibilities or to care for ailing relatives. This is reflected in lower literacy rates for young women."* [60] For indigenous peoples with disabilities, access to education is often stifled by stigmatisation and discrimination coupled with a lack of commitment by the government and educational boards to provide the necessary infrastructure to enable their learning experience.

Education for indigenous peoples has received much attention from governments, policy makers and indigenous organisations. The common principle is that education

is critical for indigenous peoples' full enjoyment of their human rights. The right to education is recognised in various international instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two International Covenants on Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention against Discrimination in Education, the ILO Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (No.169) and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.[61] These instruments, however, can be ratified and/or complied with at the discretion of those in authority.

The Special Rapporteur, Rodolfo Stavenhagen (2005), calls for governments to place a high priority on the *objectives and principles of indigenous education…and recommends that emphasis be placed on strengthening physical education, special training in the criminal justice system…education in all areas for indigenous girls and women, distance learning, adult and continuing education.*[62]

Some governments have *pledged to bring education to indigenous peoples and communities*.[63] Many states have also "set up special institutions to promote and implement educational policies relating to indigenous peoples, through their ministries of education or other bodies that deal with indigenous peoples."[64]

BOX 3: RIGHTS-BASED SCHOOL

The basic principles of a rights-based and child-friendly school.

They should be:

1. **Proactively inclusive.** The school seeks out and enables the participation of all children of both sexes, and especially those who are different ethnically, culturally, linguistically, socio-economically and in their abilities or disabilities.

2. **Academically effective and relevant.** It meets children's needs for life and livelihood knowledge, attitudes and skills.

3. **Gender-sensitive.** It creates environments that foster gender equality, and it meets the needs for knowledge, attitudes and skills that ensure gender equality.

4. **Healthy and protective.** It promotes and protects children's emotional, psychological and physical well-being by providing a healthy and protective educational climate.

5. **Engaged with the family and the community.** It seeks out and enables the participation of children's families and the community in the development and implementation of all aspects of school policies and programmes, including those designed to protect children from harm and to teach children to appreciate the rights of other children in the same protection.[65]

The significant progress in increasing the number of indigenous children attending school has been encouraging. In Canada, for example, funding has enabled 119,000 First Nations children to attend school (grades K-12)[m] as well as allowing another 26,000 First Nation and Inuit children to progress on to higher education. Similarly, in Mexico, government assistance has targeted 50,300 teachers in 19,000 educational centres with a bilingual and intercultural emphasis.[66]

Other effective developments include the Atuarfitsialak programme in Greenland, a significant education reform that *combine[s] local culture with integration in the global society.*[67] The Students Educational and Cultural Movement of Ladakh in northern India changed the assimilationist education system through the use of indigenous languages in schools and created a local community-based education system. The traditional knowledge of elders has also proved successful *for the Maori in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, the Sami in the Nordic Countries, some First Nations in Canada, the Mapuche in Chile, the Quechua in Ecuador, the Masai in Kenya, the Ratanakiri in Cambodia, among the Sungai in Malaysia, the Charkma in India and many others.*[68n]

Progress however, has been slow in some countries. In the Russian Federation a *deteriorating school infrastructure,… unemployment and high rates of alcoholism, suicide and infant mortality has made it difficult to design an appropriate education programme.*[69] Discrimination is also a reality in Thailand as education is offered only to *students who hold Thai nationality, thereby excluding many members of minorities and indigenous peoples who are immigrants.*[70]

Large numbers of indigenous children and young people still do not have equal access to or the opportunity of an education. This situation is of particular concern for the many young girls and women who lack the chance to a good education because of socio-cultural politics. However, such obstacles have not prevented indigenous women from initiating their own programmes.[o]

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m.   In Canada, primary and secondary education combined is often referred as K-12 (kindergarten through grade 12). Grade 12 is typically reached when seventeen or eighteen years of age.
n.   Transmitting the knowledge of indigenous elders is also crucial to maintaining indigenous languages, cultures and traditions in urban areas.
o.   The Indigenous Women's Learning Partnership's (IWLP) is an example. It is a
"training and mobilization programme developed with the understanding that women's vulnerabilities, issues, and concerns in development and displacement are substantially different from those of men… nine IWLP workshops were conducted in two states of the NER (Assam and Manipur)…[and] examined the impact of displacement on women and women's lives, envisaging a stronger role in civil society movements for female community leaders, and creating a space for women's groups' effective participation in platforms of campaigning and advocacy…. The workshops helped to mobilize 5,000 women for the first rally on Indigenous Women's rights to resources and land in the NER…Most of all women realized and were encouraged by this realization that a peoples' campaign needed women in leadership roles as much as it needed men." Statements taken from the Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development and Peace. Website information: http://www.learningpartnership.org/partners/India

3.2.4. TRANSITION AND SETTLEMENT SERVICES

"The lack of full respect for human rights for indigenous people continues to be one of the most serious obstacles to the improvement of their living conditions, forcing them into escalating levels of migration. Their rights are often times violated when in transit and after arrival to host countries. For that reason it is essential that there be a human rights focus for the entire migratory process.[71]

The reasons indigenous peoples migrate to urban areas are multi-faceted and have been well documented. Their experiences from the point of departure to arrival at their new destination communities can vary according to socio-cultural, economic, regional and political factors. As such, different needs and services must be considered to cater for the heterogeneity of indigenous migrants. Likewise, the level of preparation that is made prior to departure, coupled with the level of information known about the new destination can affect not only the nature of the migration process but also the long term settlement plans of indigenous people.

Source: G Plunkett, 2006

For example, there are issues that indigenous peoples do not necessarily take into account before departing their home communities, such as *"how much the move will cost, how to travel, who to stay with or contact in the destination community and how to fund the move."*[72] As a consequence, many often rely on transition and settlement services in their new home communities for housing, employment, health care and other such needs. In effect, their experiences with such services (if they access

them) can affect and influence the decisions they make in their new homeland. The less prepared indigenous peoples are usually those who are forced to migrate and whose circumstances prevent them from preparing beforehand. As such, *"indigenous peoples are often poorly prepared to make these decisions because as a group with a lower likelihood of migrating than others they tend to have fewer contacts in their destination communities and may have few avenues to obtain accurate information."* [73] Thus, transition and settlement services become important lifelines for indigenous communities who arrive in their new homelands with little resources.

Due to a lack of supportive networks and information about the available services and facilities upon arrival, the indigenous migrant's new home community can become a place filled with risks rather than a place of refuge. Indigenous peoples who migrate with little access to housing, health care, educational and employment services are, at times, left with little option but to settle in slum and impoverished areas and rely on illegal trading and other destructive means (e.g. prostitution, illegal drug selling and criminal activity) to make ends meet. This can create a vicious cycle and impinge on the quality of life and living conditions of not only indigenous peoples at large but also those most vulnerable groups such as women, youth and the disabled. As data has indicated, some women and young people are victims of trafficking and prostitution and their human rights are largely compromised in their quest for a better life. That is, *"indigenous migrant women are particularly vulnerable to rape and other forms of sexual exploitation."* [74] In addition, discrimination and marginalisation have forced some indigenous migrants to hide their identity in order to be accepted.[75] This 'feminisation of poverty', coupled with the reality of homelessness, should encourage indigenous women and young people and the disabled to turn to transition and settlement services for assistance. However, the reluctance to access such services is marked by embarrassment and shame, cultural alienation and discrimination. The cultural gap in some health services is recorded by Durst and Bluechardt (2004) who state that,

> *"Often, the professionals understand "disability" as a "health" issue rather than an economic, social or recreational one. Furthermore, it creates a situation where First Nations or Aboriginal identity is second in priority to the health or physical needs of the person. The cultural context is lost in the attention to the concreteness of the physical disability."* [76]

Therefore, the need for health, education, employment and housing services to close the gap between the needs and rights of indigenous migrants is an important consideration. As such, transition and settlement services should not just cater to indigenous peoples based on their needs but also from a rights approach whereby all indigenous migrants, irrespective of age, gender, ethnicity, regional background and disability, have the right to a good quality of life without discrimination. This is essential given that there is *"the tendency for indigenous migrants to be discriminated*

against in destination communities. Indigenous migrants' limited skills in areas valued by destination communities, as well as their unique languages and cultures, make them prone to marginalization." [77]

The human rights of indigenous peoples during the course of migration and at their point of arrival are receiving mixed attention from governments, States and international and local agencies. The Special Rapporteur, Rodolfo Stavenhagen (2007), calls for *"adequate policies to protect the human rights of the increasing numbers of indigenous people…. Especially deserving of attention are indigenous migrant women and young people, who suffer disproportionately from violence and sexual exploitation."* [78] He further claims that *"social policies that cover only the most vulnerable sectors of the population without considering the special characteristics of indigenous people have been unable to resolve the grave problems they face."* [79] As such, he recommends that *"specific social policies for town-based indigenous populations are required if indigenous migration is not to become just another vehicle for the transfer of rural to urban poverty."* [80]

The lack of significant change in the realisation of the human rights of indigenous women is also noted. In his view, the victimisation of indigenous women and girls in drug trafficking, sex tourism and prostitution in numerous regions is alarming, as are the increasing rates of HIV/AIDS among indigenous populations. Thus, *"governments have not paid enough attention to this matter, and social and welfare policies have not, to date, been very effective in protecting this vulnerable segment of indigenous populations."* [81]

A call has also been made by the Special Rapporteur of Housing, Miloon Kithari (2007), for states to adhere to human rights principles and obligations so that all resettlement measures *"such as construction of homes, provision of water, electricity, sanitation, schools, access roads and allocation of land and sites, must be consistent with the present guidelines and internationally recognized human rights principles, and completed before those who are to be evicted are moved from their original areas of dwelling."* [82] Furthermore, there is a need for indigenous migrants to receive immediate relief and relocation as a result of eviction and to ensure that special efforts *"be made to ensure equal participation of women in all planning processes and in the distribution of basic services and supplies."* [83] Concomitantly, States are obligated to ensure that *"identified relocation sites must fulfil the criteria for adequate housing according to international human rights."* [84p]

Indigenous organisations and non-governmental agencies have been critical facilitators and mediators for urban indigenous migrants. The Aboriginal Friendship

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p. These include: " (a) security of tenure; (b) services, materials…, sanitation…, emergency services…; (c) affordable housing; (d) habitable housing…; (e) accessibility for disadvantaged groups; (f) access to employment options… and other social facilities…; and (g) culturally appropriate housing…adequate housing should also include…privacy and security;…freedom from violence; and access to remedies for any violation suffered." See UN Doc A/HR/418, 2007: paragraph 55.

Centres have played a significant role in improving the well-being and opening up opportunities for aboriginal peoples in Canada. They are the only providers of culturally-enhanced programmes and services to urban aboriginal residents and are generally the first point of contact for aboriginal people to obtain referrals to programmes and services. The overall principle underscoring these centres is to provide tools for aboriginal people to succeed in all areas of Canadian society. They also strive to *"improve the quality of life for Aboriginal peoples in urban environments by supporting self-determined activities which encourage equal access to, and participation in, Canadian Society; and which respect and strengthen the increasing emphasis on Aboriginal cultural distinctiveness."* [85]

Some programmes recognise that for good transition and settlement services for young people they need to develop a framework that incorporates resilience, cultural and societal frameworks. This holistic approach recognises that, in order for the young person to thrive in their new destination, a strong, healthy and cohesive society is essential. The strengths, resilience[q] and resourcefulness of young people need to be emphasised in the face of the marginalisation and discrimination they encounter.

The Settlement and Transition model that has been identified by the Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth (2007) effectively conceptualises the settlement process from a resilience standpoint to emphasise *"the positive resources that individuals use to take charge in changing their lives…."* [86] In effect, policy and practice with migrant young people *"should start from the recognition that they have unique experiences and knowledge. Resilience can only be enhanced by supporting young people to strengthen their social and community connections and to develop the skills to respond to challenges and reach their full potential."* [87] This positive approach to the transition and settlement processes of young people is a noteworthy alternative to the more popular strategies that tend to focus more on the risk factors of migration.

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q. *Some indigenous communities and practitioners have been critical of the resilience model, in particular Eurocentric medical models that place much of the onus on the individual. Nevertheless, there are cross-cultural definitions of resilience that are fitting to indigenous and holistic frameworks for youth in particular. Useful references include Tupuola, AM's concept of Pasifika Edgewalkers (see case study section in this report) and Tupuola, AM; Cattell, V; Stansfeld, S. (2008) Vulnerable Youth, dialogic exchanges and resilience: Some preliminary findings from an exploratory study in East London, Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies, vol. 3, no.3, pp.174-181.*

BOX 4: BEST PRACTICE: YOUTH SETTLEMENT

- Stable housing;

- Access to appropriate health services;

- Stable income or appropriate education and training;

- Living in an environment free from discrimination;

- Having a sense of hope for the future and solid support networks;

- Having a positive sense of self and identity;

- Feeling a capacity to shape their future; and

- Having confidence accessing and navigating available services."[88]

3.2.5. IDENTITIES AND ETHNIC MOBILITY

"Cultural identity: A young man stood at the front of the community centre and told everyone that if it were not for the sense of pride he has for his people, and the role that pride plays in his well-being, he would be in a gang, jail, homeless or dead in a ditch somewhere. To him, his cultural identity keeps him grounded and that sense of identity and respect for his culture makes him a positive role model for younger generations." [89]

The concept of identity is complex and difficult to confine to a single definition for indigenous populations as they are heterogeneous, with increasingly fluid and multiple identities. This diversity is recognised in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in the statement, *"the situation of indigenous peoples varies from region to region and from country to country and that significance of national and regional particularities and various historical and cultural backgrounds should be taken into consideration."* [90] Moreover, this Declaration recognises the rights of indigenous peoples to exercise their identities without discrimination as stipulated in Article 2, *"Indigenous peoples and individuals are free and equal to all other peoples and individuals and have the right to be free from any kind of discrimination, in the exercise of their rights, in particular that based on their indigenous origin or identity."* [91] Other international conventions and declarations that have significance for indigenous peoples include the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) and the ILO Convention No. 169 as they recognise *"the importance of traditional, political and civil rights, as well as basic economic social and cultural rights."* [92]

Ethnic mobility is a phenomenon that recognises the transient nature of indigenous identities. The option of self-identification in some censuses now makes it possible to quantify *"which individuals and families experience changes in their ethnic*

affiliation."[93] There are two types of ethnic mobility. The first type, *"intergenerational ethnic mobility, which relates to families, [creates] 'new types of Aboriginal persons…. The second type, intragenerational ethnic mobility, results from a change in individual's ethnic affiliation over time."*[94] The latter type *"is responsible for the exceptional growth of Aboriginal populations from 1986 to 1996."*[95] In effect, people from *"different ethnocultural backgrounds, meet, marry, and have children. These children, with their mixed ethnocultural background have the possibility of choosing at their own convenience their ethnic affiliation. In short, mixed ancestries can lead to intragenerational ethnic mobility."*[96]

The ethnic mobility phenomenon can have the potential to galvanise peoples to self-report as indigenous. As asserted by Guimond (2003),

> *"social factors can also be cited as an explanation of ethnic mobility among Aboriginal populations. Socio-political events and their media coverage… have all served to heighten the awareness of the public and,… to restore the image and pride of Aboriginal peoples. The increased public attention and the improved self-perception of Aboriginal peoples could have influenced individuals to self-report as Aboriginal."*[97]

Source: G Plunkett, 2005

The concern here is whether this pride in things indigenous is short term or long term. While it is encouraging to see a generation claim pride in their indigenous roots, there is also the potential for a cultural backlash. Just as there has been a dramatic rise over the years to self-identify as indigenous, there is a potential for ethnic drifters[r] to switch their ethnic affiliation should the positive perception of

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r. *This is a term used by Guimond (2003) to describe individuals who have experienced ethnic mobility.*

indigenous peoples wear thin. As such the impact this potential decline could have on the future status of indigenous peoples both in their own communities and in society at large, especially where policy, rights and funding may be compromised. Thus, *it is clear that such high "ethnic mobility driven" population growth will not last forever…. Where the "mixed" children hang their "ethnic hat" when they become adults will have a significant impact on the ethnic make up of our cities"* [98] and the level of priority placed on indigenous peoples.

The right to self-identify as indigenous has not always been well-received or recognised in policy and programmes and/or by Governments, States and indigenous peoples themselves. For instance, in some countries, *"it is controversial to use the term indigenous…[and] in some cases… the notion of being indigenous has pejorative connotations and people may choose to refuse or redefine their indigenous origin."* [99] Some urban indigenous peoples have also experienced discrimination and have had their indigenous identity questioned and/or dismissed. Larissa Behrendt's (2005) experience as an urban indigenous woman resonates with those of other urban indigenous peoples. Faced with rural associated stereotypes, her urban indigenity is overlooked. This oversight of the urban indigenous identity continues into policy and programmes where,

> *"there is a greater willingness to include Aboriginal people in to the "nature" and "environment" aspects of planning and land management than there is the planning of urban spaces and communities. It is hard to ignore the "noble savage" romanticism in this preference for indigenous involvement with plants, trees and animals over involvement with town planning, infrastructure and housing."* [100]

This discrimination towards urban indigenous peoples is just as pronounced for indigenous peoples returning to their home communities whereby *"migrants…often experience problems of reintegration…those who migrate [are] often considered to no longer be indigenous as a result of having emigrated from their indigenous communities (e.g. according to governmental policies)."* [101] Denying urban indigenous peoples the right to their indigenity contravenes Article 8, 2(a) of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples whereby *"Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities;…."* [102] Additionally, choices people make about their identity *"must be respected, while at the same time any discrimination based on indigenous peoples' cultures and identity must be rejected."* [103]

Likewise, preventing urban indigenous peoples from the right to self-identify as indigenous highlights the ambiguous nature with which treaties, policies and conventions are ratified by some governments and States. As pointed out by Elisa Canqui Mollo (2008), a UNPFII Forum member from Bolivia, *"while States seemed to acknowledge indigenous peoples' rights by enacting various laws in their support, they were hardly ever implemented, according to reports from the grassroots."* [104]

Notwithstanding the number of indigenous peoples who are still struggling to have their indigenous identities recognised in government policies, other

> "indigenous peoples have been able to adapt and improve their situations, preserving their indigenous identities while maximizing the benefits of urban society. Using the term "edgewalkers" [s] to describe such youth in the Pacific region, one indigenous author explained: "[Pacifika] Edgewalkers" [t] are a part of a generation of Pacific peoples who have mastered skills that have enabled them to adopt situational identities that allow them to weave between traditional indigenous contexts and the technological and information worlds." [105]

Some programmes, practices and strategies have also enhanced the multiple and transient identities of indigenous peoples. That is, the reality for many urban dwelling peoples is that new skills have to be learnt *"in order to communicate and negotiate with Governments, while at the same time having to refute paternalistic policies."* [106] This may be challenging as there are those who regard *"indigenous societies as static or 'underdeveloped' implying that if they changed or adopted new organization forms or new ways of life they would become less "indigenous."* [107] This limiting perception is not only misleading but can also *"lead to the failure of development programmes, if these are designed to address a…homogeneous society …This approach avoids inappropriately establishing indigenous identity in a way that ignores the change taking place in indigenous societies."* [108] As such it can be effective for indigenous peoples if *"existing indigenous structures and institutions can be validated and strengthened…instead of setting up new and potentially conflictive organizations that are structured according to the requirements of development agencies and Governments."* [109]

Strategies and programmes must therefore acknowledge that indigenous communities *"have their own processes and dynamics in adapting to a changing world… [and these have] allowed them to survive as peoples while asserting their identity."* [110] Likewise, *"development does not necessarily imply the denial or diminishing of identity and traditions. On the contrary, indigenous ways of sustainable development inspire and provide examples of wisdom in dealing with contemporary issues."* [111] In light of this, enhancing the capacity building of indigenous peoples is crucial. It is important that they also garner support from appropriate external actors to build and strengthen the capacity of indigenous organisations with the right to exercise **free, prior and informed consent** and without compromising their indigenous identities. The participation of indigenous women is critical to the capacity building of indigenous communities as equal decision makers and as experts in indigenous traditional, socio-cultural, environmental and sustainable development skills.

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s. Kreb's (1999) use of 'edgewalkers' has been contextualised within a Pacific identity framework to describe the resilience of Pacific youth from a holistic approach.
t. More information about the concept of the Pasifika Edgewalker can be found in Tupuola, AM. Pasifika Edgewalkers: complicating the achieved identity status in youth research, Journal of Intercultural Studies, Vol. 25, 1, pp.87-100 & Tupuola, AM. (2006). Participatory Research, Culture and Youth Identities: An Exploration of Indigenous, Cross-Cultural and Trans-National Methods. Children, Youth and Environments Vol. 16, No.2: pp.291-316.

3.2.6. CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC CONTINUITY

"All moves to promote the dissemination of mother tongues will serve not only to encourage linguistic diversity and multilingual education but also to develop fuller awareness of linguistic and cultural traditions throughout the world and to inspire solidarity based on understanding, tolerance and dialogue." [112]

According to a recent publication by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (2009),[u] *"half of the 6,700 languages spoken today are in danger of disappearing before the century ends…."* [113] This is disconcerting for indigenous peoples as *"languages are the most powerful instruments of preserving and developing our tangible and intangible heritage …."* [114] Some of the literature and data also claim that urban migration has displaced and disrupted the traditional cultural practices of some indigenous communities (Sema, 2007). Spiritual and sacred rituals and sites have been lost and the traditional lives of indigenous peoples have been compromised or lost. This threat of cultural loss coupled with the lack of recognition for indigenous protocol and traditional practices is a concerning reality. An account shared by Lori Johnston on behalf of the Muskogee and Yamasi People at the UNPFII (2008) said:

"her people had traditionally lived in areas in Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, but because of migration, they had been dispossessed, silenced and buried in a 'sea of bureaucracy.' Their graves had been robbed. They were disempowered by federal structures. They had no land to preserve their traditional lives." [115]

In light of this, a request was made to UNESCO and the Economic and Social Council (ESC) *"to work with Muskogee and Yamasi people to create standards that honoured indigenous peoples."* [116] Mohamed Handaine (2008), on behalf of Coordination Autochtone Francophone, also argued that *"the fate of indigenous youth globally continued to deteriorate because of neglect of their communities."* [117] Furthermore, he *"welcomed the recognition of indigenous languages in Morocco and Algeria"* but thought that *"the ability of indigenous organizations to aid young people and make them proud of their identity should be strengthened."* [118]

Various declarations, conventions and policies render marginalised and vulnerable groups, including indigenous peoples, the right to maintain their language and cultural traditions and practices. They include the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which reaffirms that *"indigenous peoples, in the exercise of their rights, should be free from discrimination of any kind."* [119] Likewise, The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, in particular Section II, paragraph

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u. *The recent UNESCO publication is the third edition of UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing (2009), edited by Christopher Moseley.*

20, obliges States *"to ensure the full and free participation of indigenous people in all aspects of society…[and] should ensure respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people."* [120] The Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action, Commitment 4 calls for States to *"respect the rights of indigenous peoples to maintain and develop their identity, culture and interests."* [121]

Compliance with these kinds of declarations and conventions by governments and States and those in authority has been mixed. The Articles in the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law passed on February 2005 by the Republic of China call for governments and the State to protect the rights of indigenous peoples traditions, cultures and language. As stipulated in Article 9, *"The development of indigenous language shall be stipulated by law."* [122]

Conversely, Raven's (2009) report is a poignant reminder of the troubling affects of language loss on indigenous peoples. Her reference to researcher Jeanie Bell's claim that *"Australia is losing more indigenous languages than anywhere else in the world and it's happening at a faster rate"* [123] calls for more effective policy.

Source: G Plunkett, 2006

Likewise, her reference to lecturer Gail Wood's call for a *"community-based collaborative approach… to the documentation of language using art and media"* reaffirms the need for indigenous language speakers to develop their own documentation processes. For the Yaqui community, however, language is not generally viewed *"as systems of*

communicative competence, but rather as vehicles of access to the socio-economic cultural domains they symbolize." [124] Moreover, while the Yaqui language was considered inferior to the English language, this did not mean the demise of the Yaqui culture. Rather, as pointed out by Trujillo (2007), *"paradoxically, their historical marginalization by the dominant society and its institutions such as the schools, as well as by the Mexican American community, has served to keep that identity strong."*[125]

This resilience displayed by the Yaqui community can also be found in other indigenous communities. There has been a cultural renaissance of indigenous identities and a resurgence to learn their mother tongue in some urban indigenous communities.[v] Likewise, diverse generations of indigenous populations have taken it upon themselves to be cultural custodians and to rectify cultural mistranslations. For example, Santi Hito (2004), a native of Rapanui writes a provocative article that corrects mistranslations of pertinent historical documents.[126] A recently published Samoan Indigenous Reference (2009) of essays by Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi[w] addresses traditions, customs and historical knowledge both in the Samoan and English language so that they are accessible to Samoan youth.[127]

Passing on cultural knowledge and traditions is important. The role of women is critical and SPFII (2007) has asked to strengthen the role of indigenous women as "custodians of culture, language and beliefs."[128] SPFII wants to heighten the status of women and acknowledge the responsibility women have in *"transmitting cultural and spiritual knowledge and practices, and group identity in general, to succeeding generations. Because culture exists through, and is generated by, the lived experiences of people, women's role in transmitting culture also situates them as creators and custodians of culture."* [129] Women also play a significant role in environmental conservation and protection as described in the Malukan Declaration, which states that:

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v. *The developments and progress made by the Maori in New Zealand/Aotearoa is an important example of cultural and linguistic continuity as seen in the following outline:*
Maori Language and Culture
• *"In 1985 the Waitangi Tribunal declared the Maori language to be a treasure (taonga), to be protected under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi.*
• *Maori was first recognised as an official language in the Maori Language Act 1987, which established the Maori Language Commission to promote Maori as a living language.*
• *The first language-nest (kohanga reo) pre-school Maori language immersion programme was established in 1981 and actively carried out by Maori women's organisations.*
• *The Maori language is a recognised university subject. In 1990 three wananga (Maori education providers) were recognised under statute as tertiary education institutions and since 1999 have been provided with capital support from the Crown, following a Waitangi Tribunal claim.*
• *Maori organisations acknowledge that Maori culture has been rapidly and pervasively revived. The defining feature is that cultural revitalisation has been driven by Maori, for Maori, with State support, particularly in funding.*
• *The Maori Broadcasting Agency funds broadcasting services to promote Maori language and culture. The State-owned Television New Zealand is required to ensure the participation of Maori and the presence of a significant Maori voice in its programming.*
• *Respect for and protection of traditional indigenous knowledge is an issue that the Ministry of Economic Development is considering in the intellectual property context. Changes were made to New Zealand's trademark legislation to guard against the registration of trademarks based on Maori text and imagery likely to be offensive to Maori."*
UN Doc E/CN.4/2006/78/Add.3, paragraphs 59-67.
w. *His Excellency Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi is currently the Head of State of Samoa.*

"Indigenous Women…are the guardians of Indigenous knowledge and it is our main responsibility to protect and perpetuate this knowledge. Our weavings, music, songs, costumes, and our knowledge of agriculture, hunting or fishing are all examples of some of our contributions to the world." [130]

Numerous conventions, treaties and policies endorse the significant role indigenous women play in the revival of cultural traditions and indigenous languages. However, discrimination within their own indigenous communities remains and can lead to detrimental cultural and environmental ramifications. Therefore, *"gender-sensitive planning in training and technology development would not only improve production today, but it would also ensure the protection of the environment for tomorrow."* [131]

3.2.7. HUMAN SECURITY OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, WOMEN AND YOUTH

Indigenous peoples have experienced and continue to endure many adversities. For some, mass migration to urban areas has been *"the biggest threat to indigenous people all over the world"* [132] as traditions are lost and *"pressure from outsiders' unyielding search for commercial gain [increases]…."* [133] Other immediate threats include displacement and evictions from homelands, military warfare, genocide, climate change, domestic and street violence, discrimination, poverty, trafficking, HIV/AIDS, gender inequality and poor quality of life and living conditions. In much of the literature indigenous communities are often associated with poverty, human rights violations and inequality. However, what is not often reported are the diverse circumstances and socio-cultural, political and economic contexts that underscore this deprivation for indigenous peoples. This lack of this contextual information can dangerously infer a generalised and predominantly deficit perception. Likewise, indigenous youth and women have often been identified in policies as vulnerable and marginalised. The underlying factors that may contribute to their vulnerability need to be better understood if human security policies are to have an impact.

Accounts about rural indigenous women often acknowledge their versatility and innovativeness as well as their crucial role in maintaining the cultural traditions and skills of indigenous peoples. This positive discourse seems to change with the course of urban migration and marks a shift in the role and responsibilities of indigenous women. Many have become sole providers for their families, not necessarily out of choice, and have had to compromise their own well-being in order to survive. As a consequence of disinheritance, the feminisation of poverty and alcohol-related violence and abuse, some women have relied on jobs in the informal sectors. As such, indigenous women often remain productive members of their urban communities, despite adversity. The obstacles that urban indigenous women face as they strive to improve their living conditions include *"extreme and disproportionate poverty and… a decline in health, education, social, economic, cultural and political conditions."*[134] Some of the factors that contribute to these include *"racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism,*

macroeconomic policies promoting trade and financial liberalizations, privatization, deregulation and displacement." [135] These factors are often out of the control of the women and reflect the intolerance towards indigenous women by sectors of the urban society. Likewise, the economic, political and sexual exploitation of indigenous women cannot be ignored at a time when there is *an increase in violence and trafficking of women and girls* [136] and when women are *"subjected to grave and pervasive human rights violations."* [137] Other threats to the indigenous woman's well-being include their susceptibility to HIV/AIDS, homelessness and personal and cultural disempowerment. In light of what indigenous women face in urban cities, it is crucial that policies and programmes recognise these unjust conditions and realise their right to live fulfilled, secured and empowered lives. Thus, as stated in the International Indigenous Women's Forum Declaration (2005),

> *"we note that impoverishment, gender, ethnical and racial discrimination causes an increase in Indigenous Women's risks of becoming ill and being denied medical treatment.... We call on governments to undertake a concerted global response to the AIDS pandemic and to pursue strategies for prevention and universal treatment of diseases."* [138]

Likewise, *"we recognize… the protection and promotion of individual human rights remains key for Indigenous Women, including the right and fundamental freedom to live free from violence."* [139] Concomitantly, indigenous women *"see the criminalization of rights violations… as crucial, but partial step in securing human rights."* Thus, building on CEDAW, *"indigenous women seek to find points of alignment between the international human rights instruments and local values and practices that uphold women's rights...."* [141]

In many Asian countries female trafficking and forced prostitution have received much attention, particularly in light of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Initiatives have been developed in Asia, Africa and Europe and, most recently, *the Council of Europe's Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, entered into full force on 1 February 2008…with many states…still in process of ratification."* [142] Concomitantly, the safety of women has also received much interest from international organisations. At the national level, governments from various continents have *"established national action plans, and some municipal governments have begun to use an integrated approach that takes account of all aspects of women's safety."* [143] In turn, the safety of women is *"linked to the recognition of their status, their autonomy, their education, their equality of the sexes. Empowering them to become more involved in social, political and economic life is central to promoting their safety."* [144]

The security of indigenous youth is also central to a healthy, safe and productive life. According to the United Nations Population Fund (UNPFA), *"today's generation of young people is the largest in human history… [with] Eighty-five per cent of youth liv[ing] in developing countries. Many of them are coming of age in the grip of poverty*

and facing the peril of HIV and AIDS." [145]   Socio-cultural context and political and economic factors can often pre-determine the kinds of experiences a young person is likely to face. That is, *"while millions of adolescents enjoy loving and supportive environments and benefit from expanding opportunities and freedom, millions of others face threats to their safe and healthy passage into adulthood."* [146]

Gendered expectations also pose problems for indigenous girls as they *"face risks of exploitation and abuse and are being trafficked into sexual slavery…[and are at] higher risk than boys for dropping out of school, sexual violence and sexual marriage …[and] have less access to information and less negotiating power to influence decisions, including to protect themselves from HIV."* [147]   Conversely, boys may be forced to *"survive on the streets… [and] the expectations placed on the boys may contribute to aggressive or risky behaviour, with harmful effects…."* [148] It is worth noting that *"adolescents have been left out of poverty reduction policies…. Though many countries have developed youth policies or programmes…, countries lack reliable sex-disaggregated data on adolescents and youth..."* [149]

Nevertheless, there is evidence of youth participation in youth policy and decision-making roles in different regions. In Nicaragua, consultation with youth led to the governments' adoption of a youth policy while in Tunisia national consultations led by the president every five years have engaged thousands of young people. Additionally, a youth parliament special session on HIV/AIDS organised by UNPFA and in collaboration with the national parliament of India involved three thousand students. Likewise, groups of young people from the slums and brothels in Bangladesh, many who were abused and victims of trafficking, influenced the *"formulation of the country's national plan of against the sexual abuse and exploitation of children."* [150]   Youth with disabilities in Panama, Bulgaria, Roma and Jamaica were also given a voice in reproductive health services.

Further commitment to the inclusion of young people in shaping their own livelihood can also be see in The UN Millennium Project Task Force on Education and Gender Equality which asserts that *"Appropriate Investments in young people can reduce the risk of violence and civil disorder."* [151]   This recognises that *"young men with few opportunities for education and decent employment increase the risk of civil unrest and armed conflict. Investing in education can reduce the risks."* [152]

   Programmes and practices that address the risks of HIV/AIDS for young boys and girls have also been developed. At the UN General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS *"young people were recognized as a priority group."* [153]   In the Russian Federation, creative municipal programmes offer education and media services and make links with employment programmes for marginalised youth together with counselling for commercial sex workers. Mass media and entertainment have also been used to reach a large number of young people. Some successful multi-media initiatives include the Lovelife programme in South Africa and Sixth Sense in Nicaragua. [154]

BOX 5: DIRECT AND INDIRECT VIOLENCE AFFECTING HUMAN SECURITY

Direct Violence

- All forms of violent death/disablement, including war.

- Dehumanisation, including e.g. slavery and trafficking in humans or use of child soldiers.

- Discrimination and domination, including e.g. discriminatory laws or practices.

Indirect Violence

- Deprivation of access to basic needs and entitlements (including food and safe drinking water).

- Incidence of diseases.

- Natural and man-made disasters."[155]

The many youth development programmes and the increasing participation of youth in international agencies such as UNPFA have been crucial in engaging the participation and voices of young people themselves. The hope is that a large proportion of indigenous youth will be able to access and actively participate in such programmes as they recognise that it is only through a good education, healthy living conditions, risk free lifestyles and the support of programmes and policies that human security can become a reality.

3.2.8. HEALTH

The right to good health is fundamental for indigenous and non-indigenous peoples alike. Unfortunately, evidence shows that indigenous peoples continue to face inequalities with health services and facilities. Moreover, they are over-represented in infant and maternal mortality rates, lower life expectancy, infectious diseases, alcohol and drug related conditions, obesity, diabetes, heart conditions and sexually transmitted diseases. Indigenous peoples have also called for more culturally appropriate health services, especially for women who often shy away from health facilities for fear of shame, discrimination and stigmatisation.

Faced with poverty and poor living standards, indigenous peoples very often have turned to traditional medicinal practices. Even though this may be seen as a positive contributing factor to cultural continuity between rural and urban indigenous communities, it is marred by infrastructural, economic and bureaucratic factors. As illustrated by the pastoralists of North East Africa (see Kipuri, 2007), many often enter the black market to trade their medicinal goods at the risk of losing

their intellectual and cultural property. Others face discrimination in urban centres because their traditional healing systems are seen to be inferior and a health risk.

The International Symposium on the Social Determinants of Indigenous Health in April 2007 was an effective and important gathering of delegates from diverse indigenous communities. The misunderstanding of indigenous cultures and their world views and institutional and personal racism were addressed, particularly as they affect the health and well-being of indigenous peoples. Subsequently, participants called for *"firm action on the part of Member States and civil society to urgently treat this danger to health and well-being…."* [156x]

Source: G Plunkett, 2006

The effects of urban migration on the psychological and economic well-being of indigenous peoples were also a concerning factor, especially given the stressful conditions that can come with urban migration:

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x.   *Participants also asked that "Reforms must also extend from governmental structures, including systems of political representation; through legal and judicial arrangements, including securing practical security before the law and the recognition of customary laws; to the extension of service delivery arrangements to ensure equitable access and accountability to Indigenous People. Delegates referred frequently to the need for, and value of, properly funded primary health care services under indigenous control." Commission on Social Determinants of Health (CSDH) 2007:p.3.*

"A corollary of loss of land is migration, particularly to urban centres. As noted… migration into unfamiliar, poor urban environments results in psychological and material stress. Poor housing, lack of education, inability to find work and, where it is found, low wages and hazardous working environments put their lives and health at risk." [157]

Of further concern is the under-reporting of the psychological disabilities and mental health of indigenous peoples. This can be especially disconcerting given the traumatic life experience of some indigenous communities, be it colonialism, displacement, eviction, homelessness, discrimination, military warfare, trafficking, sexual exploitation or poverty. Undiagnosed and untreated psychological conditions are also problematic as the mental health of the individual can have a domino effect on other factors such as education, employment, family, housing and community well-being. Reluctance by indigenous peoples to report psychological and mental conditions and disabilities and to access available health and counselling services is not unusual. Reasons for this vary, some include *"inappropriate diagnosis, stigmatization and the extended perception of mental diseases as 'part of the older age' or even understood as a bad character trait of an individual…."* [158] Other reasons point to culturally inappropriate methods of counselling and treatment as well as a lack of trust and communication with the mental health services. Accounts by indigenous peoples also point to the limitation and inappropriateness of western and Eurocentric models of mental health that undermine the spirituality of indigenous peoples. Notwithstanding this, indigenous organisations and peoples have developed culturally sensitive models and mental health and psychological frameworks that are holistic and that protect the integrity and dignity of indigenous peoples. The account by Pacific therapist Cabrini 'Ofa Makasiale (2005) describes the value of metaphor in the counselling process:

"The use of metaphorical conversation, and more precisely, the symbolic language used in the conversation, meets the Pacific Island client where she or he is "at home." Being "at home", the client is doubly at ease and can describe her or his inner and outer worlds with openness and confidence. When the client experiences that the therapist is also attuned to this symbolic manner of speaking, then mutual understanding is deepened and expanded." [159]

The growing number of indigenous peoples migrating to urban centres has also led to a growing demand for traditional foods. This is not surprising given that indigenous peoples often affirm that *"their overall health, well-being and cultural continuity is directly related to their ability to eat their traditional foods and continue their traditional food practices."* [160] The nutrition and diet of indigenous peoples has been widely discussed particularly as the *"determinants of nutritional status include not only household food security, but also access to healthcare, particularly for women."*[161] Moreover, the impact of *"gender differentials on poverty and nutritional status has been instrumental in the introduction of policies aimed at eradicating poverty and inequality…."* [162]

Although an association is often made between poverty, diet and malnutrition and while there are indigenous peoples in impoverished communities who suffer from malnutrition, there is also a growing epidemic of obesity in the urban areas. According to a report by ECLAC (2006),

> *"obesity is perhaps one of the most neglected public health problems. …[as] increasing numbers of obese populations are trapped in poverty… as a result, diets are poor and micronutrient deficiencies continue and often lead to the development of diet related chronic diseases."*

A recent project examining diabetes in urban indigenous peoples in Darwin reaffirmed the close associations between health, housing, diet and unemployment. For instance, the outcomes included that *"diabetes was more common among people with lower incomes, those living in rented housing and those not working… Risk factors for heart disease – being overweight, high blood pressure…kidney damage… were common, even among young people."*[163] In turn, it is important to not simply examine poor nutrition, obesity and poverty within a medical and health standpoint but also to recognise that diet and nutrition is pivotal to the level of productivity and economic mobility of indigenous communities.

HIV/AIDS has been a pressing concern in much of the health literature, data and research regarding indigenous peoples. The 'feminization of poverty' in urban cities has left women particularly vulnerable to infection. Measures to address HIV/AIDS and consequently the health of women were outlined at the Fourth Caribbean Ministerial Conference on Women (2004). They include, but are not limited to, undertaking legal reform to protect the rights of women who are infected; ensuring that women have access to health facilities and services to receive the necessary treatment and counselling required; safeguarding women and children from sexual violence, abuse, incest and trafficking through strengthening legal and social measures.[164]

Young people are also susceptible to HIV/AIDS. According to UNFPA, *"in sub-Saharan Africa, 63 percent of those who were HIV-positive in 2003 were between the ages of 15 and 24… [and] young women living with HIV outnumber HIV-positive young men 3.6 to 1."*[165] Young indigenous men are also vulnerable to HIV/AIDS as they migrate to urban areas. Some become exposed to high risks of HIV *"through injecting drug use, in prisons and through their occupations."* Moreso, as *"many migrants in search of work are young men, [they can be] in situations that take them away from their families and partners and may lead them to engage in commercial sex."*[166]

Addressing the high risks of HIV/AIDS is a sensitive issue as sex-related matters are often considered taboo in many indigenous communities. Therefore, programmes and practices that promote *"frank discussions about gender equality, contraception, HIV prevention"*[167] would help bridge the information gap. Likewise, intervention

and prevention programmes *"that tackle poverty and the harmful gender stereotypes that drive the epidemic"* [168] are crucial. For example, In India, through the support of organisations such as Population Council and CARE,[y] young people *"living in slums acquired marketable skills, began saving money and gained self-esteem."* [169] In Senegal, thousands of adolescent girls and young women have received education *"with an emphasis on literacy, gender and human rights, reproductive health services, income-generating opportunities and computer literacy and training"* [170][z] to expand their options and in turn help stem the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

The value of initiatives that relate health to education and employment should be emphasised as they address the well-being and health of indigenous peoples from a holistic framework. Moreover, they recognise that 'health' cannot be viewed in isolation from the social, cultural, economic, spiritual and ecological factors that are part and parcel of the indigenous person's reality.

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y. CARE champions social justice for the poor, vulnerable and the most marginalised with special attention paid to empowering young women and girls. For more information about CARE and CARE's work in India see http://careindia.org/ManageAboutUs/VisitAboutUs.aspx?CategoryID=24
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4. GLOBAL THEMES AND CASE STUDIES

All the papers presented at the EGM in Santiago, Chile, make excellent and valuable contributions to the migration and urban indigenous people's discourse. They also share a wealth of expertise in urban migration and demonstrate both the heterogeneity of indigenous people and the diverse impact urban dwelling has on a cross-section of the communities. The presentations also reaffirm a shifting demographic and population distribution of indigenous peoples, from predominantly rural to urban areas and heighten the visibility of urban indigenous peoples that has, as pointed out in some papers, been dominated by their rural counterparts. The value of all the speakers' papers is that they also contextualise the migration process from a variety of cultural, socio-economic, geo-political and gender perspectives and accentuate the contradictory and ambiguous positioning of urban indigenous peoples in current research, literature and policies, nationally and internationally.

For editing and thematic reasons, it is with regret that not all the papers can be included in this text. However, a comprehensive report and full account of all the papers that were presented at the EGM in Santiago, can be found in UN-HABITAT and OHCHR's publication of the EGM in 2007.[a] Thus, to complement the overall themes of this particular study, papers that examined urban migration from a gender perspective and/or rights approach and that addressed vulnerable groups of indigenous peoples (e.g. women, youth and disabled among others) from a contemporary and/or critical standpoint are included to reaffirm and/or debate issues raised in earlier sections of this work. Moreover, essays that explored urban migration from a trans-cultural and/or global perspective also complement the global and world view approach to this study.[b]

INTRODUCTION TO THE KEY ISSUES

These background papers raise and address some pressing issues relevant to the theoretical, methodological and political debates surrounding the well-being, living conditions and rights of indigenous peoples in urban areas and in the general indigenous migration discourse.

A comprehensive synopsis of key political, cultural, economic and political demands of indigenous peoples in light of a growing urban presence is made in Eugenio Ambrosi's paper *"Indigenous people and migration toward the cities: Intercultural*

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a. All the papers presented at the EGM can be found in UN-HABITAT and OHCHR (2007), "Urban and Indigenous Peoples and Migration, Report and full account of the International Expert Group Meeting, Santiago de Chile, Chile, 27-29 March 2007", UN-HABITAT, Nairobi.
b. It would have been ideal and preferable to include papers from all the different regions. However, for editing purposes this was not possible. The essays being included in this publication demonstrate the excellent calibre and value of all the papers presented at the EGM in Santiago, Chile and the expertise of all the speakers.

Analysis of the situation and of present tendencies." Attention is paid to both the contributory factors that underlie urban migration and the many affects, both negative and positive, of the urban indigenous reality. This paper synthesises, in a succinct manner, key constitutional, legislative, political and institutional reforms to highlight the tenuous progress made in protecting indigenous peoples from potential violations of their rights in their urban surroundings.

In their paper *"Indigenous peoples in the urban setting"*, authors William Langeveldt and Sonia Smallacombe raise concerns about some of the definitions and stereotypes in research and policies that distort the fluidity of urbanisation and the historical trajectory of the urban migration of some indigenous communities. They also point to the limitations of a dichotomous analogy of the rural and urban and call for a more balanced indigenous discourse that acknowledges the authenticity and indigenity of the urban dweller.

CASE STUDIES

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

A good statistical overview and demographic understanding of Mexico is found in Pablo Yanes' paper *"Equality in diversity: agenda for the urban indigenous peoples in Mexico."* This paper is unique in that it brings together, in a coherent manner, an analysis of urbanisation, rights and equality of urban indigenous peoples from a combined ethno-demographic, cultural, political and rights standpoint. Moreover, it attempts to examine the migration process from a holistic perspective in that a combination of factors and indicators are used to call for an equal distribution of resources so that cultural diversity and social equality can exist both inside and outside the urban setting.

THE ARCTIC REGION

Maliina Abelsen's discussion of Greenland in her essay *"Case Study-Greenland"* questions the validity of terminologies and definitions within indigenous contexts. Her critique of the term 'urbanisation' is important, especially as the migratory movement of Greenlanders is to towns and not to larger urban centres as often assumed in the urban indigenous discourse. Also noteworthy is that Greenlanders who migrate to Denmark are not generally considered as immigrants and as such are not offered assistance. The settlement process of Greenlanders is unique as issues relating to cultural alienation are not as prevalent.

NORTH AMERICA

An intimate and detailed description of the Yaqui people of Guadalupe is captured in Octaviana V. Trujillo's essay *"Transformation of an Indigenous community: Urbanization envelopes the Yaqui of Guadalupe, Arizona."* The unique historical and migrant trajectories of the Yaqui community highlight not only the unjust ramifications that come with political and colonial uprisings but also the cultural resilience and fluidity of the Yaqui peoples' "trilingual" identities.

THE PACIFIC REGION

The resilience and multiple identities of indigenous youth in urban settings is emphasised in Anne-Marie Tupuola's paper *"Pasifika Edgewalkers: Urban Migration, Resilience and Indigenous Trans-cultural Identities."* Emphasis is placed on some of the positive effects of urban migration with particular attention paid to the socio-cultural and personal resilience of Pacific youth, despite their adversities. The concept of the 'edge-walker', adopted from Krebs (1999),[1] is a useful theoretical and methodological framework in Pacific contexts as it recognises the multiple identities and cultural versatility of young people. Moreover, it acknowledges and celebrates the fluidity of Pacific cultures and, in turn, the migration process.

AFRICA

The special needs of indigenous pastoralists in North East Africa's urban areas is discussed in the essay *"Urban Indigenous African Pastoralists: distinct peoples with distinct needs"* by Naomi Kipuri. A number of push and pull factors are outlined with attention to the relationship between governmental private interests and involuntary urban migration. Through three case studies, the realities of displacement, poverty and poor human security are emphasised as are some positive initiatives developed by women and indigenous pastoralists themselves against adverse living conditions.

ASIA

The unique implications of migration for the 'Scheduled Tribes' of the Indian subcontinent and North-East India are discussed by Khetoho Enatoli Sema in her article *"Indigenous peoples in India: Struggle for identity, equality and economic progress."* The fragility of the 'Adivasi' population and their right to self-determination is emphasised against a backdrop of political instability and large-scale developmental projects. Noteworthy here are the negative and more subtle intra-cultural affects of urban migration on the female and youth populations. Sexual harassment, ethnic discrimination and cultural alienation are of particular concern as is the growing emotional detachment of youth towards indigenous interests and values.

NOTES

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND MIGRATION TOWARD THE CITIES: INTERCULTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION AND OF PRESENT TENDENCIES[a]

AUTHOR: EUGENIO AMBROSI

During the past few years international attention has focused on the relationship between migration and development reflecting an increasing acknowledgement of the great effects of migratory flows on both origin and host countries.

Despite the increasing flow of information about levels, tendencies and patterns of migration in the world there is not much information regarding the dynamics of migration among Indigenous Peoples and the manner in which they and their communities are affected by this situation. The efforts made at addressing the various migration and development issues of Indigenous Peoples have faced serious obstacles for several reasons, the main one being the lack of information on the subject. This along with other issues is affecting the development of a policy that is both significant and global.

1. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN LATIN AMERICA

In Latin America a process has taken place over the past quarter of a century that has significantly strengthened Indigenous People and that has been characterized by a quick transformation of their organizations into political actors and social elements, both within national societies and on the international scene. During this period important modifications have taken place at government levels, such as the reinstatement of democratic regimes, the constitutional and legal framework reforms and the start-up of decentralization processes in public administration.

The onset of Indigenous People as new social elements and of their organizations as political actors, has involved the construction of a policy of struggle that is expressed in terms of rights vindications including demands ranging from modifications to the state constitution to the acknowledgement of a legal and jurisdictional system for all Indigenous People. In general, we have to admit that during the last decade Indigenous Peoples have taken the initiative and that the modifications made by the States have resulted as a response to their mobilizations. The demands by the

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a. *Expert Group Meeting on Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration Santiago de Chile, 27-29 March 2007*

Indigenous Peoples and the pressure they have exerted have generated responses both at an international level and from the internal laws in several countries.

On the American continent, where for a long time Indigenous Peoples were not recognized as specific categories of the society, a number of constitutional reforms have taken place during the past few decades or special legislation has been adopted regarding Indigenous People. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela have undertaken constitutional reforms where a few Indigenous Peoples' rights have been recognized, including language, culture and traditions, the need for prior and informed consultation, regulating access to natural resources and land or, in some cases, recognition of autonomy and self-governance. Utilizing similar formulas, those constitutional reforms recognized the indigenous authorities' jurisdictional power to administer justice or to resolve conflicts according to their own customary law.

In the majority of the cases, however, laws and regulations that would actually help implement these constitutional changes are lacking. Chile has the 1993 Indigenous Law in place but a constitutional reform is still pending.

The new constitutionality underscores: the recognition of Indigenous People as active political elements; the changes in the identity of the State that now recognizes itself as multicultural; the individual and collective right to their own identity; and recognition of legal pluralism. In the region, however, institutional implementation, legislative and jurisprudential development and the actual approval of the reforms by the Indigenous Peoples themselves has differed.

In any event, this acknowledgment has been key in promoting and protecting the human rights of the Indigenous People, since its endemic violation is one of the reasons for many individuals leaving their communities.

These good practices regarding human rights could be studied by many other countries where recognition is still pending.

2. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIGENOUS PEOPLES DURING THE DURBAN CONFERENCE

Historically, there have been and there continue to be discriminatory attitudes and practices against Indigenous People. In many cases these have intensified and they operate through racial prejudices and stereotypes that stigmatize those who are different.

These attitudes and practices are exacerbated at the present time when the Indigenous social movements are exerting pressures for further recognition of their rights and for a more significant participation in the democracy process.

Racial discrimination operates as a mechanism to deny cultural diversity and to violate the rights that originate from it, such as denying the right to participate in the national project from the point of view and particular characteristics of each Indigenous Group. The World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance held in Durban in 2001 along with the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004) provided a unique opportunity to review the tremendous contributions made by Indigenous People to the political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual development of the societies around the world and the challenges that both racism and racial discrimination in particular are facing.

Regarding Indigenous People, in the Durban Declaration the emphasis on discrimination demonstrates interest in showing that structures or political and legal institutions in some States do not correspond to the multicultural and multilingual characteristics of its population and, in many cases, these are an important discrimination factor due to the exclusion of the Indigenous People. In this regard the Indigenous Peoples' full exertion of their human rights and fundamental freedoms is critical in eliminating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and other related intolerance.

This leads one to recognize the value of cultural diversity and the heritage of the Indigenous People. Their unique contribution to the development and cultural pluralism of the society and their full participation in all its aspects, especially on matters of concern for them, are fundamental in political and social stability and for the development of the countries in which they live.

The special relationship that Indigenous People have with the land as the foundation of their spiritual, physical and cultural existence is also recognized. Governments are encouraged to ensure that the Indigenous Peoples may continue to own their lands and the natural resources they are entitled to in accordance with internal legislation.

Lastly, the Declaration acknowledges that an effort is currently being made to guarantee universal recognition of these rights in the negotiations of the Project for the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. The decision to create a Permanent Forum within the United Nations System for Indigenous Affairs that concretely expresses the main objectives of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People and of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action is also worth noting. We also applaud the United Nations appointment of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous People.

The Durban Programme of Action urges the States to adopt or continue to implement constitutional, administrative, legislative and judicial measures and to establish the

necessary regulations to guarantee that the Indigenous People will exercise their human rights and fundamental freedoms based on equality, non-discrimination and full and free participation in all aspects of society, especially regarding issues that affect them or that are of interest to them. It also seeks to promote the understanding and respect for Indigenous cultures and their heritage and to work with the Indigenous People encouraging access to economic activity and increasing their employment rates by establishing, acquiring or expanding Indigenous Peoples´ businesses when appropriate. It also strives to implement measures to provide training, technical assistance and loan services.

The countries are urged to work with the Indigenous People to establish and start-up programs that will give them access to training opportunities and to services that may contribute to the development of their communities.

The governments will need to adopt public policies and provide impetus to programs for indigenous girls and women, with their consent, in order to put an end to their disadvantaged situation related to gender and origin. This should solve the problems that are affecting them in terms of education, physical and mental health, economic livelihood and violence against women, including domestic violence.

It is critical for the States to consult with indigenous representatives during the decisions making processes regarding policies and measures that will affect them directly. Finally, it urges the States that have not yet signed and ratified ILO Convention (N° 169) on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples to consider the possibility of doing so.

3. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, MIGRATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS - INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

Refugees and migrant groups, among which there are many people who belong to Indigenous Groups, are considered to be facing specific protection needs. Refugees differ from migrants due to the lack of protection from their own governments. This is why a special protection system was created under the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees and in its 1967 additional Protocol.

Migrants have rights under all the international human rights instruments. These provisions are applied universally therefore they protect indigenous migrants, especially through Conventions specifically directed at protecting the rights of migrants. This is the case of the International Convention for the Protection of Migratory Workers and their Families and the ILO Conventions that apply to migrants, specifically migrant workers (N. 97 y 143). It should be noted that the International Labour Organization adopted Convention N° 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries in 1989, which came into

effect in 1991. This is the only international instrument that recognizes the rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Currently, this Convention has a decisive influence because it has been ratified by almost all the countries in the Latin America and the Caribbean Region.[b] Furthermore, the rights of migrants going through extremely serious situations, such as armed conflicts, are protected under the International Criminal Law and the International Humanitarian Law. This is in addition to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its additional Protocols, which protect the rights of migrants in situations of illegal trafficking and trafficking in persons.[c]

The United Nations Special Rapporteurs in charge of investigating human rights situations in certain countries and of preparing reports on specific matters – for example religious intolerance, human rights and environment and population transfers – have also taken on the problems of Indigenous Peoples when asked to do so.

The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the OAS General Assembly directed their efforts toward the adoption of the American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was approved by the Inter-American Human Rights Commission in 1997 and is currently being considered by the political bodies of the OAS. The American Convention on Human Rights (also known as the Pact of San José) and the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man, which are the main regulatory instruments of the system, have established a set of individual rights that are especially relevant to the situation of Indigenous Peoples in the member countries. By ratifying the American Convention the governments have acquired binding obligations. The American Declaration is also a source of legal obligations both as an instrument that defines the responsibilities of the OAS Governments on human rights issues within the framework of the Charter of the Organization and because a number of its regulations have become customary international law. The agreement to establish the Fund for the Development of Indigenous Peoples in Latin America and the Caribbean is also worth noting.

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b. *Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela.*
c. *The committees of the United Nations in charge of overseeing the implementation of binding legal agreements – the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, the United Nations Convention Against Torture, the International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and their Families and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (which includes specific regulations regarding Indigenous People) – review issues associated with Indigenous People when they analyze the country reports on the implementation of those treaties.*
For example, the Committee on Migrant Workers generally includes observations and questions to the countries about the situation of indigenous migrants. Recently, the Committee asked Mexico to provide information on the measures it has taken to combat discriminatory attitudes toward migrant workers and their families, especially women and indigenous migrants, and to avoid stigmatization.
The competent bodies are the Committee on Human Rights, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the Committee Against Torture, the Committee for the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and their Families and the Committee on the Rights of the Child, respectively.

4. THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

In April 2001, the Commission on Human Rights established a mandate for a Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous Peoples. It should be noted that the issue of indigenous migration has always been widely addressed by the Office of the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants.

Although to date migration has not been a specific thematic area of study by the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Indigenous People, the migratory issue, its causes and its consequences in indigenous communities was included in the work program presented before the Commission in 2002 as an area that needed special attention within the framework of economic, social and cultural rights.

During each one of the visits to the various countries and communities the Special Rapporteur has discussed the situation of both indigenous people migrating from their regions of origin, mainly in rural areas, to urban centres within the borders of their own countries and of international migrants and the human rights challenges they face during the period of departure, transit and arrival in the country of destination. The Special Rapporteur has made a call to each one of the countries about the importance of keeping records reflecting the exact realities of Indigenous People as part of the process of identifying efficient policies and actions. The Special Rapporteur has also included specific references in its country reports on the migration situations caused by macro development projects, poverty, conflicts or exclusion and on the challenges that Central American indigenous migrants face in transit and host countries. The situations that take place in the border areas of the region have become a matter of special concern.

5. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AS SOCIAL AND LEGAL ELEMENTS IN THEIR VINDICATION PROCESS

Indigenous Peoples and their organizations are increasingly using the various international procedures available to present papers or reports on the violations to their rights. There is a large gap between the demands of the Indigenous Peoples and the rights included in national and international regulations.

The fundamental starting point of indigenous demands is associated with to the right to self-determination contained in the first article of the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966. In virtue of this right these people freely establish their political condition and the provisions for their economic, social and cultural development. Contrary to

the content of these instruments, the indigenous proposal defines civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights as rights of the peoples, not simply as collective rights, in terms that they should be shared by an array of citizens; it closely integrates the Civil and Political Rights and the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in a way that they become mutually entwined.

By giving them an entity of their own, as part of the rights of the Indigenous People, this proposal intends to provide autonomy to the existence and implementation of these rights by including them in the legal and constitutional system of the State. In fact, in general terms, when the Civil and Political Rights and the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights have been included in the constitutions they become programmatic objectives. In very few cases they involve specific obligations of the State and, with the exception of labour and union rights, almost none of the others have effective possibilities for litigation.

Since the constitutions have not recognized the public legal status of the Indigenous People these cannot appear before court demanding compliance with the rights they are entitled to as a People and that can only be exercised as such. A few examples are the rights to language, culture, spirituality, territory and autonomy.

A few national regulations recognize the legal status of the communities and other forms of indigenous association such as communes, cooperatives and populated centres. In practice, however, this mainly provides them authority to deal with administrative matters and/or public representation. In many cases this authority is not sufficient to receive and manage public funds or to take charge of services management.

At a national level, the only avenue experienced to date for demanding compliance of State obligations in this field is the constitutional jurisdiction or the request to nullify opposing government actions -- obviously, when there is such constitutional recognition.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES DEMAND:

- Constitutional recognition of the existence of Indigenous People as specific elements inside the State; recognition of the native rights they are entitled to and of the obligations of the States and governments to guarantee implementation and develop the appropriate legislation;

- Establishment of Indigenous Peoples' right to have the necessary material and cultural means for reproduction and growth; especially conservation, recovery and expanding the lands and territories they have traditionally occupied. This right includes participation in the benefits of natural resources exploitation in their territories and environmental conservation;

- Recognition of the right of Indigenous People to material and social development including the right to define their own alternatives and carry them out under their own responsibility; the right to obtain participation in national development benefits in order to compensate for the historically established deficits and the right to participate in the design and implementation of national development objectives;

- Recognition of the right to exercise and develop indigenous cultures, to their growth and transformation, and to the inclusion of their languages and cultural contents in the national educational models. This right should guarantee access to Government cultural property and participation of the Indigenous People in the process to configure the national culture, promote the use of their languages and ensure permanent contributions in fields such as technology, medicine, production and environmental conservation.

- Establishment of the legal and political conditions that will make the process to exercise and widen the aforementioned rights possible and safe, within the institutional precedents of the Governments. In order to do so it is necessary to guarantee the direct representation of Indigenous People in the various government bodies, secure their historical conquests and legalize their own forms of authority, representation and administration of justice through an autonomous system that is adequate for each particular situation.

6. THE CAUSES OF INDIGENOUS MIGRATION

The lack of full respect for human rights for Indigenous People continues to be one of the most serious obstacles to the improvement of their living conditions, forcing them into escalating levels of migration. Their rights are often times violated when in transit and after arrival to host countries. For that reason it is essential that there be a human rights focus for the entire migratory process. In many instances indigenous people are subject to pressure that results in a migration of the general population, placing them in more vulnerable conditions due to their daily situations of poverty, segregation and discrimination.

In the Latin American and Caribbean region migration patterns can be seen that involve a large number of indigenous populations and include international migration outside the region, regional inward migration and migration from rural to urban zones within the borders of the different countries. In spite of the lack of concrete data regarding migration levels of the indigenous towns and communities, the information provided to different international forums by those same Indigenous People has proven to be a variable that, given its causes and consequences regarding development and human rights protection, requires special attention with a multidimensional vision.

Although the origins of migration in the region among Indigenous People are found in the colonial period, the major impact of migration has been observed during the 20th century and the beginning of this century. This impact includes the deterioration of rural and peasant economies, accompanied by the exponential growth of the informal economy where numerous abuses are found, armed conflicts, the progressive loss of community lands, the lack of access to basic social services and the generalized increasing levels of poverty.

One of the questions that need to be taken into account differentiating the study of indigenous migration from the general migratory tendency deals with the problem of indigenous migration being seen as simply a process driven by poverty, the lack of education or the disparity in employment opportunities. There are also important considerations in the complex decision to migrate that need to be taken into account that involve the loss of traditional lands.

When opportunities to return arise, many of the indigenous migrants seek to return to their homes of origin. This is primarily a result of the important ties that Indigenous People have with the land and the nature of the territories where they have traditionally lived. The situations involving armed conflict in traditionally indigenous territories are one of the most serious causes leading to indigenous migration and forced displacement creating devastating effects for individuals and for entire communities.

Indigenous people who enter into the migration circuit for the reasons mentioned face important challenges that, while not different than those faced by immigrants in general, do have specific peculiarities related to their ties to the land, the lack of opportunities for their cultural and language development in host areas or changes in their health due to changes to their customary diet.

7. INDIGENOUS WOMEN AND YOUTH

Indigenous women might be the most vulnerable within the context of migration. They often experience particular difficulties of integrating into the communities to which they arrive due to the differences between the traditional institutional structures of their communities of origin and those structures encountered after their migration. The large majority of indigenous women say that their decision to migrate is a voluntary one; however, behind that decision one finds situations of armed conflict or persecution, conditions of extreme poverty, environmental deterioration, natural disasters and other factors affecting their wellbeing and that of their families. Other factors can also be found within the process of female indigenous migration, factors that are less known but still present in the decision making process of many indigenous women. These include family pressures or pressures from their surroundings, domestic violence and intra-community discrimination, sexual abuse

or customs that put personal development at risk. Many of these women enter the labour market in the host country as domestic workers. In many countries domestic work, since it is carried out within private surroundings of homes where labour inspection is not possible, ends up being characterized by a lack of legal protection opening the doors to acts of discrimination, exploitation and abuse.

Regarding indigenous boys, girls and youth it should be pointed out that, due to their vulnerable situation, they are even more likely to be victims of abuse and fundamental rights violations. Migration often turns them into orphans in the communities due to the exodus of their parents as migrants or, when they migrate with them and arrive at urban centres, they lose all type of connection with their traditional culture and education. They may also be forced to leave their communities and countries of origin as unaccompanied underage migrants confronting the risks presented to them by the criminal world through trafficking networks, trafficking in persons, child prostitution, and even organ trafficking and illegal adoption.

Some good practices in several countries of the region have included important efforts to fight against school absenteeism and dropout, particularly with indigenous girls, and some programs of bilingual intercultural education.

8. LAND: THE PRIMARY IDENTIFICATION

Another relevant question pertains to the situation where there is a division of land tenure of communal indigenous properties with those lands being handed over to individuals or third parties thereby weakening the rights of Indigenous People. Often they end up losing all or large parts of their lands accompanied by the general reduction not only of the resources they maintained when retaining those community lands, but also a lessening of their own identity as a people.

In this situation, the need to get out of poverty and away from the segregation forces many indigenous people to leave the traditional lands where they have lived seeking other opportunities by immigrating towards urban centres and even crossing borders of the country where they live. In the entire region Indigenous People seek the restitution of lands where they were settled before the processes of plunder and colonization. They also call for unrestricted control over the subsoil resources, water, wild life species and forestry resources, especially important to them since they are considered to be sacred. With these requirements in mind they oppose any development project that does not take into account their participation and consent. Therefore, strategies should be strengthened that are geared towards promoting the protection and possession of land by Indigenous People, in addition to their local economies. Improving their standards of living also strengthens the voluntary characteristic of migration.

The Special Rapporteur pointed out that the main effects of building large development projects in indigenous communities is connected to the loss of land and territorial traditions, displacement and eventual resettlement, diminishment of the natural resources necessary for physical and cultural survival, destruction and contamination of the traditional environment and the tearing apart of the social organization. All these consequences drive many indigenous people into the migration movement.

One of the key elements for mitigating the negative effects of macro projects is the need for consultation with the communities regarding the effects of the projects. Some countries in the region have begun important initiatives to respond to the need for consultation even though the challenges this presents, including the question of representation within those same indigenous communities, makes it difficult to carry out applicable processes in a generalized form for all situations.

9. THE PROJECT FOR THE DECLARATION OF THE SPECIFIC RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS

In the case of Indigenous People, even though their individual rights are covered by the universal language of human rights treaties, they have received little recognition and are normally not in evidence as their rights have not been specifically mentioned. This has been one of the motives for the establishment of the United Nations Project for Declaration of the Specific Rights of Indigenous People.

This project, which was recently adopted by the United Nations Human Rights Council (June 2006) and should be considered for final approval by the General Assembly, contains important provisions on key themes for the development of Indigenous People and the protection of their human rights in areas such as access to land and natural resources and on issues related to their struggles against segregation, fundamental elements rooted in the causes of indigenous migration. The approval of this instrument will provide the clearest indication to date that the international community is committed to protecting the individual and collective rights of Indigenous Peoples. It is true that the declaration will not be legally binding by the countries and, as a result, legal obligations will not be placed on governments; however, it carries with it considerable moral obligations. The Declaration Project indicates that the rights enunciated represent the minimum standards for the protection of the rights and wellbeing of Indigenous People worldwide. It also establishes equitable and fair procedures for resolving litigation among Indigenous People and governments, including mediation, negotiation and international and regional review of human rights plus mechanisms regarding the presentation of complaints.

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE URBAN SETTING[a]

AUTHORS: WILLIAM LANGEVELDT (UNPFII)
AND SONIA SMALLACOMBE (SPFII)

I would like to acknowledge the indigenous peoples of Chile on whose land we are standing today. This paper is a presentation from the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and is intended to provide a broad overview of the issues surrounding indigenous peoples in the urban setting.

You may be aware this Expert Group Meeting is the outcome of discussions held at the Permanent Forum's session in 2002, in 2006, an Expert Seminar "Indigenous peoples and migration: Challenges and opportunities" was organized by the International Organization for Migration . Also, in 2006, a recommendation of the Permanent Forum was that an expert group meeting on urban indigenous peoples and migration be organized by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) in cooperation with other UN agencies with the participation of experts from indigenous organizations, the United Nations system and other relevant intergovernmental organizations and interested Governments. The outcome of this meeting will be considered by the Permanent Forum at it session in May this year where there will be a half day on discussion on urban indigenous peoples and migration. Of course, this meeting would not have been possible without the funding from the Government of Canada.

Some of the issues in this paper include: the fluid definition of urbanization; some of the push and pull factors that prompt indigenous peoples to migrate to the urban areas; indigenous identity in the cities and touch on some of the issues that exists within the urban indigenous communities.

Indigenous communities are often characterized as self-sustaining where peoples are not separated from their lands, territories and natural resources. These provide for peoples' social, economic, spiritual and political needs. Often this is seen to be so different from the concept of urbanization which is characterized simply as infrastructure and facilities. Hence, the continuing relationship with their lands, territories and resources are still an important feature for many urban indigenous peoples.

Policy makers today think of indigenous peoples as living in the countryside, jungles, forests, mountains, on the plains, or in small remote villages in the middle of nowhere. It often comes as a big surprise when they discover that huge numbers of

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a. *Held in Geneva from 6-7 April 2006 by International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Secretariat of UNPFII.*

indigenous peoples reside today in the major cities. What many people don't realize is that urbanization has been around since time immemorial for many indigenous peoples – for example, think about the ancient urbanization of central and South America and Machu Pichu in Peru comes to mind.

What exactly is urbanization? There are many definitions and I am sure this issue will be dissected over the next few days. An archaeologist John H. Rowe writing about Latin America states that 'an urban settlement is an area of human habitation in which dwellings are grouped closely together. The dwellings must be close enough to leave sufficient space between them for subsistence farming, although…gardens may be present'. Hence, ancient forms of urbanization included pueblos, large concentrated settlements around lakes and rivers where food supplies were available. The communal settlements were often kinship based with domestication of crops and animals.[b] In other areas of the world, the hunter gatherers and so called nomadic indigenous peoples who perhaps formed extended family size gatherings also formed areas of habitation in certain regions depending on seasonal food and water supplies. During this period the groups were quite large and went beyond extended family to larger tribal groupings. Hence, the term urbanization is in flux.

You will hear over the next few days, more details about the push and pull factors that prompt indigenous peoples to migrate to the cities. Hence, I just want to mention them very briefly. The privatization of lands and territories results in the dispossession of indigenous peoples and having to move to the cities. This, as well as seeking employment, and access to health care and education and also wanting to find a better life are some of the factors why indigenous peoples migrate to the cities. Migrating across national borders presents a whole range of issues. In particular, the reliance on networks that enable indigenous peoples to find employment, usually in the unskilled labor market and the need to send remittances home to improve the lives of family at home. Hence, networks are not only developed between the urban, rural and remote indigenous communities but also long distance international networks.

Identity issues among indigenous peoples residing in urban areas, is extremely important. The urban area and the urban experiences are contexts that contribute to defining identity. Within indigenous lands and territories, identity is embodied in the land and the stories and songs that tie personal reality to time and place. Urban indigenous communities are often not situated in an immutable, bounded territory, but exist within a fluidly defined region with niches of resources and boundaries that responds to the needs and activities of the peoples. For example, the formation of indigenous organizations such as community centres and friendship centres etc are all intimately tied to identity. Hence, the programs and guiding values of these organizations are under constant scrutiny by indigenous peoples themselves.

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b.   John H Rowe "Urban Settlements in Ancient Peru" in Daniel R. Gross ed. Peoples and Cultures of Native South America (New York: Doubleday, 1973) pp51-54

For many outsiders, the urban indigenous community is an invisible population often because of the abstract and non-geographically clustered nature of the community but perhaps more to the point is the continued existence of stereotypes regarding indigenous peoples. There is a widespread and mistaken assumption that indigenous peoples have somehow vanished or live overwhelmingly in their lands and territories in the rural areas. As I stated previously, in reality, large indigenous populations live in the urban areas. In much of the social science literature and in government polices as well, there is a dichotomy between the remote, rural and urban, based on the lingering stereotype that the authentic indigenous person lives in the remote or the rural and that the urban is not genuinely indigenous. Hence, early programs to relocate indigenous peoples from their homelands was, and still is, tied to the idea that once indigenous peoples become urbanized, then they would no longer exist as indigenous peoples.

This is in contrast to the way indigenous peoples see themselves. Indigenous peoples in the urban areas often visualize themselves as an extension of the home territory. For those living in the city, even those who have lived in the urban areas for a few generations have strong linkages to 'home' and for most part, these links are unbroken. Indigenous peoples simply extend the sense of territory and keenly aware for example, sacred or spiritual places are found at home and after death they will likely be buried there. Urban indigenous communities are often characterized by geographical mobility as people move in and out of the cities, make return visits to their homelands and territories, or return there for good. Family members visit from home or make visits to home to attend funerals, see relatives or take children there for holidays. Many people return home for personal or spiritual renewal or to avoid problems with the law. Spiritual leaders or medicine men and women often come to the cities for ceremonies, or people return home for ceremonies. There are also many indigenous peoples living in the streets who are homeless and who follow an annual seasonal route between various cities and the rural areas. Hence, the homelands and territories are extended to the cities and vice versa.

I now want to very briefly touch on some of the issues that exist within the urban indigenous communities and this is from the perspective of service availability and service delivery to indigenous peoples. In many cases, urban indigenous communities do not have the same levels of access to information, or the skills to fully participate in the emerging knowledge economy. Information about available services or even the services themselves are often controlled by external agencies as opposed to empowering local communities to have some input and control and as a result indigenous peoples continue to be marginalized in the cities.

Often, when delivering services for indigenous peoples, all indigenous peoples are classified under the one label as 'special needs' and there is no undertaking to understand the complexities of difference and the need to provide services

in a different way, based on the experiences of the various indigenous groups residing in the cities. Involving indigenous peoples in decision making affecting their communities in the urban situation is extremely important as it creates an environment where indigenous peoples feel they are on an equal platform and that they have a 'say' in things that affect them.

Indigenous youth and children residing in urban areas are often portrayed in a way that sensationalizes problems such as destructive behavior, or risk-prone lifestyles. There is often very little understanding of the communal and kinship ties that often exist in these settings. Hence, indigenous youth living in an urban environment is often still living within a 'community', and as such, has connections and relations with members within that community. The indigenous peoples within that community may not be of the same language group or from the same territories, but have a respect and knowledge of the nuances, protocols and practices peculiar to their place of living. Meaningful activities that achieve positive outcomes for youth are empowering and need to provide opportunities for the development and affirmation of cultural identity, and cultural knowledge and skills. For example, cultural activities in the form of drama, music and art is being used increasingly to raise awareness about relevant social concerns and to help youth speak out on issues that affect them, such as racism.

In closing, despite a few benefits of living in urban area, such as proximity to social facilities (but even that has its problems), in most cases indigenous peoples have substantial difficulties. The underlying racism and discrimination towards indigenous peoples is felt every day despite the increasing multicultural nature of cities. The lack of employment and income generating activities, limited access to services and inadequate housing continue to be the main challenges that indigenous peoples living in urban areas. In general, disrespect for a wide range of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples is often a main underlying cause for persisting poverty among urban indigenous communities. In many cases, indigenous peoples are trying to deal with their economic and social conditions in what is often a very hostile environment.

EQUALITY IN DIVERSITY: AGENDA FOR THE URBAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN MEXICO[a]

AUTHORS: PABLO YANES

"I speak of the immense city reality made up of two words: the others." (Octavio Paz)

One of the most profound transformations in the last decades in Mexico has been the process of urbanization. According to data from the national population council (CONAPO) in the early 20th century Mexico had 33 cities and only one in every ten inhabitants lived in them. One century later the national urban system is composed of 364 cities of varying size with 65 million inhabitants living in them. To show the strength with which the urbanization process continues one can point out that in the last score of the 20th century 80% of demographic growth was absorbed by the system of cities. It is estimated that by 2010 85% of growth will have been absorbed. In summary, Mexico has 1 metropolitan area with mega metropolitan dimensions with over 18 million inhabitants; 2 zones with over three million inhabitants; 26 between 300,000 and one million and 20 between 100,000 and 300,000. There are no metropolitan areas with under 100,000 inhabitants.

1. THE OFFICIAL ETHNO-DEMOGRAPHY OR THE MAZE OF OTHERNESS

Naming give meanings rank, status, recognition, visibility, affirmation and denial. This is why there is much debate around the naming and counting of indigenous peoples in the country. It is common for concepts such as "Indigenous Populations or Communities", "Ethnic or Ethno-linguistic groups" or worse yet "Autochthonous groups" or even "aborigines." The definition of indigenous peoples is found in the 169th treaty of the International Labor Organization on indigenous and tribal peoples in independent countries, article 1.

In their work "Estimates of the indigenous population of Mexico", Patricia Fernandez, Juan Enrique Garcia and Diana Esther Avila highlight that the main modifications to the gathering of information between the censuses of 1990 and 2000 are two: the incorporation of the criteria of self adscription and a methodological approximation that places homes and not just speakers as the unit for analysis. From the combination of both innovations is the number of 12.4 million indigenous people in Mexico in the year 2000. It is not adventurous to note that as indigenous

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peoples grow stronger as political subjects, occupy the public space, demand their collective rights, question the structures of social exclusion and the different forms of symbolic violence, the process of ethnic self adscription will become broader. An indirect correlation between discrimination and self recognition can be seen.

Because of this it is worth stopping at the exposition and results of the first national poll on discrimination in Mexico, done by the National Ministry for Social Development and the National Council for Preventing Discrimination published in may 2005. According to the results of said poll, 43% of those interviewed consider that indigenous people will always have some limitations due to their racial characteristics and 34% believe that indigenous people can leave poverty by not behaving as such. It is alarming that 40% of Mexicans are willing to become organized in order to request that a group of indigenous people not be allowed to settle near their community. However, it is not surprising that for 9 out of every 10 indigenous people polled there exists discrimination in the country towards them. That 2 out of every 3 believe they have little or no chance of improving their situation, that 45% believes that their rights have not been enforced due to their ethnical condition and that 1 out of every 3 declares having been discriminated on account of being indigenous in the last year.

Mexico is characterized by its inequality and its contrasts in all matters. The territorial distribution of the population is not an exception. According to data from the year 2000 little over half of the indigenous population resides in rural areas, 19.6% in mixed localities and 29.8% reside in urban areas. The CONAPO notes the implications of this pattern of socio-territorial settlement of the countries' indigenous population:

> "This distribution makes evident the complexity that in matter of public policies represent the dispersion of the indigenous populations in rural areas and their direct attention in cities where they represent a minority in relative terms although their presence in absolute terms is significant."

In summary, Mexico entered the 21st century with at least one indigenous person per eight inhabitants, and with only 30 counties in the whole republic with no detected indigenous presence. This means there is indigenous presence in 99% of the counties of the country, with a pattern of concentration in urban and metropolitan areas and at the same time of dispersion in rural areas with under 2,500 inhabitants which produces a double process: indigenization of rural population and etnopluralization of cities. That is to say, the rural population is more and more indigenous and the indigenous population is more and more urban.

2. ONE IN EVERY THREE

In its information binder for 2005 for the World Population Day, CONAPO offered a number which questioned the traditional social representation of rural indigenous populations. One in every three indigenous people lives in a city and according to the 2000 census, 75 of the 364 cities in the national urban system had over 10,000 indigenous inhabitants and 6 had over 100,000. These are:

Mexico City with over 1,000,000; Merida, 340,000; Puebla, 168,000; Cancun, 147,000; Oaxaca 133,000 and Toluca 107,000. Together these cities account for 43.5% of indigenous population in urban areas.

Migration has redistributed the indigenous population in the entire national territory. This urbanization of Indigenous population is consistent with the fact that only 30 counties had no indigenous presence whatsoever. The indigenous presence in cities is framed in three categories: metropolitan areas, conurbations and cities. The complex diversification of migration and settlement patterns, in which we can see a modification of indigenous migration, traditionally rural-urban to urban-urban without delving into the process of migration to other countries, particularly the US and Canada. It is no minor matter that there is an indigenous presence of over 10,000 inhabitants in 29 metropolitan areas in the country and that in ten metropolitan areas (Merida, Oaxca, Villahermosa, Orizaba, Minatitlan, Coatzacoalcos, Poza Rica, Acayucan, Guaymas and Tlaxcala) where the indigenous population represents over 10% of the population. There exist processes that have very distinct implications in terms of demographic and political weight, of inter-ethnic relations and of challenges in terms of public policy and legislation.

3. FROM MIGRATION TO RESIDENCE IN MEXICO CITY

One of the most persistent complaints, with its implications in terms of the recognition of collective rights is the demand of indigenous people to be called not migrants but residents. It is not without reason that indigenous migration has given rise to different collectives and communities with several generations of residence in a city. If the counting, estimating and classifying of indigenous peoples is particularly complex it is in Mexico City, for several reasons. Because of the social imagery that makes them invisible, because of the high level of bilingualism amongst members and so statistics based on language tend to exclude them, because of the enormous diversity of the indigenous composition of the city an because of the high degree of survival mimetism indigenous people use to avoid discrimination. Thus a correction must be made. Mexico City has mega diversity, but it is hidden.

For INEGI, with basis on purely linguistic criteria in Mexico City there was a population of 141,700 inhabitants in the year 2000 a mere 1.18% of the

population. But if we use calculations made by the National Population Council and the National Indigenistic Institute included in the socio-economical indexes for indigenous peoples of Mexico, 2002 then we find an estimated 339,931, a 300% difference. Using criteria of language, affiliation and homes a number three times bigger is reached.

The National Institute for Statistics, Geography and Information (INEGI) establishes a difference between the growth rates of speakers and non-speakers of indigenous languages in Mexico city in the 1st decade of the 20th century, the first one grew 2.22%, the second one only .4%. According to the INI-CONAPO and without considering "other American languages" and dialectic variants, Mexico City contains speakers of 57 different indigenous languages. Indigenous migration to Mexico City has a common matrix, but also obeys a diversity of factors. In essence migration is produced by two tendencies: expulsion from the community of origin and the attraction factor that Mexico City has due to the concentration of public services that characterizes it and the larger access to services with regards to the national average.

As I have pointed out before between the different causes of expelling and attraction Mexico City remains a pole for the arrival of indigenous migration. In total, by the year 2000, 80% of all residents who spoke an indigenous language had been born in a different federative entity and in total of the entire percentage of inhabitants who where born in a different federative entity 6.1% spoke an indigenous language.

4. INEQUALITY (AND EXCLUSION) IN DIVERSITY

According to all indicators, indigenous people in Mexico City have lower than average life expectancies and schooling. They also have higher child mortality rates, earlier entry into the work force, more work hours and years, less income and a lower quality materials and furnishings in their homes. They may have higher schooling and health services than in their places of origin but still below the city average and in conditions of exclusion and invisibility. Better than in their place of origin but worse than in their destination.

Literacy and schooling are particularly illustrative here. I will clarify that these indicators have to do exclusively with access, coverage and permanence in the educational system for indigenous people in Mexico City. Another strategic matter not yet developed is the pertinence of the education received, its hostile and invisivilizing character, the lack of education in indigenous languages, of adequate symbolic universes and of an intercultural perspective for the educational system. Even so, not only are we faced with grave problems in regard to educational contents, but also of coverage and access.

In the year 2000 indigenous people over age 15 had an illiteracy rate of 34% while the national average was 10%, in Mexico City the percentages where 13% and 3% respectively. That is, in Mexico City there are fewer illiterate indigenous people but amongst the illiterate of the city they represent a group four times larger than non indigenous inhabitants. The best positioned in this regard are non indigenous men with a rate of 1.7% while indigenous women have a rate of 17.2%. Indigenous men have a rate between that of indigenous women and non indigenous women.

There is a permanent layering of ethnical and gender factors in the building of relationships of inequality, and when both gender and ethnic breaches are added, explosive levels of inequality and subordination like those suffered by most indigenous women in the city are reached. Indigenous people in Mexico City have the highest rate of indigenous scholarship in the country, much higher than the national average. While 25.8% of indigenous inhabitants in the country lack scholarship, said average drops to around 9% in Mexico City. While the post-elementary average is 28.2% in Mexico City it is higher than 50%, or in some areas 60%.

But the contrast is that while 96% of men and women ages 6 to 14 attend school this percentages drops to 84.5% and 73% in indigenous men and women respectively. Again, social inequality is worsened by the gender breach and a base of ethnic exclusion. Worse yet is the growth in the difference of years studied between indigenous and non indigenous children starting at age 12. While attendance rates differ by around 10 points at age 11 the difference grows to 15 points by age 12, 24 by age 13 and almost 40 by age 14. This accelerated process of educational abandonment produces a new breach between the indigenous and non indigenous populations and between indigenous men and women. That is, 16.9% of indigenous women have no education, versus 7.5% of men. They also have a post-elementary rate of 46.7% while women only achieve this in 30.2% of cases.

The consequence of these differences in access, permanence and performance is a major difference between the average schooling rates. 9.61 years for non indigenous inhabitants, 6.44 for indigenous inhabitants. Education can be a powerful tool for social integration and mobility, but it can also be an instrument of exclusion and stratification. It is so for the indigenous population of Mexico City.

Lets now analyze the monetary income and work problems of the Indigenous inhabitants of Mexico City. The first noticeable fact is the speakers of indigenous languages in Mexico City have an occupancy rate higher than the entities' average. While 54.6% of the non indigenous population belongs to the EAP this rate climbs to 68.3% in the case of indigenous people in the city. This breach is reproduced by genders. Indigenous women have a participation rate in the EAP higher than that of non indigenous women by 14.8%. This is revealing of the strong pressure in indigenous family to incorporate into some kind of income generating activity, which also explains the sharp drop in school permanence for indigenous children

aged 12 and higher. We can correlate the rate of abandonment of children aged 12 to 14 with the difference between indigenous and non indigenous participation in the EAP which is 24 points higher in the first group and worse still, 45 points higher in the 15 to 19 age group. Indigenous people, in relation to the city average drop out of school first and incorporate into income generating activities much earlier.

I will highlight three aspects regarding the insertion into the work force for indigenous people: first, basic activity in the city rests primarily on indigenous labor; second, there is an ethnification of the industrial work force due to the fact that, proportionally, indigenous males have a higher participation rate in the secondary sector, and, third, nine out of every ten indigenous women is the tertiary sector, fundamentally in paid housework and informal commerce. Denying social stereotypes, only 15% of indigenous women and 20% of indigenous men are in informal commerce and the participation rates in this sector is nearly identical in indigenous and non indigenous inhabitants, 18.8% and 18.1% respectively.

In general, indigenous people in Mexico City are inserted into low skilled activities with low pay, but in a very broad gamut. They are in domestic labor and informal commerce but also in industry, construction, government, police, army and in lower rates in technical, administrative, teaching and research jobs. Indigenous labor insertion has also given rise to a process of differentiation and social capilarization where, fundamentally as a product of scholarization and in particular access to higher education a budding, but real indigenous middle class that has nurtured the forming of an intellectual layers that has, in some currents, fed the national indigenous movement and forms part of the continuing process of reflection from a political and rights perspective of the condition, agenda and program of the urban indigenous population.

The insertion into lower paid activities with worse working conditions is predominant. This inequality is exemplified by their higher participation in the EAP but their lower participation in the distribution of income. More members of the indigenous families work from an earlier age but at the end of the day they receive lower than average income. In this manner, half of the indigenous population receives income between 150 and 300 dollars a month and only 7.8% has an income above 750 dollars a month against 18.1% of the non indigenous population. The scandalous distribution of income in the city is even worse amongst indigenous people. I call this aggravated social inequality.

The indigenous inhabitants of the city do not receive high incomes, in addition to the fact that a higher monetary income in the urban field is not necessarily indicative of better income levels due to the profound merchantilization of all goods and services in the city and because of the differences in consumption and acquisitive power between the communities of origin and Mexico city. In the city the reproduction

of social life depends on money and is accessed through the market, which is not necessarily true of rural areas and communities of origin.

5. HOUSING IS ANOTHER RELEVANT INDICATOR OF THE SITUATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN MEXICO CITY

The first thing that must be highlighted is the process of consolidation and settlement of migratory processes that give rise to the formation of communities of situated or trans territorialized individuals and communities who reproduce their cultural institutions and forms of social organization in the urban field and, at the same time, keep stable links of cooperation, fulfillment of ritual or political obligations, transporting the civic and or religious calendar of the community of origin to the city.

The settlement and consolidation of communities of urban indigenous people situated in Mexico city is expressed in the growing number and percentage of private housing occupied by indigenous people, which went from 48,373 in 1990 to 68,365 in 2000, which means that the percentage of indigenous housing went from 2.7% to 3.2% and in terms of inhabitants from 2.9% to 3.6%. It must be pointed out that INEGI must change its estimate of the indigenous population of the city because using language as an indicator gives a number of around 141,000 while using indigenous housing gives 307,000.

Regardless, the other indicator that reveals the consolidation and maturity of urban indigenous communities is the sensible growth of home ownership. Between 1990 and 2000 a rise in homes declared a self owned rose from 52.5% to 84.1%. Regardless, the persistent inequality is expressed in the lower quality and conditions of housing. First, the size of it is measured by the number of rooms and the number of inhabitants. It is worth pointing out that while indigenous families are slightly larger on average this difference is not as large as one could be led to believe and, in reality, has been diminishing significantly. The problem thus lies with the size of housing, not families.

While only 16.4% of all houses in Mexico city have only one room, 34.3% of indigenous homes fall into this category. 55% of indigenous homes have between one and tow rooms, while only 36% of non indigenous houses do and while 39% of houses in Mexico city have over four rooms only 25% of indigenous homes do. Not only are there differences in the size of housing but also in the quality of the materials. 86.7% of housing in the city has solid materials in its construction while 73.8% of indigenous housing does. If the material is asbestos sheets then the proportion is inverted, with 16.1% of indigenous housing made up of them in contrast with 9% of non indigenous housing. Cardboard sheets are present three times more often in indigenous housing than in non indigenous housing.

It is worth it to add that all indicators we have seen show that the indigenous population in the city are in a state of subordination and social exclusion in the frame of aggravated social inequality due to ethnic reasons to which can be added, to deepen this stratification and capilarization of exclusion, gender roles.

6. THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO CITY AND THE URBAN INDIGENOUS POPULATION

The perspective of the social policy of the Mexico city government has as a fundamental uphold the recognition, exercise and demand of social rights, the guaranteeing character of state action and the recovery of its social responsibilities. A conception, in consequence, that assumes the construction of citizenship as a process of exercising rights, defends the universal character of them and the need for building policies and programs according to this perspective. At the same time that it proposes the central character of equality it recognizes diversity and heterogeneity as fundamental characteristics of contemporary societies. Because of this it articulates the exercise of rights with the promotion of social equity. Thus, the promotion of equity is bound to the pursuit of social equality. They are not interchangeable process, they are supplementary. Equity does not replace equality.

The articulation of equity and equality points to a public policy that seeks complex equality as a guarantee of universality and, at the same time, of recognition of particularity. This is equality in difference and diversity with rights. In the frame of the redefinition and restructuring of social policy and of the search of the elimination of duplicates within the structure, changes where made in the institutional design. The institutional change that would impact in the most lasting manner the process of elaborating and executing policies for the indigenous population of the city was the decision of forming the council for indigenous consulting and participation of Mexico city through the decree emitted by the mayor on June 19th, 2001 and installed in a ceremony presided by himself.

I reproduce the main content of the decree here:

CONSIDERING

That the magnitude of the indigenous presence makes Mexico city one of the most diverse pluri cultural cities in Latin America, and that up to now has not received integral attention, nor a governmental policy specific for the indigenous population of Mexico city.

That the present administration of Mexico City has proposed itself the development of civic participation in the making of decisions with the objective of allowing the citizens to contribute to the solution of the problems of Mexico City.

That the participation of citizens in the planning, development and execution of the different programs of the Mexico city government is relevant, to allow a participative democracy, a co-responsibility in the solution of problems and a conjunction of efforts for the integral development of the inhabitants of this city.

That it is indispensable to propose the institutionalization of civic participation from the original indigenous peoples and the resident indigenous population in Mexico city, in conformity with the first paragraph of the fourth article of the political federal constitution and in accordance with the principles of consult and participation established in the 169 collective agreement of the International Labor Organization on indigenous and tribal peoples in independent countries, has decided to declare the following:

AGREEMENT THROUGH WHICH THE COUNCIL FOR INDIGENOUS CONSULT AND PARTICIPATION FOR MEXICO CITY IS CREATED

The relevance to the forming of the council lies in the fact that it represented the forming of a space of dialogue, encounter and deliberation between members of the indigenous peoples, academics, civic organizations and government institutions, space that did not exist in the city.

Between its creation in June 2001 and November 2006 the council has convened 19 times and the stenographic versions of its sessions can be found on the internet, www.equidad.df.gob.mx or www.sideso.df.gob.mx One of the councils' first tasks was the discussion and approval of the program for attention to indigenous peoples that would reign during the administration, the one which, by the way, contains fundamental elements of continuity of policy from the previous administration but with very important modifications. One, as previously mentioned, was the creation of a field of dialogue and deliberation; a perspective of transversality involving practically the totality of the government, third, its incrustation as part of a broad and massive social policy and not as small programs isolated from the dynamic of the government and social policy, the direct operation of policies and programs from the Mexico city government.

The guidelines approved by the council are grouped in seven large sections:

- Recognition of rights and legislative reform

- Social equalizing for the Indigenous population of the city.

- A government for diversity.

- Promotion of rights.

- Integrity of territory and natural resources for the original indigenous peoples of Mexico City.

- Indigenous social co-responsibility.
- Intercultural coexistence.

As can be gathered from the reading of the guidelines approved by the council, it is intended to articulate the recognition of rights and particularities of both the original indigenous peoples and the communities of residents along with impulse for policies of income redistribution both in the search for social equalizing as in territorial integration and of natural resources. But in addition, it is not only formulated as a policy for indigenous people but also for the cultural diversity of the city, which presupposes that the participation in conditions of equality and equity for the urban indigenous population implies the transformation of the city as a whole in the perspective of the recognition of its plurality as an urban field.

Diversity is not a matter just for indigenous peoples, but of the whole city. Because of that what is required is to build new relationships of social coexistence upheld by interculturality. If the city is plural then urban life must be redefined in terms of the practice on interculturality between indigenous and non indigenous people. Thus, recognition, redistribution and a new social ethic where the axises for the policy guidelines discussed and approved in the core of the council.

7. REDISTRIBUTION AND RECOGNITION, TOWARDS COMPLEX EQUALITY

The guidelines approved by the council are guided by the idea that the construction of policy for indigenous peoples presupposes the simultaneous articulation of policies of equality and policies of difference, that is to say policies of redistribution and recognition. The articulation of equity and equality points to a public policy that seeks to achieve complex equality as a guarantee of universality and, at the same time, of recognition of particularity. This is, equality in difference and diversity with rights. This is probably of the bigger challenges facing social policy in the urban field. As the multifunctional and pluri-centric nature of the processes of inequality, exclusion and urban poverty become evident, so does the need for designing policy that takes this nature into account. An inequality that is revealed to be complex must be tackled by policies that attempt to face it and dismantle from an equally complex perspective of equality.

The policies of difference or recognition are upheld by specific needs and rights of groups that, in a context of general social inequality, live singular forms of exclusion and social domination. They are the women who suffer social inequality and gaps of exclusion due to gender roles. They are the indigenous people who suffer an aggravated social inequality motivated by their ethnicity.

Now, advancing in the perspective of complex equality supposes that the policies of equality, on one hand, reach everyone and, on the other, that the policies of difference promote specific rights and policies. If, on the contrary, policies of equality are built that do not incorporate the problem set of difference then the logics of social exclusion because of gender, ethnicity, age or disability are being reproduced and the very equality process becomes undermined. Likewise if the policies of difference do not count with the indispensable compliment of the policies of equality its efforts in the recognition of specific problem sets of social exclusion are confined to isolated affirmative actions that do not surmount the large factors of inequality and end up being policies of confinement and low impact.

Equality does not replace equity nor is equity a substitute for equality. They are complimentary and necessary. In complex societies the absence of one impedes the achievement of the other. Within the first perspective, that is, the equal participation in universal programs women and indigenous people has been outstanding since 2001. The first by receiving two thirds of all social health spending, social protection and housing, and the second by having had for the first time in the history of the city access in conditions of equality to programs such as elder citizens, medication and free healthcare, scholarships for children in situations of risk of dropping out and, very outstandingly, housing.

However it is convenient to underline that, thanks to the universal dimension of these programs the access by the urban indigenous population was greatly facilitated. The former mean that the policy towards the urban indigenous population had as one of its fundamental purposes to make progress towards the objective of the second guideline: social equalizing. .As is well known the 169th Agreement of the ILO establishes several obligations in this direction, for example:

ARTICLE 2.

Governments must assume the responsibility of developing, with the participation of interested peoples a coordinated and systematic action with sights to protect the rights of these peoples and to guaranteeing the respect of their integrity.

•   This action must include measures:

•   That insures that the members of said peoples enjoy the same rights and opportunities that national legislation grants to other members of the population.

•   That promotes the full effectiveness of social, economic and cultural rights of these peoples, respecting their social and cultural identity their traditions and customs, and their institutions.

That aids the members of the interested peoples in eliminating the socioeconomic differences that may exist between the indigenous members and the other members of the national community in a manner compatible with their aspirations and ways of life.

8. THE RIGHT TO HOUSING AND...TO THE CITY

One of the most persistent and articulated social demands by indigenous organizations in Mexico city has been the demand for housing. In particular, the different organizations that after the earthquake of 1985 progressively occupied in the perimeters of the historic downtown and neighborhoods such as Roma, Doctores, Juarez and others different estates and abandoned or highly damaged buildings. The occupation of high risk estates contributed to the process of re indigenization of the downtown area of the city. After the conquest and during the colony the cities' downtown was, also the political and residential center, of the dominant classes. The indigenous population was expelled to the margins of the city. The latter abandonment of the downtown by the well off and the governing elite as well as the depopulating of the downtown area generated the conditions for the return of the indigenous population as inhabitants with an ever more significant presence, although in conditions of terrible want due to the state of services and of risks due to the condition of the real estate they inhabited.

In the early Lopez Obrador administration, year 2001, in the frame of an ambitious housing policy consisting of 150,000 actions of housing for the entire administration, consisting of the building of 75,000 new housings and 75,000 credits for the improvement of housing in family plot, the Institute of Housing of Mexico city (INVI) decided to open a specific area in its general program to attend to the demands of the indigenous organizations in the city. This constituted the first novelty with it being one of the few institutions of the Mexico city government that in a specific manner proposed to generate access mechanisms for the urban indigenous population of the city.

But there was a second novelty, probably more relevant, which was to recognize the specificity of the indigenous peoples in the city and to open a process of dialogue with the organizations that culminated in the modification of the operational rules for INVI in order to incorporate the indigenous specificity. In this manner it can be read in the operational rules for INVI the specific purpose of a policy of equality and the concrete manner in which the indigenous demand is incorporated:

8.1. SOCIAL POLICY

Consists in helping families residing in Mexico city, preferably those of lower income, in having access to housing. As such INVI has amongst other purposes:

Guarantee in terms of the first paragraph of the fourth constitutional article and the 169th agreement of the International Labor Organization, to the members of indigenous peoples access to the housing programs in conformity with their needs, economic possibilities and cultural specifties with priority for those living in high risk areas.

Propose to the population schemes of habitational communitarian coexistence that allow the improvement of the individual, the family and the social group in which he or she inhabits.

Likewise said rules contain one of the major peculiarities in terms of the building of housing for indigenous groups which is that of including the edification of community spaces. This is, in the different indigenous housing projects of the INVI is included a multiple use or communal space for social development activities and community assemblies. This was one of the principal demands from organizations and was expressed as follows in the operational rules:

8.2. COMMUNAL SPACES

In case of the financing for the building of community spaces for the housing projects for indigenous groups, destined to developing cultural or productive activities, a community credit will be granted equivalent to: purchase of real estate, studies and projects, demolition and building for housing, whose cost shall be distributed between the beneficiaries of the project for the effect of its recovery.

It is, without a doubt, a pioneering experience in local government for several reasons: it achieved a specific policy of equity in the frame of a general policy for housing, it recognized the cultural specificity of the indigenous peoples in the city, it was translated into a process of institutionalization via the rules of operation, it guaranteed the permanence of indigenous families in the neighborhoods in which they inhabited promoting cultural diversity and the urban mixture, drove a participative dynamic with the intervention of indigenous organizations in the distribution of spaces and the design of the housing and was materialized in the largest handing over of new and dignified housing to the property of members of indigenous peoples in the recent history of the city thus closing a cycle of social demand opened after the earthquake. In this manner, towards the end of the year 2006 the process of handing over of 1,500 new dwellings to indigenous families in the city was achieved.

As I have pointed out, housing is one of the programs with the most impact and relevance towards the indigenous population of the city, so much so that one of the projects, Guanajuato 125 was awarded the National Housing Award in the category of "Social Production of Housing" in the year 2004. This project is particularly

relevant for several reasons, its history, magnitude, redistributive effect, its symbolic impact as a materializing process of policy and modification of social image and also for the type of inter-ethnic relations that it brought into play.

9. GUANAJUATO 125 OR "EL CARACOL DE LA ROMA"

The building of the habitational complex for families in the heart of the Roma neighborhood, on the street of Guanajuato 125 showed the inter ethnic tensions latent in the city, the persistence of the harder racist and classist conceptualizations on indigenous presence in cities and also, that the building of new inter-ethnic relationships is a field of dispute for the right to social inclusion, the respect of diversity and the recognition of the right of indigenous people not just to housing but also to the city. The opposition from members of the neighborhood committee of the Northeaster Roma to the building of housing for otomy people and public reactions both against and in favor were published by the newspaper "La Jornada". This incident is one of the most valuable mirrors of the state of inter-ethnic relations in the city, of the complexity that is implied in building a new ethic for urban coexistence and of the long road still left to tread in order to achieve the exercise of social rights alongside the recognition of cultural difference. Given the tensions that preceded the inauguration of the complex in November 2003, the Government of Mexico City organized a welcome festival for the Otomi families in the nearby Rio de Janeiro plaza. It was an opportunity for neighbors to express favorable opinions on the indigenous housing project. It was the first recorded case of an official welcome from the state institutions and neighbors for indigenous families as full rights residents in Mexico City.

Because of all I have mentioned I repeat that the Otomi families in Guanajuato 125 are bearers of a paradigmatic experience in terms of the exercise of the constitutional right to housing, but also, and in a very outstanding way, they are an expression of the right to the city, of living and building a community in one of the emblematic neighborhoods in Mexico City. The right to being full inhabitants of Mexico City, otomis of the city and in the city. And in the same way that they neither hide nor camouflage their ethnic status, they even place it in service of the urban image of the neighborhood; they do not hide their belonging to the indigenous movement. Because of it, in the day of the inauguration of the complex, with the facade of the building as background, hung the following banner: Welcome to el Caracol de la Roma, in reference to the organization "los caracoles", direct ancestor to the good government juntas, of the zapatistas in the autonomous counties in Chiapas.

10. THE URBAN INDIGENOUS AS A POLITICAL SUBJECT

The building of social policies for the urban indigenous population has run parallel to the appearance of new indigenous organizations in the city. At the same time, groups are made around specific social demands such as employment, housing, the regularization of informal commerce and access to public services in general. In the last ten years indigenous organizations have been built following a different logic and distinct composition from the civil society networks. Organizations centered on the re-vindication of rights in ethnic code rather than as organizations to demand services. An ethno-political rather than socio-revindicative movement is taking shape..

The most finished expression of this process is the organizations by the same organizations in a course of analysis and debate approved by the first Agenda of Indigenous Urban Rights for Mexico City and the Metropolitan Area in which the claims for the following rights stand out:

- To the lawful personality of the indigenous communities of Mexico city and the metropolitan area.

- To the exercise of autonomy as members of the indigenous peoples of Mexico.

- To the reproduction of our forms of organization and communitarian life.

- To a multilingual and intercultural education that rescues and promotes identity and community values through the updating of the plans, methods and programs of the national educational system. Likewise for access to science and technology.

- To access and participation in the design of dignified housing with communal spaces.

- To produce and air, through are own media. At the same time, subsidized access to mass media for the broadcasting of indigenous subjects.

- To regulate and review the working conditions of indigenous people to keep their rights from being violated.

- To make effective the right to non-discrimination due to ethnic reasons.

- To be represented in local and federal congresses through our own normative systems.

- To grant rights of authorship to indigenous communities.

- To be consulted, through appropriated processes.

The document will require bigger developments to build the mediation between the large objectives and the processes and tools to make them effective, but there is no doubt it represents a major turn in the building of an urban indigenous movement.

11. DIVERSITY WITH EQUALITY

Facing a discourse of superficial exaltation of plurality and cultural diversity it must be pointed out that the indigenous insertion into public fields is mostly characterized by the reproduction of an aggravated social inequality by rigid gaps of social exclusion and by the reproduction of discrimination and racism. Because of this the concepts of diversity and plurality must be clarified. In strict terms they cannot exist without equity and equality to make possible a cultural coexistence. Diversity presupposes minimal conditions of horizontality and enjoyment of rights. In a strict sense, diversity without rights is not diversity; it is more like cultural heterogeneity with exclusion. Diversity is built from a perspective of rights. Not everything that is heterogeneous is diverse.

In all cities and in all indicators, urban indigenous inhabitants are at all times below the dominant mean. Ethnic exclusion is revealed as a structural factor in the reproduction of social inequality. It is a rigid, crystallized and hard gap with strong implications for social policy, to surmount exclusion. With its inherent complexity, the exclusion for ethnic reasons in the urban field constitutes one of the key components of the new poverty and urban inequality. Equity in diversity for the indigenous in cities constitutes a triple challenge: of rights, policies and institutions. The first one being the most complex and the one which to this date has the most unequal results in Mexico city.

No doubt there has been progress in the right to healthcare, social protection, housing and in a smaller manner, education and employment. However these advances have not been framed in the cultural specificity of indigenous peoples. This is, enjoyment of rights is not not just undifferentiated access but of doing so in a frame of cultural specificity. A classic example: it is not enough that indigenous children attend school, it is necessary that the school be culturally and symbolically significant, that it integrates diversity instead of reproducing racism and discrimination. Even though there is still much to travel in the field of social rights, there is practically no advance in the process of recognizing rights in code of peoples, identity, difference and cultural singularity. This last one is probably one of the most complex subjects that are faced.

Lets remember first the limitations of the federal frame in the second article of the Constitution, that far from recognizing indigenous peoples as subjects of right, with an uphold in the right to autonomy and self-rule, cut back and disfigured the right to autonomy and established indigenous peoples once more as objects of attention from governmental policies. As if that was not enough, the international frame is severely limited in terms of the reflection and the instruments to promote indigenous rights in urban fields. The 169th agreement from the ILO, by its own characteristics does not contain directives for this problem, reducing the migratory problem to that of rural day workers.

Although with a solid interpretation it is useful for the urban indigenous population in its chapter on general definition, particularly regarding the one for indigenous people, to the mandatory character of the principle of consultation and participation and to the obligations imposed on governments. Regardless of highly important advances made in the years there is still no clear definition of the specialties of indigenous rights in urban fields, and if these should be limited to the field of cultural autonomy and if this is collective or individual or both. The discussion on the reach of these rights continues, particularly around collective rights.

It is not enough with rights and policies, institutions must also change. It is necessary to take charge of the implications of diversity as a structural fact, with longitudinal impact in social urban relations. Today, the indigenous peoples of Mexico are territorialized, deterritorialized and transterritorialized. They are in the countryside and the city, in the country and abroad, inside and outside of their original territories. They reproduce their material and symbolic life in their territories in a permanent, stationary or intermittent manned and is vinculated objectively or subjectively with them. The relation with the original territories is identified, in some cases, with agrarian property, the authority system, with the language community or other cultural institutions.

This extraordinary complexity in the relation with their territories and their authority systems is developed in a context where the deterioration of the material conditions of reproduction of communities and families, the growing loss for the indigenous peoples and communities of the integrity of the territory and of natural resources, the continuation of processes of depopulation, impoverishment and depriving are at the base of forced migrations due to the conditions of inequality and exclusion of the indigenous peoples.

Because of it I try to show that the process of recomposition of the indigenous peoples does not try to re-ruralize them, but to recognize and guarantee their collective rights in their original territories as well as their specific rights outside of them. It is not about turning cities into the new refuges, but of transforming the countryside and the city in a logic of recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples, and that conditions for an equal redistribution of property and resources can exist and to build a cultural diversity in social equality inside and outside of cities, in Mexico city and the country, in the original territories and outside of them.

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CASE STUDY: GREENLAND[a]

AUTHOR: MALIINA ABELSEN

> Greenland: Kalaallit Nunaat / Part of the Danish Realm, Danish colony until 1953
>
> Population: 57,000 (88% Inuit – refer to themselves as Greenlanders and 12 % others – mainly Danes)
>
> Home Rule: 1979
>
> Capital: Nuuk with 15,000 inhabitants
>
> Official language: Greenlandic
>
> Spoken languages: Greenlandic and Danish

1. INTRODUCTION

With a population of approximately 57,000 and 15,000 in the capital of Nuuk the situation of migration and urbanisation in Greenland is quite different compared to many other indigenous populations. The most significant difference is the fact that Greenlanders are the majority in Greenland and that the land is geographically far away from its former coloniser. The size of the population also means that Greenland does not have cities with large-scale industries. Nonetheless, Greenland seems to share some of the challenges that indigenous peoples around the world face in relation to urbanisation.

This paper briefly addresses the recent history of Greenland as a background for discussing the current migration and urbanisation. Some of the main push and pull factors for the trends in urbanisation will be discussed and the migration of Greenlanders to Denmark is also examined. The paper finally attempts to give recommendations for measures necessary in the future.

2. RECENT HISTORY AND THE GREENLAND HOME RULE

In 1953, Greenland's colonial status was altered and the Danish Constitution expanded to encompass the entire kingdom consisting of Denmark, the Faroe Islands and Greenland. Greenland became a part of the Realm equivalent to the

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a. *Expert Group Meeting on Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration Santiago de Chile, 27-29 March 2007*

Danish counties and was supposed to attain the standards of socio - economic and cultural development prevalent in other parts of the kingdom.

To create the policy and programmes of development for Greenland, the Danish Government established first the G-50 Council (Grønlandsrådet) during the fifties and the G-60 Council during the early sixties and early seventies. The main recommendations of the G-60 Council were: a concentration of the population in the open-water towns; an effective setting-up of the industry and trade; the building of more state-owned housing and a greater focus on education. This policy meant a strong migration towards the towns in the sixties.

Table 1: Migration in Greenland from 1960 to 2006
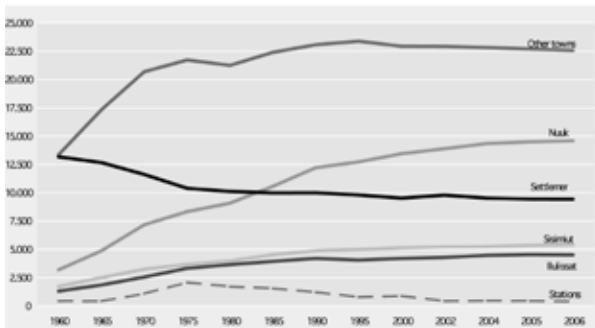
The table shows an increase of the population in the lager towns over time e.g. to Nuuk, Ilulissat and Sisimiut and a slight decrease in the number of inhabitants in the settlements and stations.

The idea behind the concentration of the population was to expand the fishing industry by building modern plants in the towns. Unfortunately, at the same time, the cod stock had started to decrease and in 1975 the cod fishing was only about 60% of what it was in 1966. As a result fish plants were closed, which left some people unemployed. As part of the G-60 housing policy the state built large numbers of apartment buildings in the sixties and early seventies. The sudden transition from life in smaller communities to the life in towns in apartments with wage labour jobs proved difficult for some people.

The urbanisation, at this stage, not only brought about an encounter between traditional and modern life, but also meant a meeting between two very different cultures. The Danish structure, society and life were regarded as the way forward. In schools, Danish became the preferred language and the nuclear family structure gained footing compared to the previous extended family structure, where several generations lived together. The new life in the towns meant better housing conditions but many people still struggled to adjust to this new life.

Huge apartment buildings were built by the state – here in Nuuk where the largest building of them all "Blok P" was built. "Blok P" houses about 1500 persons.

Many Greenlanders experienced the G60 policy as a deprivation of their Greenlandic culture. This, combined with other pressures such as the Danish entry into the EU, meant a call for greater self-determination. Political parties were established and in 1979, the Greenland Home Rule became a reality. Greenland quickly proceeded to take over the areas of responsibility set out in the Home Rule Act. Administration of justice, foreign affairs and security policy remain under Danish administration.[b] With the establishment of Home Rule the cultural discourse changed and the Greenlandic culture and language went through revitalization. Previous development and modernisation, however, had already caused major changes in Greenland and it was not possible to move back in time.

3. MIGRATION TODAY AND PUSH/PULL FACTORS FOR URBANISATION

Like many other sparsely populated areas, it is a challenge for Greenland to construct a healthy economy without neglecting the population in the smaller towns and settlements. Urbanisation is an often politically debated issue as it is linked to economy, culture, industry and trade etc. The Minister of Finance and Foreign Affaris, Mr. Josef Motzfeldt, recently stated in his annual report:

> *"We have to prepare ourselves that the industrial structure of the future makes a different pattern of settlement necessary. We have to move to those areas where the possibilities of employment and education are present" (Politisk økonomisk beretning 2007).*

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b. In 1999 a Commission on Self-Governance was established by the Home Rule to examine and report on how to proceed in the effort towards full self-governance. The Commission finished its report in 2003 and now the negotiation with the Danish state has begun.

As the table shows, a migration towards the towns has taken place since the sixties. In 1960, 58% of the population lived in towns but in 2006 the number was 83%. Out of this number 43 % lived in the three largest towns Nuuk, Sisimiut, and Ilulissat.

In the following paragraphs, some of the main push/pull factors for the current and future urbanisation will be discussed.

4. THE "SAME PRICE SYSTEM"

The recent abolition of the "same price system" is possibly an important push factor for an urbanisation tendency. The "same price" system was a remnant from the Royal Greenland Trade monopoly (Den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel). This monopoly ensured equal prices across the country and was built on a sense of solidarity. In practice, this system meant that all products had the same price in the settlements as in the towns without regardless of the higher costs of the products in the settlements due to transportation.

Parliament decided to start an abolition of the "same price system" in January 2006, based on the recommendations of several economic councils and working groups. The removal of the "same price system" is an often-discussed political issue. Some argue that the society cannot afford the system while others have expressed concern that the traditional culture will suffer when the settlement populations are "pushed" towards the towns. The early results of the elimination of the reform have only just started to show and the discussion continues.

5. THE DIFFERENCE IN INCOME

As in many other communities the prospect for a better economic situation is a factor that makes many people migrate to the towns where industrialisation and trade take place. The average gross income is about 1/3 lower in the settlements compared to the towns. The average income in the poorest settlements is only about half of the average income in Nuuk. It is, however, important to bear in mind that people in the settlements often have an income in provisions from hunting and fishing. Even so, the higher incomes in the towns together with the differentiated prices from the abolition of the same price system most likely pull people toward the towns.

Statistics show that if birthplace is used as a comparison the income after taxation is twice as high for the people born outside Greenland. This is mainly due to the fact that the people born outside of Greenland are sent for and have a higher education. This group includes Inuit born outside Greenland who most often live in larger towns and rarely experience periods of unemployment.

6. EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING

Another possible push factor for migrating towards the towns is the higher unemployment in the settlements. This unemployment is dependent on the season thus it is higher in the first quarter of the year when many fish plants are temporarily closed down and construction is limited. The average unemployment rate in Greenland is 6.9 % but notably higher in most settlements and smaller towns. The lowest unemployment rate is in the capital Nuuk and in Ilulissat. Generally, the unemployed people are without any formal education, only 5% on average have higher education. Although there are no statistics on the specific issue, the people that migrate from settlements to towns have a high risk of becoming unemployed as they rarely hold any formal education.

Like in other Arctic societies construction is very expensive, due to the fact that all material has to be imported and the buildings have to be of high quality in the harsh climate. A large part of the population live in publicly owned homes, and housing is often linked to their jobs. For the unemployed and for those moving from the settlements into towns this is a problem. In Nuuk, for instance, the waiting period for a public owned apartment is approximately 10 years. The Minister of Finance and Foreign Affairs, Mr. Josef Motzfeldt, states in his annual report for 2007:

"Good housing conditions are of great importance for a family's wellbeing. Unfortunately it is a fact that it is today difficult for many families to have their housing needs covered. Especially in the larger towns there is a lack of housing. The inadequateness of housing inhibits the mobilisation on the labour market and thus the industrial development in the economical centres of growth" (Politisk økonomisk beretning, 2007)

The Home Rule has taken a number of initiatives to alleviate this housing shortage. However, most of these initiatives focus on encouraging people to build or own their own housing. This is mainly done by offering favourable loans.

7. HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATION

Greenland has a high standard of health care. It is a challenge, however, that the relatively small population lives scattered over a huge area. Like in many other places, Greenland experiences problems of recruiting permanent health staff to smaller towns and settlements. To overcome this problem a new health-care reform was recently proposed.

The reform proposes to reduce the number of health staff and doctors in the settlements and minor towns and instead to introduce telemedicine inspired by models used in Norway and Alaska. If the proposal is adopted by Parliament a number of smaller communities will be without a doctor. This means that all people

in need of surgery will have to travel to the nearest hospital. It also means that women will have to travel away from their families to give birth. With this reform a town like Nanortalik with approx. 2400 inhabitants will only be serviced by telemedicine. Critics claim the reform will reinforce migration to the larger towns while others claim it will result in better treatment for all people.

Another important issue is access to education. For practical and economic reasons the larger towns offer better educational facilities and it is difficult to attract educated teachers to smaller places. In recent years, a number of schools have closed down, which is a serious problem for those who wish to remain in their smaller communities. In these situations, the parents themselves become responsible for teaching their children, but this may pose a problem, as they may not hold any formal education themselves. This may prevent the children from continuing their education in the larger towns. The relatively low level of education in the settlements is thus maintained.

8. CLIMATE CHANGE

Communities living directly with and from nature, such as the indigenous peoples do, are the first to experience change in the climate. The harsh climate in the Arctic is very vulnerable and it only takes minor changes in the temperature for the fauna to alter. In recent years, both researchers and local populations in the Arctic have noticed changes in the climate (IPY, 2007). Although climate change in the future is difficult to predict, research already shows many present changes in the Arctic such as: rising temperatures; declining snow cover; melting Greenland ice sheet; rising sea levels etc. (ACIA, 2004). These changes have a strong impact on society, which is also related to the patterns of settlement.

In Greenland, about 90 % of all export comes from the fishing industry; hence changes in the climate have a strong direct impact on the economy. Although some of the projected impacts of climate change are gloomy they may also lead to new industrial possibilities (ACIA, 2004). The melting of the sea ice will for instance lead to an increased access to resources and new possibilities within tourism. This climate-change issue receives lots of attention from politicians, especially in relation to the International Polar Year 2007-2008, which is aimed at gathering new information about polar environment processes (IPY, 2007).

9. THE GREENLANDIC LANGUAGE

Compared to many other indigenous communities, Greenland is unique in the sense that a majority of the population speaks Greenlandic, which is also the

official language. Contrary to the established perception that Greenland is officially a bilingual country, the Home Rule Act states that Greenlandic is the principal language but Danish must be thoroughly taught. Either language may be used for official purposes (The Home Rule Act, Section 9).

In larger towns, it is possible to live without speaking Greenlandic, which is the reason why many immigrants, mainly from Denmark, rarely learn the language. It is also important to point out that, as a result of the policies in the sixties and seventies, a group of Greenlanders, typically of mixed marriages, do not speak Greenlandic. The language subject is often linked to identity and emotions and is a big subject in the media. Some fear that increased globalisation will weaken the Greenlandic language although it is stronger now than in the seventies.

In the early nineties, Greenlandic became the most spoken language throughout elementary school and right after 2000 school classes became merged. The reinforcement of Greenlandic is very important. However, Danish is necessary for students who wish to attend high school and from there university either in Greenland[c] or Denmark. What we see is a tendency for Danish language skills among young people in the settlements and smaller towns to be sometimes limited and therefore easily become an obstacle for them to complete their education.

10. THE FUTURE

When discussing the migration towards the towns we have seen that many factors come into play simultaneously and affect each other. If, for instance, a fish plant is closed down in a small town the job opportunities decrease and some families may decide to move. The departure of these families may include local nurses or teachers, which may again affect the local school and health care. This again may influence other families to migrate.

Some fear that migration towards the towns will result in a loss of traditional culture. The change in settlement patterns and in industry together with other factors will change some aspects of the traditional culture and some people may loose their special relationship with their land. The challenge in the future seems to be to find a balance of maintaining parts of the traditional culture and values and at the same time modernize and adjust the industry, trade, education and health care systems.

In comparison with other indigenous communities, Greenland possesses a relatively large amount of written material dealing with its culture and history. The same tendency is present in relation to material dealing with the Greenlandic language where the latest initiative is an electronic spelling control created by The Language

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c. Greenland has a university "Ilisimatusarfik" with four departments: 1) Administration, 2) Language, Literature and Media, 3) Culture and Social History and 4) Theology. The University has approx. 150 students.

Secretariat (www.oqaasileriffik.gl/kukkuniiaat). Such initiatives are important in order to strengthen the language.

In relation to the re-thinking of industry and trade, according to climate change and the demands of the future, it is important for the towns that facilities are established to receive and integrate migrants from smaller towns and settlements. These facilities must include adequate housing, and re-training and education possibilities. It is therefore a question of finding a balance between "pulling" people towards the towns and industry and at the same possessing the facilities to integrate these migrants successfully.

11. GREENLANDERS IN DENMARK

When addressing urbanisation in a Greenlandic context it is important to include Greenlanders who migrate to Denmark. Approximately 13000 Greenlanders are currently living in Denmark and 7000 of these have Greenlandic parents (Togeby, 2002). This number includes students who temporarily study in Denmark, which is currently about 420 persons. In actual fact, the number of Greenlanders in Denmark appears to be steadily decreasing.

It is difficult to estimate the number of Greenlanders who live in the cities and larger provincial towns. The overall majority are well integrated into the Danish society. However, a group of urban socially marginalised people, especially in the capital of Copenhagen are often depicted and discussed in the media. This group is a very visible minority with problems of homelessness and/or substance abuse. The group is estimated to be less than 10 percent of the total Greenland population in Denmark (Togeby, 2002).

Over the last ten, years this group has received more attention than earlier, which is due to an increase in the focus by Denmark to its ethnic minorities. Formerly, Greenlanders in Denmark did not receive much attention. They were never really regarded as being immigrants because they hold Danish citizenship. In 2003, the Ministry of Social Affairs commissioned a study (White Paper) on the socially marginalised group of Greenlanders in Denmark in order to improve their situation (Hvidbog om socialt udsatte grønlændere i Danmark, 2003).

Due to a lack of adequate statistics, it had to be estimated how many Greenlanders belonged to this group. The fact that Greenlanders are not perceived as immigrants compared to other ethnic groups in Denmark basically meant that they were not automatically offered any assistance with respect to facilitating their integration into the Danish society.

The White Paper established that Greenlanders in some cases actually experience many of the same problems as other ethnic immigrants in Denmark and would benefit from focused attention and capacity-building assistance, upon arrival in Denmark.

The White Paper also established that some Greenlanders, when migrating to Denmark, have language problems, very limited formal education, and insufficient funds. Additionally, they may be unaware of their civil rights and thus do not take advantage of the assistance available to them or opportunities such as voting.

The White Paper was indeed a wake-up call for the Danish authorities, and much effort has been made to follow-up on the recommendations and to reinforce the integration efforts. In 2004, for example, the Ministry of Social Affairs in Denmark increased its budget for support to the socially marginalized Greenlanders in Denmark. With this new funding, the Municipality of Copenhagen commissioned a study on homelessness among Greenlanders in Copenhagen. The report analyse the need for developing a different type of housing assistance for those Greenlanders whose situation is characterised by homelessness, substance abuse problems and limited or complete lack of contact with the authorities (Boeskov S.& N. Folke Olsen, 2005).

Multiple initiatives have started in respect to assisting socially marginalized Greenlanders around Denmark. All are taking place in the metropolitan areas where the majority of this group is found. Among the initiatives are the theme days or seminars that have been held every six months since 2005 and are scheduled to continue through 2008. These focus on the importance of self-determination and the inclusion of the users in programme planning and implementation. Persons formerly among the marginalised have formed an organisation (Sammivik) and are used as consultants in the social work carried for the group. They also participate in the seminars. One concrete project deriving from this effort is the Qaami project offered by the Kalaallit Illuutaat – The Greenlanders' Houses in Copenhagen (www.sumut.dk).

The initiative is a capacity-building effort - helping individual Greenlanders to obtain and hold steady employment. Qaami capacity building includes personal development, language training, supervision, coaching, introduction to networks and practical information about the labour market. Practical training such as job application and job interview are offered.

There is a Kalaallit Illuutaat (Greenlanders' House) in all larger town areas. They are co-financed by the Greenland Home Rule Government and the respective Danish municipalities and counties. In addition to the core budget, fundraising for specific activities and events are carried out on a regular basis.

12. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Two different situations and settings exist when addressing migration and urbanisation within Greenland; the migration and urbanisation within Greenland; and the migration of Greenlanders to Denmark mainly. The issue of migration and urbanisation within Greenland differs from many other indigenous communities due to the fact that migrants moving to towns remain within a Greenlandic society, where the majority are Greenlanders and the principal language is Greenlandic. The fear for these people to "disappear into the crowd" is thus not present.

The situation of Greenlanders in Denmark may offer more similarities with other indigenous peoples.

The following recommendations are both relevant to the case of Greenland and to indigenous peoples in general.

Intensive research on indigenous peoples and urbanisation should be carried out, which should lead to an Urban Indigenous Strategy focusing on:

- The push and pull factors for indigenous peoples and urbanisation.

- Early integration efforts (housing, education, capacity building, jobs, language training social and cultural networks)

- Informing indigenous peoples about their rights and access to relevant programmes and project within urban areas.

- Sharing best practices in relation to re-thinking industry and trade, according to new settlement patterns and climate change. The opportunities of urbanisation for indigenous peoples should also be explored.

- Opportunities for returning to home communities. Programmes to facilitate the return to indigenous/home communities (capacity building, loans, housing, transportation, maybe contact person/social network)

- Opportunities for those remaining in the settlements/rural areas.

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TRANSFORMATION OF AN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY: URBANIZATION ENVELOPES THE YAQUI OF GUADALUPE, ARIZONA[a]

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The Valley of the Sun is a large basin in which two major Sonoran Desert water systems, the Salt and Gila Rivers, confluence enabling large scale human settlement in central Arizona. The agricultural potential of this natural resource has sustained a stable population base since prehistoric times. Today it is home to a number of small cities which comprise the Phoenix metropolitan urban sprawl, and more than half of the residents of the state of Arizona. Located at the far eastern foot of South Mountain, the southern natural boundary of the Valley, is Guadalupe, an urban anomaly that seems strangely juxtaposed in this widely spread, low density urban landscape fashioned by the advent of the automobile culture.

When it was first founded by Yaqui refugees from Sonora, the small one square mile desert settlement was no more than an innocuous cluster of extremely humble dwellings on the lightly populated Valley's periphery. This was about to change. Just two years before Guadalupe came into being, the small but significant city of Phoenix became the capital of the new State of Arizona. The peripheral location was also symbolic of the Yaquis lack of cultural and social integration in their new homeland. As the twentieth century progressed, so did the urban sprawl, eventually threatening to envelope Guadalupe, as would the social and cultural pressures of the dominant society.

The urban cultural adaptation the Yaqui people of Guadalupe to that force is a unique story.[1] Many indigenous groups, to be sure, have had to undergo pronounced bilingual and bicultural adaptation, particularly in the urban setting, as a result of their proximity to a dominant European American cultural presence. The Yaqui experience in Guadalupe has had a third cultural variable, so that it has manifested a trilingual and tricultural character.

To understand the underpinnings of this unique cultural setting, it is imperative to briefly retrace the historical antecedents both in terms of the cultural region in general, as well as the direct ancestors of the Yaqui founders of Guadalupe to their traditional homeland in the southern region of the state of Sonora, Mexico.

Urban, socially interdependent communities, characterized by a high degree of cooperation and specialization, have been found historically throughout the

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Americas. While this socio-economic milieu has not been a predominant one, the exceptions are as striking as they are noteworthy. The sites of the Maya, the Toltecs, the Zapotecs, and most recently, the Aztecs are some of the better known examples. Snaketown, Casas Grandes, and Chaco Canyon further north, however, were also home to highly integrated societies.

The phenomenon of the social adaptation of Native Americans to an urban context, therefore, is a much older than the history of Native American/non-indigenous American contact. This contact has, in fact, occupied a relatively short period in the Native American urban social experience. A consequence of this contact which has been, indeed, unique in Native American history is the profound cultural and linguistic diversity which informs the contemporary urban landscape.

THE YAQUIS FIRST CONTACT WITH NON-INDIGENOUS AMERICAN PEOPLE

The first non-indigenous influence in North America was a result of the establishment of the Spanish colony in the Valley of Mexico, from whom the Yaqui steadfastly maintained an almost singular isolation. Yet significant inroads were made into traditional Yaqui culture as a result of their adoption and adaptation of Catholicism, initially introduced to them by the Spanish Jesuit missionaries during their long journeys north into the present day western US.[2] This provided also the common thread which culturally, if not socially, would eventually link them to the growing Mexican population neighboring their homelands.

In the early 1600's, the Jesuits convinced the Yaquis to settled in eight pueblos, similar to European towns, by having them build eight mission churches throughout the length of Yaqui country. They proposed to gather the Yaqui dwellings close to one or the other of these ceremonial centers. The process was a gradual one and was easily facilitated by distributing the churches without moving their residence. Whatever the rate of movement to the ceremonial centers and whatever number of families who preferred at first not to participate in the new ways, there is no doubt that by 1700 a new settlement pattern had been created, a pattern firmly enough established among the Yaquis that they came to believe it sacred and established by supernatural mandate.[3] The new communities consisted of from 3,000 – 4,000 inhabitants instead of the 300 – 400 inhabitants in a traditional rancheria, the acceptance of a common governmental system, and the realignment of family groups and loss of rancheria autonomy.

With so few missionaries, never more than ten, in Yaqui territory to accomplish the task of the church, the government, and the business operations, it was necessary to rely on trained Yaqui assistants. Thus a cadre of Yaqui officials emerged to administer the new towns, further enhanced by the isolation of Yaqui territory since there was no Spanish settlement in Yaqui country. In the Yaqui homeland, their intercultural

relations with non-indigenous people, outside of the few missionaries, were virtually non-existent. Even as Christianity began to have an ever greater impact on the culture, direct interaction with the colonists had not been a factor in Yaqui lifeways. This situation permitted the Yaquis to develop their own leadership with administrative skills under the guidance of a benign and persuasive but rather coercive missionary policy. It also created a psychological environment for the acceptance of change on the part of the Yaquis.[4]

In addition to pressure for change in the areas of government and agriculture there was also the pressure for change in religion. The constant focus of each missionary on religious instruction and the maintenance of church ritual brought about the rapid introduction of Christian verbal and behavioral forms. These forms had to diffuse outward from the missionaries through the recently trained Yaqui associates to the townspeople at large. This process resulted in much wider acquaintance as ritual forms blended with traditional Yaqui ones, giving them a meaning to the people which the Jesuits had not intended.

Undoubtedly the Jesuit religious ideas constituted alternatives for most Yaqui during this period. The new conception of the supernatural world with its centralization of power in the mysterious Trinity, its division of an afterworld into good and bad regions, its separation of men and animals must have taken a good deal of reconciling with the earlier conception of the supernatural world.[5] Although some Christian rituals co-existed as alternatives to Yaqui ritual, some forms were complementary to traditional Yaqui beliefs. The close link between church an government also created a complementary form of governance. Yaqui governors were elected but with the approval of the church dignitaries. In major decisions the governors and the officials of the church deliberated together.

This complementary form of cultural change was also reflected in the Yaqui language. Spanish words were added to the Yaqui lexicon to accommodate these cultural innovations.[6] Even the morphology and syntax were influenced by Spanish. Yaqui speakers readily incorporated Spanish words as well as grammatical structure to accommodate new things and concepts introduced by the missionaries, rather than coin new Yaqui terminology or even translate the Spanish words into Yaqui. This phenomenon is a characteristic of the early intercultural period, before the Yaqui began to feel cultural coercion and oppression.[7]

This gradual, peaceful cultural change through the adaptation of Spanish cultural traits such as clothing, tools beliefs, and practices slowly replaced or coexisted with Yaqui cultural traits, came to an end in 1740. In that year as a result of the gradual encroachment by the Spanish into Yaqui territory and the desire by the Spanish to gain more control over the Yaqui towns, the Yaquis joined with their neighbors, the Mayos, in revolting against the Spanish. During the ensuing months they killed or drove out all Spaniards from the river towns and the adjoining territory, sparing

only the Jesuits. Toward the end of 1740 at a spot called the Hill of Bones, five thousand Yaquis were killed and the resistance crushed. Their leaders were executed, and a Spanish presidio was built at the eastern edge of Yaqui country to control the towns.[8]

A dominant Yaqui preoccupation during the remainder of the Spanish period was the struggle to maintain control over their own affairs and the resistance to Spanish political and economic domination in their territory. Shortly after the revolt of 1740, the Spanish soldiers were withdrawn to fight other neighbors of the Yaquis, the Seris. The Jesuits were also withdrawn, expelled from the New World. A few Franciscan priests subsequently attempted to work with the Yaquis, but this effort was not successful. Eventually their new found autonomy permitted the Yaquis to form their own socio-religious form of government and religion.

The constant threat to local autonomy and to the traditional communal control of the land, however, necessitated a constant defensive preparedness. Just as the Yaquis were gaining more control of their affairs, there was a considerable decline in population. Numbers of Yaquis had removed themselves from the strife with the Spanish government by moving out of Yaqui country. The break up of the Jesuit agricultural operations resulted in an increasing number of Yaquis seeking wages and new experiences elsewhere. Some assumed seasonal work on the haciendas or the mines.

During the warring years of Spanish colonialism in Mexico, the Yaqui culture had begun to develop a form of adaptation to adversity which was to persist in a somewhat altered form into the 20th century. Yaqui identity was maintained, even in the face of necessary relocation, through the strong awareness of the Yaqui homeland and through sustained Yaqui socio-religious institutions and practices in their new locales.

As the Spanish influence spread throughout the population with the growth of the size and the power of the colony, many indigenous groups were drawn in to a large scale mestizification through intermarriage with the Europeans. This trend continued, contributing to a marked increase in the size of the non-indigenous population until today, only a minority of Mexican nationals can be said to be purely indigenous racially or ethnically, and even fewer purely European.

After the 1770's, ever greater numbers of Yaquis found it necessary to work outside Yaqui country. Although corn, wheat, beans, watermelons, pumpkins, and squash were still raised through the traditional method of flooding rather than irrigation, from the 1820's onward, warfare caused a decline in agricultural activity. Gradually the Yaquis became increasingly dependent upon the Mexican economy for manufactured goods.

YAQUIS AND THE EMERGING MEXICAN REPUBLIC

Soon after Mexican independence was established, the federal government, and later the Sonoran state government assumed a similar role to that of the Spanish in that they would with time increasingly attempt to impose political and economic control upon the Yaquis. In response, and united with the Mayos, Opatas, and Pimas, they conceived of the notion of an independent indigenous nation in the region. Leadership was supplied by a literate Yaqui, Juan Banderas, who was reported to have had a vision of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Again non-Yaquis were driven out of the territory, until Banderas was finally defeated and executed in 1833.[9]

In the late 1870's a new leader appeared. Cajeme, had wide experience in the Mexican army and had been appointed mayor, the highest civil authority of the Yaqui towns. In 1885-86 he fought a brilliant campaign using both Mayos and Yaquis against federal and state troops. His defeat and execution in 1887 ended organized military operations by Yaquis, although various guerrilla activities continued from mountain strongholds for another twenty years.[10]

The oral history now included the conflicts with the Spaniards and the Mexicans and combined with the growing myths of the time such as the founding of the towns through prophetic vision. Gradually some Yaquis became literate both in Spanish and in Yaqui. Yaqui leaders wrote to their Mexican contemporaries in Spanish and to their literate Yaqui friends who had relocated to other parts of Sonora, in Yaqui. As church ceremonies were written in Spanish and Yaqui for all to use, a Yaqui written record appeared.[11] The majority of Yaqui were literate, although with little formal schooling, and many spoke several languages.[12] In their own minds, the Yaquis considered themselves more civilized than Mexicans and other indigenous groups and equal, except in technical skills, to European Americans.

The atrocities perpetrated by both sides during warfare greatly reduced the likelihood of Yaqui assimilation into Mexican society. A poignant example was the first aerial bomb in history was dropped on a group of Yaquis at Guymas in 1914. This historical animosity continues to be a factor in Mexican-Yaqui relations to this day.[13]

The period of unrest which culminated in the Mexican revolution, affected Yaqui society in a variety of ways. First, it implanted in the Yaqui ideology an even firmer concept of their sacred territory. Even though the geography of the Yaqui towns changed drastically during this period, the notion of the homeland remained constant.

The greatest force informing the development of Yaqui cultural adaptation, since the coming of the Spanish, was this steady growth of the extensive Mexican nation around them. The ever increasing population of non-native peoples in their immediate environment brought with it, like the earlier presence of the Spanish missionaries, a major impetus for cultural adaptation that was beyond their control.

INCREASINGLY ADVERSE CONTACT WITH MEXICANS RESULTS IN SOME YAQUIS SEEKING REFUGE IN ARIZONA

During the warring years of Spanish colonialism in Mexico, the Yaqui culture had begun to develop a form of adaptation in the face of adversity which was to persist in some form into the 20th century. By the time the Yaqui began to migrate across the border into the United States in the late 1800's, their lifeways had undergone drastic changes from earlier times. Cultural adaptations continued as small Yaqui communities were established in the Arizona.

The Yaqui struggles against Mexican encroachment, and particularly the Mexican government's effort to forcibly evict them from their traditional homeland provided the context for the greatest trauma and the most profound cultural adaptation ever faced by the tribe. This crisis precipitated a Diaspora through which a considerable number of tribal members were now rapidly experiencing cross-cultural interaction under duress, as hundreds were exported against their will to the opposite end of the Mexican republic to work the henequen plantations of the Yucatan, as forced laborers. Meanwhile, others, seeking to avoid such a fate, began making their way clandestinely across the US border into Arizona, and into a life of self-imposed exile, also wrought with peril, but at least safe from the threat of annihilation.

Although Yaquis began to cross the border into the United States as early as 1887, they were not strangers to the northern region. Yaqui oral history tells of their presence in the area of what is today the southern US from time immemorial.[14] The major migration of the historical era came during the years 1900-1910. By the 1950's, there were approximately 4,000 in Arizona. For the most part, they were escaping deportation to Yucatan or seeking employment when conditions in Sonora became extremely difficult. As many Yaquis in Sonora were doing, those coming to Arizona established themselves barrios at the edges of cities or in work camps, neither assimilating into the dominant society nor returned to their homeland permanently.[15]

The Yaquis were refugees and their earliest settlements bore universal refugee characteristics of inadequate food, shelter and sanitation. They were intruders who had no legal status. They owed no land and were forced to establish themselves as squatters. During the early years, they were fearful of being identified as Yaquis and being sent back to Sonora, so they operated primarily within their own micro-cosmic cultural enclave as a defense mechanism to the perceived threat of deportation. Because of this, Yaqui identity, language, and religious practices were outwardly suppressed. They had as little contact as possible with government officials so that nearly fifteen years passed before the Yaquis became aware that they had been afforded political asylum, and that, in the United States religious freedom was upheld regardless of political or social status.

Most Yaquis came to the US as individuals without any kin or social grouping to help them survive. Usually they were unrelated individuals who had fallen in with one another. During the early years of residence in Arizona, they gradually developed new family groupings through reunion of separated families and the starting of new families. Ritual kin groups, based upon baptismal god-parents and ceremonial sponsors further extended the basic family organization.

Among the earliest to establish the "Western Canal Camp" were freedom-fighters who had fled the guerrilla war after the execution of Cajeme, and who had planned to return home eventually. This was never to be, as this land was subsequently appropriated by the Mexican government. These defiant Yaquis supplied rebels back in their homeland with food staples and, when necessary, assisted them to escape by sheltering them in this northern camp.

Within a decade, the Western Canal camp had grown so as to warrant the residence of a Franciscan Friar. By the time the arrival of Fr. Lucius in 1904, sporadic Yaqui rituals had been held but the consistent demands of membership within a ceremonial society were difficult, if not impossible, to maintain for those men whose employment kept them away from camp for even brief periods of time.

Most of the men were employed as agricultural workers on the farms within the large basin area, and they were entirely dependent upon their Anglo employers. Others found work on outlying ranches but such jobs entailed prolonged absence from the Yaqui camp. Some of the men who left to work on ranches were able to take along their immediate families but most went alone, returning whenever possible to their families and friends.

As field workers, the Yaquis gained an impressive reputation as diligent and conscientious laborers. Workers were usually separated into ethnic groups by employers, not only in residential caps but also in the field. Cotton farmers claimed that they could identify rows picked by the Yaquis at a glance by the neat and thorough method of their work. Agricultural laborers were separated into four major groups: Indians, Mexicans, Negroes, and Anglos. Although this perpetuated the concept of social stratification, it did serve to reinforce Yaqui linguistic and cultural continuity in their new land.

The atrocities witnessed by those Yaquis who had been caught up in the bloodiest fighting in the Rio Yaqui campaigns were bitterly remembered by those who fled. These memories formed the basis for deep-seated hatred and justified anxieties. Fearing their vulnerability to potentially hostile Mexicans in Arizona, some fleeing Yaquis denied their ethnicity by posing as either O'odham or Mexicans according to their physical characteristics and any positive contacts they may have had with either of these two groups.

THE FOUNDING OF GUADALUPE AS A YAQUI COMMUNITY

By 1910, Fr. Lucius had acquired forty acres for the Yaquis to build a permanent settlement. The constant complaints from neighboring towns underscored the need for these people to have a place of their own. He was unable, however, to secure for them the land beside the Western Canal because of its potential value as farmland. Instead, he acquired forty acres on high ground west of the Highline Canal, granted by Woodrow Wilson's presidential decree. The new site was elevated enough to be worthless as farm land since it could not be irrigated. Although the legal transaction was not completed until 1914, the camp at Western Canal was abandoned for the new acreage in 1910. The population of non-Yaquis was nominal at this time.

Since the arrival of Fr. Lucius with the symbolic santa of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the Western Canal camp had been known as Guadalupe. After the move to higher ground, the former settlement, which continued to serve as a burial site, was referred to as Old Guadalupe and the new settlement simply Guadalupe.

The decade comprising the last five years of Old Guadalupe and the first five years of Guadalupe on high ground was a period of intense cultural renaissance. The first Catholic Church, a small adobe structure, was built in 1915 facing onto the traditional open plaza. The move from Old Guadalupe to the new site covered only one mile but altered the lives of all involved. Along the Western canal, the Yaqui Camp was self-sufficient in its own food production, by gently irrigating the fertile land immediately adjacent to the settlement. On the high ground this was not possible. The Yaquis now were dependent upon a cash economy, labor for wages as hard currency in order to purchase every basic need.

The Yaqui uprising of 1927 in Mexico led to another wave of northerly migration. In the 1920's, Mexican Americans began to settle the area adjacent to the forty acres but remained a minority of the settlement's population. As a result of these events, the population of Guadalupe more than doubled during this time, far exceeding the number that could be accommodated by farm labor.

Interaction between Guadalupe and the other neighboring settlements was still minimal. Due to its proximity, Tempe was the most accessible town. More Yaqui men were gradually employed as manual laborers by the Water Users Association.[16] Young women either walked or rode into Tempe, about four hours round trip, to work a ten hour day as seamstresses. Merchants from Tempe peddled their wares in Guadalupe at elevated prices to cover the cost of delivery.

The depression was heavily felt in Guadalupe throughout the 1930's. Displaced English-speaking farmers from the dust bowl farther to the east, whose farms had been repossessed, were intent on reaching California. Some of these farmers, upon reaching the fertile Salt River Valley, decided to settled there, further crowding the

Yaquis as field laborers. The number of Mexican American families settling adjacent to the forty acres continued to grow, finally equaling the Yaqui population.

In the mid-thirties, many Yaqui families returned to the Rio Yaqui, drawn to the relative peace in their homeland and driven away by the difficult conditions of the depression. Despite this emigration, the population of the Guadalupe was steadily increasing. Agricultural labor or canal maintenance, however, was the only work consistently available. By the end of the Korean conflict, the Yaquis comprised a distant and rapidly diminishing minority of the overall population of Guadalupe, although their numbers continued to dominate the barrios of the Cuarenta and Biehn Colony, the two oldest neighborhoods.[17]

By 1974, the population of Guadalupe had reached nearly five thousand persons. The growth of Tempe, right up to the edges of Guadalupe, led to the consideration to annex the smaller community of Guadalupe. Local action was taken in an attempt to register the community as a historical site with the State Parks Department and to list it on the National Register of Historical Places, to preserve the special character of the community. As the threat of annexation increased, the Citizens Committee to Incorporate Guadalupe was formed to begin action leading to incorporation. This would secure the community from rules and regulations imposed by the ordinances of Tempe. In February, 1975, the residents voted to incorporate.

European American and Mexican communities were already well established in Arizona by the time the Yaquis settled there. As in Mexico, they were faced with the cultural diversity that was anything but democratic. While the Mexican majority in Sonora had essentially relegated them in their homeland as second class, in the US, their social status was diminished yet a further level by the Mexicans there who were, themselves, already enduring a second class status relative to the white population. The trilingual characteristic of the contemporary Arizona Yaqui community is a cross-cultural legacy of the dynamics of their living many decades in proximity to ever increasing numbers of non-indigenous language speaking neighbors flanking both their original Mexican and current US community.

Despite considerable success in trilingual and tricultural adaptation, the Yaqui continue to be financially the poorest of any single population in southern Arizona. This is largely attributable to extraordinary low levels of formal education attainment, in that only some two thirds has completed the eighth grade, less than 20% has completed high school or the equivalency, and less than one percent has graduated from an institution of higher education. Economic indicators show that over 60% is unemployed, and that of the employed, less than one fourth is employed full-time. Based on national standards, approximately 85% of the tribal population live below the poverty level.[18]

SPANISH AS THE YAQUIS FIRST FOREIGN LANGUAGE

In stark contrast with North Americans of today, the vast majority of Mexicans can trace some percentage of their ancestry to indigenous roots. The development of a Mexican national consciousness, nevertheless, has paralleled a commensurate disassociation with an exclusively indigenous identity for much of the population. Probably no one historical trend has been more significant to this phenomenon, with the possible exception of the advent of Christianity, than the development of Spanish as a national language and an intercultural lingua franca throughout the country and most of the hemisphere.

Although it was not uncommon for Yaquis in the traditional homeland to know other languages, Spanish was the first truly foreign language with which they would be compelled to contend in terms of cultural adaptation. By the time of the founding of Guadalupe, it was widely used by the Yaqui residents in all their dealings, economic and social, with the population of Mexicans and Mexican Americans that surrounded them.

Spanish is the dominant language today in Guadalupe, even among the Yaqui. Its is spoken in virtually all Yaqui homes, roughly 70% percent of the time on average. Yaqui is spoken approximately 20% of the time on average (usually by older family members)[19] with the remainder consisting of English (usually younger family members). These three languages coexist in most households, however, with a high degree of mutual intelligibility.

The children of today typically learn Spanish as their first language, since this is the predominant lingua franca of Guadalupe. The trend is, nevertheless, toward an ever greater percentage of children learning English as their first language, which is reinforced in the schools, so that it is now common for a parent to speak to their children in Spanish, and for the children to respond in English.

Elders are the predominant speakers of Yaqui today, and they use it primarily intragenerationally, using Spanish far more commonly with those who are younger.

ENGLISH AS THE YAQUIS SECOND FOREIGN LANGUAGE

The Yaquis had adapted to the changes in Mexico by learning the cultural "vocabulary" as well as the vernacular of the Mexicans. These skills served them well when they arrived in the US, enabling them to readily interact as necessary with the Mexicans and Mexican Americans of Arizona. But a new cultural vocabulary and vernacular had to be acquired to survive in this Anglo dominant society. Until the late fifties, Yaquis in Arizona remained primarily bilingual in Yaqui and Spanish. The third generation, coming of age during that decade, was beginning to speak English as well as the two other languages. Most of the present Yaqui population of Guadalupe

is either bilingual Spanish/English, or trilingual Spanish/Yaqui/English, also tending toward Spanish dominance.

The population of Guadalupe Yaquis today is young, almost half of them are in school. Their language abilities are mixed. Most over age 50 speak at least some Yaqui, and a dialect of Spanish, in which they have steadily become dominant. Most of the school-age population are dominant in a regional Spanish dialect and also have acquired a non-standard English dialect, while a few enter school knowing no English at all. A very few adolescents maintain at least a passive knowledge of spoken Yaqui, although virtually none continues to speak Yaqui fluently. An ever increasing number of children speaks only English, with perhaps passive receptive knowledge of Spanish.

The particular character of the linguistic competence of Yaquis is unique. They, as most Native Americans, speak a dialect variant of English that bears a strong influence from the native language. Since individuals who are raised in an indigenous or minority community usually learn English from other members of that community, the linguistic patterns of their English dialect continue that influence.[20]

In the case of the Yaqui of Guadalupe, however, there exists another dimension to their linguistic culture, since they have gone through this same process earlier in learning Spanish as a second language. The majority of these people acquired English as dominant Yaqui dialect Spanish speakers. That is, many of the grammatical patterns and items of vocabulary differ in form and meaning from those used in the "standard" form of both English *and* Spanish.[21]

THE TEMPE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL DISTRICT'S IMPACT ON THE CULTURAL ADAPTATION OF GUADALUPE YAQUIS

Frank School, the Tempe public elementary school in Guadalupe, enjoys a favorable image in the community, largely due to the practice of employing aides from the community, which has engendered a widespread identification with that school. This bridge between the school and the community has helped to increase communication between these two groups. This has been accomplished both by providing a sense of community–school continuity, as well as providing a linguistic bridge between the mostly Spanish speaking students and the mostly white, English speaking instructional staff. This function has been essential, since language is more than an instrument of communication, it is inseparable from culture.[22] It provides a complex set of categories that determine the capacity to decipher and manipulate complex structures, a sort of intellectual literacy.

The community–school communication, however, has not been historically bilateral, in that aides disseminated information to the community, but significantly less input has gone from the community to the school. Although the outreach endeavors of

the local school district have been well received in the community, the closed nature of traditional Yaqui society has continuously acted to inhibit interaction outside the community—an historically conditioned response which has served to protect the people and the culture, albeit to a limited degree, from external elements which have forced change upon them.[23]

At the core of the discontinuity between the school and the community is the institution's implicit hidden curriculum predicated on a deficit model of the Yaquis as learners. This is generalized to both language and culture. That is to say, that the Yaquis are somehow assumed to be culturally and linguistically lacking. Given that learning occurs in a context of positive interaction, mutual intelligibility, and shared meaning, the Yaquis are marginalized institutionally by this hidden curriculum.

The school, even though it is located in the community and outwardly attempts to communicate with the parents of the Yaqui students, has perpetuated both the social distance and contextual effects which, in turn, perpetuate inequality. To be sure, as part of their education, Yaqui students need to be guided toward the additive skills of dominant culture linguistic and cultural competency in order to maximize their future personal and economic options. That this hasn't happened to any greater degree is largely due to the failure of many school district personnel to perceive their own lack of understanding of cultural "literacy" as it regards of manifested cultural variation, and the implications that has for education.[24]

For many years no bilingual instruction was provided nor appropriate assessment to ascertain the educational needs of the Yaqui and Mexican children by the Tempe Elementary School District. At the time, over 67 percent of the children in special education classes were Yaqui and Mexican, although they constituted only 17 percent of the district student population. In August, 1971, the community based Guadalupe Organization (GO), founded in 1964 by Chicago activist Saul Alinsky, took action to correct the situation of misdiagnosing and mislabeling Guadalupe's non-English proficient students by filing a class action lawsuit against the school district.

The following year, the district was ordered to develop a desegregation plan as a result of the US Office of Civil Rights (OCR) citing a 97 percent minority enrollment at the local elementary school in Guadalupe. This action immediately precipitated an altercation between the community and the school district. The desegregation plan for Guadalupe included the busing of students to seven elementary schools in Tempe. Guadalupe parents argued that they had not been not allowed to contribute to the plan, which seemed to them inadequate. They had favored a plan in which a second school would be built nearby that would attract children from European American neighborhoods.

Some Guadalupe residents felt the school district was trying to destroy the power of the community by scattering the more than 700 Guadalupe children among

seven different schools, where they would constitute minority enclaves. They felt, furthermore, that the school district was overtly attempting to assimilate the kids into the majority culture. Both Guadalupe and Tempe school parents resisted the busing plan. Guadalupe parents, through GO, began to take a critical look at the educational services provided to their children at the secondary level as well.

During the height of the busing boycott in 1973, the Guadalupe Organization opened I'tom Escuela, "Our School" in Yaqui,[25] in a church community center with 15 volunteer teachers and 200 students. Many in the community charged that the inability of public education to meet the needs of Yaqui and Mexican students was one of the prime reasons for the prolonged economic plight in Guadalupe.

I'tom Escuela was financed by rummage and bake sales, car washes, contributions from community groups and by fund-raising campaigns. Its teachers were paid through money received from Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). The alternative school prided itself on building on the cultural heritage students brought from home. The instructional program was not oriented to tests or grades, rather it helped students establish positive self-concepts through learning about their culture and those of others. Three languages were taught, English, Spanish and Yaqui.[26]

The curriculum included the unseen components of language that structure the way people view themselves, each other and the world around them. It also addressed many injustices, the most glaring being the placement of children in classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of IQ tests administered in English.

After ten years of providing a trilingual/tricultural curriculum for the students of Guadalupe I'tom Escuela finally closed it's doors due to financial instability. A primary barrier to their seeking federal funds for continuing this unique school was, ironically, their action resisting busing and boycotting the Civil Rights Plan for Desegregation.

The 1973 lawsuit against the Tempe Elementary School District by the Guadalupe Organization brought about change in respect to language and student assessment. The Guadalupe Decision was incorporated into Arizona Department of Education policy on assessment, which now states that the primary language of each student must be determined, and then the student's proficiency must be tested in that language. As a class action suit, the Guadalupe Decision ensured that all children in the state of Arizona will be assessed in their native language.[27] The Tempe Elementary School District appealed the ruling, and seven years later, in 1978, the US Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal of a lower court decision in favor of the community.[28]

In 1977, while awaiting their final appeal to the high court, the district announced its OCR compliance plan. Numerous changes were put into effect, including more responsive and comprehensive assessment of children whose first language was not English. This included conducting home language surveys to ascertain what language

the children spoke at home, assessment of the children's language proficiency in Spanish, utilizing instruments in Spanish and Spanish speaking testers, and a teacher/aide instrument for ascertaining student language usage and patterns in the classroom, in the lunchroom, and on the playground. Provision was also made for providing training to administrators, instructional, support, and assessment personnel to better prepare them for meeting the needs of the language minority students.[29]

YAQUI PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL ADAPTATION

The possession of multiple operating cultures is the ability to act and behave appropriately in accordance with alternative sets of standards. The ability to demonstrate competence in more than one set of standards or to engage multiple operating cultures constitutes a wider field of shared cultural competence. The Yaquis distinctive identity within their respective communities in both countries, where they must co-exist with "dominant" cultures, has been reinforced as a consequence of both positive and negative factors.

Languages are generally not viewed by the Yaqui community as systems of communicative competence, but rather as vehicles of access to the socio-economic cultural domains they symbolize. The Yaqui language is perceived more as a repository for culture and heritage in a static sense, not viewed as an equally valid and viable medium for intellectual and contemporary social development. English, however, is imbued with such qualities and thereby becomes the gatekeeper for success in the European American dominated national culture.[30]

A study of Yaqui viewpoints on language and literacy conducted in 1989 found that cultural conflict exists in education and language learning. Cultural conflict in education is a dichotomy of cultural survival vs. functional survival within the multiple operating cultures, that is preservation and adaptation.[31] The decline of the Yaqui language in Arizona is expressed by Yaquis in terms of cultural change and adaptation to the dominant culture.[32] Yet paradoxically, their historical marginalization by the dominant society and its institutions such as the schools, as well as by the Mexican American community, has served to keep that identity strong.

The educational expectations of the Yaqui are embedded in the need to adapt and change, combined with a relational view of indigenous people who must exist in the context of a "dominant" society. These expectations do not spring separately from different "spheres of culture" but from the participation in multiple and overlapping aspects of culture as they exist in a multicultural society. Some of their experience and learning is shared with the majority, some is shared with other minorities—especially Mexicans and to a lesser degree Mexican Americans, and some is shared as a unique aspect of being Yaqui in the context of the Guadalupe cultural setting. All

the resulting cultural change and adaptation occurs under conditions of sustained contact in this milieu.

Situational interaction, however, can override the effects of cultural differences. The acquisition of additive cultural competence can be facilitated or mediated, as acculturation is not unimodal and does not occur on a single continuum.[33] It is evident that many Yaquis share cultural similarities with others, but in different ways. Social experience, or effects of "primary and secondary networks," greatly diversify their existing range of operating culture. This has gone largely unnoticed by the educational institutions that serve them.

The importance of language to the participatory development, and transmission of culture is paramount. To look at education as cultural transmission implies a set of basic assumptions about society's cultural interests. It is no longer the individual, but a human group which shares a common cultural system. Information comes from individuals based upon their social perceptions and interactions, and suggests how social structures and functions are part of the accepted patterns for transmitting culture.[34]

Since this is not happening in the classrooms attended by Guadalupe Yaquis, their native language skills in either Yaqui or Spanish are not being developed. Furthermore, since their primary language skills are not being fully exploited to assist in the acquisition of English, their overall linguistic development is being short changed.

Inner conflicts also are a by-product of multiculturalism, in that individuals are likely to experience a greater degree of role conflict in a multicultural setting. This is particularly true for minority individuals, who may be caught in a conflict between the expectations of the dominant culture and those of their own subculture. In addition, role conflict can be expected to arise between the personal aspirations of an individual and appropriate behavior as defined by the person's cultural group.

While language is seen as a critical aspect of cultural pluralism, and study of the languages of developed or exotic societies is widely encouraged, there continues to be a stigmatization associated with indigenous languages or, as in the case of Spanish, with languages that are locally associated primarily with culturally and economically marginalized groups. Spanish study is viewed favorably, on the other hand, for native English speaking European American students who may, for example, seek to participate in an exchange program in Spain. Yet it is viewed quite differently when it is offered for minority students who come from Spanish speaking homes.

Few people will regularly choose to use a stigmatized language without a strong ideological commitment. This has provided a strong impetus for many Guadalupe Yaquis to seek to ensure that their children learn English as a primary language, as early as possible. Often this is done even to the detriment of commensurate Spanish and/or Yaqui skills development.

Development and maintenance of language skills demands the use of the language in significant and useful ways as part of normal real life activities, not just in structured language lessons. Full language acquisition necessitates availability of the total range of communicative possibilities by which the learner may selectively recreate the language in a natural order.[35] This is why dominant languages always prevail while minority languages are continually retreating in their path.

This is the situation Guadalupe community leaders face as they attempt to develop community educational programs which address the Yaqui language and culture. Their cultural and linguistic adaptation has been historically primarily reactive, in an effort to ensure that they would survive. The focus has now shifted with the awareness that in a democratic multicultural society, it is the right of every culture, as with every individual, to thrive.

NOTES

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6.   Edward H. Spicer, "Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation," American Anthropologist 45 (1943): 3, 409-426.

7.   Edward P. Dozier, "Two Examples of Linguistic Acculturation: The Yaqui of Sonora and Arizona and the Tewa of New Mexico," Language 32 (1956): 1, 146-157.

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12. Edward H. Spicer, The Yaquis: A Cultural History (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980), 26.

13. Sam Aaron Brewer, Jr., "The Yaqui Indians of Arizona: Trilingualism and Cultural Change," (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1976), 116.

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15. Edward H. Spicer, Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) 7-93.

16. Pat H. Stein, "Archaeological Testing at AZ: U:9:111 (ASM), a Yaqui Laborer's Camp at the Southside Water Services Center, Mesa, Ariz. Flagstaff: SWCA, Inc. Environmental Consultants, 1992.

17. Cuarenta, forty in Spanish, is the term used by locals of Guadalupe to refer to the original forty acres ceded to Yaquis by presidential decree in 1914. Biehn Colony refers to land given to the Presbyterian church as homesites for Yaquis by Jennie Biehn in 1924.

18. Yaqui Family Literacy Partnership Program, Needs assessment, Tucson, Ariz.: Pima Community College, 1989.

19. Culture: A Way to Reading, Tempe, Arizona: Tempe Elementary School District #3, 1979.

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23. Culture: A Way to Reading, Tempe, Arizona: Tempe Elementary School District #3, 1979.

24. John H. Chilcott, "Where Are You Coming From And Where Are You Going?: The Reporting Of Ethnographic Research," American Educational Research Journal, 24, (1987): 199-218.

25. Cathryn Retzlaff, "Guadalupe Kids Celebrate Town's Pride," Arizona Republic, 10 February 1982, extra.

26. Cathryn R. Shaffer, "Trilingual School Keeps Hanging On During Hard Times," Arizona Republic, 12October 1983, extra.

27. Octaviana Trujillo, (MLK article)

28. Editorial, "Seven Year War Rages On Still Unsettled," The Arizona Forum, March 1978.

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30. Ibid.

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PASIFIKA EDGEWALKERS: URBAN MIGRATION, RESILIENCE AND INDIGENOUS TRANS-CULTURAL IDENTITIES[a]

AUTHOR : ANNE-MARIE TUPUOLA

PERSONAL CONTEXT

My parents, both natives of Samoa, were raised in different surroundings, my father in a rural village and my mother in the city. As youngsters both left their homelands independently to establish new roots in a cosmopolitan city in Niu Sila (New Zealand). Their motives for leaving Samoa were different: my father for educational and employment opportunities while for my mother it was for health care reasons. Initially, my father's intention was to return back to Samoa to continue familial obligations. Over fifty years later his connections to his host country have become more permanent. Nevertheless, his reluctance to relinquish his Samoan citizenship is symptomatic of his lifelong cultural and spiritual ties to his indigenous homeland. My mother's experience, on the other hand, was one of necessity and not of choice. Separated from family during late adolescence, her voyage to urban Niu Sila was permanent from the outset. While they both have indigenous roots in Samoa, their pursuit of a better life is difficult to capture within a linear and universal framework. Moreover, their differing circumstances are indicative of the heterogeneous nature of the indigenous urban migratory experience.

My parents' journeys capture the first hand experiences of early generations of Pacific peoples departing their indigenous homelands for urban dwellings abroad. What are often missing in the literature about these early migratory waves are the individual and personal experiences of the rural-urban drift. In many instances the narratives of these and current generations of indigenous urban dwellers are posited within collective and generalised contexts that simplify the complex and contemporary idiosyncrasies of indigenous urban migration.   Moreover, research and policies that continue to uphold traditional perceptions about the pull and push factors to urban areas and urban patterns of settlement both locally and globally overlook the perspectives of the urban indigenous generations of which I am part. That is, as an urbanised indigenous female I hold multiple identities that cross over western, indigenous, urban, local and global cultures. Therefore, my experience of urban migration is holistic and reflective of genealogical and cultural transitions that are taking place in urban areas – thus complicating the identity formation processes of current indigenous generations.

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a.   *Expert Group Meeting on Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration Santiago de Chile, 27-29 March 2007*

In this paper I want to address the complex cultural transitions of urban indigenous youth, many of whom are products of their elders' and ancestors' decision to reside in urban areas. Moreover, I want to highlight the limitations of out of date developmental, cultural and psychological migration frameworks that tend to box contemporary urbanised indigenous realities within traditional, collective and communal-centred frameworks. Although collective and group identities are still an important feature of indigenous peoples, the increasing trend amongst urbanised youth to create and/or adopt new cultural and self identities cannot be ignored. Likewise, while there is a wealth of literature that outlines clear transitional and settlement patterns of Pacific peoples in urban cities, both locally and globally, little information is available about the social, cultural and psychological implications of urban migration on the well-being of current indigenous urban youth in developed societies. In particular, little attention is paid to urban youth who have strong urban roots and hold only imaginary connections with their indigenous worlds through the memories and anecdotes of their elders.

Thus, in an era where urban migration is not only typical to indigenous groups, it is timely to revisit popular narratives about internal and external urban migration to address some of the limitations of universal interpretations that simplify the transitional process across different indigenous groups and generations (Ferro & Wallner, 2006). There is a need to revisit the push and pull factors of urban migration from the perspectives of urbanised indigenous peoples themselves. Attention must be paid to who are telling the stories. Are they the indigenous orators, storytellers and elders? To what extent are the voices of young people included in current indigenous urban migration discourses? This gap in the migration literature of young people's insights deserves further investigation. For example, some adult narratives about urban youth experiences tend to speak of migration as a process of departure (i.e. departing from the indigenous homeland). Given that many urban indigenous youth are now born and/or raised in urban areas, it seems more fitting to develop migration frameworks that explore the processes of urban settlement from their standpoint. Additionally, it is critical that room is made in the literature for perspectives that posit positive characteristics of urban living and that reiterate the increasing resilience amongst groups of urban indigenous youth.

URBAN MIGRATION

According to the Population Reference Bureau (2007), internal rural to urban migration is leading to a disproportionate increase in urban populations, especially in less developed countries. The claim that "only two of the 10 largest urban areas projected for are expected to be in the more developed countries" suggests to researchers, scholars and policy makers alike that indigenous peoples are likely in coming years to migrate to urban cities in developed countries (p.1). Thus the

multitude of studies and texts that focus solely on internal rural to urban movement within primarily indigenous and less developed countries need to expand the interpretation of urban migration to reflect an increasing movement by indigenous peoples from their local urban cities to global urban areas as well as a growing tendency to move from local rural villages to cosmopolitan cities in developed countries. Although there is a lot of research and texts that cover in depth the reasons why indigenous peoples choose and/or need to move from their rural surroundings to local urban areas, there is still more work needed to investigate in greater depth some of the international movement that is taking place. For example, do they share the same sentiments as those who decide to remain in their indigenous societies? Or are their intentions on a grander scale that comes with greater risks and challenges?

Recently there has been a wealth of literature that describes in greater depth the pros and cons of internal urban migration with specific attention paid to the negative ramifications on the well-being of the individual and families concerned (Connell, 2000; Byrant-Haberkorn, 2004; Tokalau, 1995). For example, some research describes urban migration to be complex and an experience that is often tainted and riddled with false hopes, psychological pressures and financial shortfalls. Thus, while the pull factor is to improve the emotional, financial and familial well-being of indigenous peoples – these high and, at times, overly optimistic expectations have had detrimental effects on the individual's spirituality and mental health. Evidence is seen in the plethora of research that addresses the increasing trend for indigenous peoples to turn to drugs and alcohol for solace as well as the negative ramifications of urbanised poverty on the younger generation whereby some young women are turning to prostitution and some youth are turning to crime for financial reasons (Brannen, 1999; Reddy, 2006).

Alongside the wealth of information about rural-urban migration within indigenous communities, questions need to be asked about those that immigrate to urban areas in developed countries. What are their intentions and do they face similar challenges? Are their intentions to emigrate on a temporary basis and/or to set up new roots in a new country on a more permanent basis? What implications can these forms of departure have on rural indigenous communities as well as on human resources and the capacity to assist in developing progressive indigenous societies? Furthermore, what ramifications can this form of migration have on the generations that are born and raised in the new urban dwellings of their parents/families/ancestors?

INDIGENOUS TRENDS

Indigenous peoples need to create their own narratives and frameworks about their internal and external experiences of urban migration. Very often policies, research and writings about indigenous migratory processes include recommendations that call for a need to contextualise urban migration within indigenous contexts. While

this is a much needed and critical process, the challenge is how to do this without dangerously essentialising and homogenising the experiences of diverse indigenous populations who have clear cultural, geographical, linguistic, genealogical and political differences and their own unique methods of migration. Thus, when we talk about urban migration within indigenous contexts, there must be caution in the terminologies that we adopt as they can reinforce group stereotypes through comments such as 'typical indigenous experience' and overlook the diverse contexts that internal and external urban migration occur in. A lot of contemporary works draw out these differences and the multi-faceted nature of internal and external urban drift. For example, Voigt-Graf (2006) discusses the developmental impacts of temporary movements of Pacific people while Connell and Lea (2002) disentangle some of the exacerbating internal problems that come with local urbanisation and poor urban management. In addition, recent works by Jones and Cocks (2003) address the permanency of the rural and urban transformation in indigenous Pacific regions and highlight some of their concerns involving squatter settlements, housing densities and the rise in domestic and industrial waste. Other authors point to issues such as governments in the western Pacific facing political strife with the increase of unemployment and under-employment. As pointed out by Bedford (2005), this "lack of paid employment in Melanesia's burgeoning urban populations is one of the significant contributing factors behind the civil unrest that has destabilised governance structures throughout the region in recent years" (p. 5). These and other contributions capture some of the economic, developmental, cultural, psychological and ecological risks and costs that, at times, seem to outweigh the benefits of urbanisation. However, despite these pitfalls, the flow of rural dwellers to urban sectors continues to increase in the Pacific. According to a World Bank report (2000), urban migration is not a new phenomenon in the Pacific, thus the rewards of urban development are visible. For example, by transforming urban centres into modern towns an increasing attraction to tourist industries and services has helped to boost the economy. This can be seen in Samoa, whereby Apia, the capital city, has diversified in its activities (e.g. tourism, manufacturing, and education and government services) and consequently has made substantial contributions to foreign exchange earnings (p.3). In this report the emphasis is that the effects of external urban migration "need not be negative" (p. 3). The argument is that, although there has been a growing number of Samoans emigrating to the urban areas of New Zealand, Australia and the United States, this "has not turned Samoa into a depressed backwater. Quite the reverse: Samoa has become more open to global trends while maintaining its unique cultural traditions" (p. 3). This trans-cultural understanding of urban migration deserves further exploration from the perspective of the young indigenous urbanised generations in developed countries.

INDIGENOUS URBANISED GENERATIONS

International urban migration is not new to countries of the Pacific region or to the populations of Polynesia. From as early as the 1950s Pacific people were leaving their homelands for the cities of New Zealand, United States and Australia. Many moved for better educational and employment opportunities, some with the intention of returning home. Three decades later "more Samoans, Niueans, Cook Islanders, Wallisians and almost as many Tongans now live overseas as at home" (Connell, 2000). Remittances have become a financial mainstay for their island-based families, particularly for Tongan and Samoan communities. Moreover, as pointed out by Ward (1998), this form of urbanisation has come at a social and cultural cost as many "Polynesians…living in their island home islands are likely to know more about the cities of New Zealand, Australia and North American, than about their Pacific neighbours" (cited in Cocklin & Keen, 2000: 397). The patterns of urban migration in the Pacific are in many respects "a product of global processes, particularly economic and industrial transformations, which are beyond the direct control of any one city, or even nation states" (Cocklin & Keen, 2000: 399). Therefore, social and cultural responses to urbanisation in Pacific regions "are increasingly affected by international markets and communication networks" (Cocklin & Keen, 2000: 399).

While there is often an assumption that ties are severed as a result of international migration, this has not always been the situation for Pacific peoples. Rather, as described by Cocklin & Keen (2000), Pacific peoples, through their migratory journey, are creating trans-cultural and diasporic connections with those in their island homes. Consequently, there are an increasing number of young people who, as products of this diasporic engagement, are adopting self-created identities that are an incorporation of their indigenous, western, urbanised and global affiliations (Tupuola, 1998; Macpherson, 2000; Macpherson, 2001).

PASIFIKA EDGEWALKERS

I now turn to some of my own work with young Pacific people in Niu Sila to draw attention to some of the benefits that can come with urban migration. The perspectives of these youngsters are often missing as much of the interest has been on young people from indigenous homelands rather than on those of indigenous backgrounds in urban areas abroad. Their narratives make an important and needed contribution in understanding the contemporary processes of urban migration that cross over indigenous, diasporic and trans-cultural contexts.

Youth of Pacific descent born in New Zealand make up over 50% of the New Zealand Pacific Islands population. Many of these children, grand-children and/ or great grandchildren are products of the Pacific diaspora, many of whom weave

between indigenous, western and global societies quite comfortably (Tupuola, 1998). For, as aptly pointed out by Cook (1999), many of the social changes affecting Pacific peoples "derive from global trends and mirror the experiences of many other people" (p.1). This mirroring of other cultures has prompted much debate about the shifting identities of these urbanised generations. For example, instead of adopting genealogically based identities such as 'Samoan', 'Tongan' or 'Niuean' some choose to take on the identification of 'New Zealand born' to make clear distinctions between island born and New Zealand born Pacific youth (Anae, 2001; Brown-Pulu, 2003; Freisen, 2000; Mulitalo, 2001; Tiatia, 1996; Tupuola, 1998). Others, however, have opted not to adopt Pacific identifications at all and instead embrace generic categories such as 'multi-ethnic' (Tupuola, 1998). This genealogical and cultural transition is to challenge the tendency for mainstream New Zealand to homogenise Pacific and 'minority' ethnic identities (Tupuola, 1998, 2004, 2006). Moreover, this resistance is directed at educators, scholars, policy makers, researchers and Pacific people themselves who use and rely on, in their words, "narrow ethnic labels" to define, interpret and, in turn, stereotype their behaviour, learning styles and cultural experiences (Tupuola, 1998, 2006). Thus, in their attempt to resist narrow and rigid labels often imposed on them, some have chosen to create their own self-identifications to capture their multiple identities in a more positive light (Tupuola, 1998, 2004).

This sense of agency can also be seen through the many initiatives Pacific youth themselves are developing to showcase their Pacific roots as well as to promote their indigenous languages, cultures and wares to both Pacific and non Pacific audiences (Dunlop-Fairburn & Makisi, 2003). The Pasifika festival in Auckland, for example, is an annual event that draws enormous interest from the general public. At this event the strengths and innovation of Pacific peoples are highlighted as is the celebration of their many connections with their indigenous homelands, identities and urban and globalised roots. Concomitantly, Pacific youth have also made important contributions to the indigenisation of globalised popular culture that is often shaped and directed by the music and imagery of the United States. Although there are urban Polynesian groups that have adopted the street fashion, vernacular and gangsta images of their American peers, others have made concerted efforts to resist this trend (Tupuola, 2006). Artists such as Che Fu and King Kapisi, for example, fuse urban music and hip hop with Pacific elements. Of interest is an image of King Kapisi, a popular hip hop artist in Niu Sila, dressed in traditional Samoan attire for his album cover. There are other young Pacific artists who embrace their indigenous languages through popular music and urban street fashion with pride and who make it a priority to educate the general public about the realities of colonialism, the Mau movement of Samoa and the Dawn Raids on Pacific immigrants during the 1970s (Macpherson,1996). In addition, there has been a surge in visual and performing arts by the urban indigenous generation that highlights the resilience of Pacific peoples during times of adversity and that accentuates the valuable contribution

they make to the economic, political, educational and cultural vibrancy of Niu Sila (Macpherson, 2000; Macpherson et al., 2001). Thus, in Niu Sila there is a cultural resurgence of things Pacifika and, while this is a positive trend, there is a concern that Pacific cultures will be marketed inappropriately on a global scale and thus exploited for the good of a few individuals and organisations.

I have witnessed firsthand several occasions where Pacific artifacts, genealogies, histories and journeys are on display within inappropriate contexts that dangerously perpetuate the dated and problematic romanticism of the Pacific Islands and the Pacific woman. Furthermore, there have been events that have showcased Pacific arts while excluding Pacific peoples at opening receptions and artists meetings. Rather than accept these, Pacific individuals, me included, have chosen to 'talk back' by writing reviews about these events, approaching the organisers and by informing Pacific peoples about these matters. This proactive strategy is to ensure that indigenous arts and narratives remain 'sacred knowledge' and are protected from exploitation. Likewise, our decision to react exemplifies the emergence of a growing political generation of urban indigenous peoples who, due to circumstance, have taken on cultural custodian responsibilities for the sake of keeping the integrity of our indigenous roots intact.

Thus, within trans-cultural contexts, there are urban generations that I refer to as Pasifika edgewalkers (Tupuola, 2004) as they are, in the words of Krebs (1999: 9), resilient and "able to walk… the edge between… cultures in the same persona ". As products of the Pacific diaspora, these 'edgewalkers' also seek out transient self-identities that seem far removed from universal developmental prescriptions for a healthy and achieved identity. Moreover, they are part of a generation of Pacific peoples who have mastered skills that have enabled them to adopt situational identities that allow them to weave between traditional indigenous contexts and the technological and information worlds (Anae, 2001; Macpherson, 2000; Tupuola, 2004).

RESILIENCE

This creation of alternative identities deserves further attention; particularly as some literature describes this as the younger generations' form of cultural resistance and/or distancing from their Pacific and indigenous backgrounds. While this may be true for some, it is inappropriate to assume that this is typical for all Pacific youth in Niu Sila. Rather, through my own experience and work with Pacific youth in Niu Sila and abroad, this behaviour is an expression of their resilience. In general terms, resilience is the capacity to "bounce back" in spite of significant stress or adversity (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2000; Tupuola, 2001; 2004). Within a diasporic context, resilience can be viewed as a complex interplay between certain characteristics of individuals in their broader environments (Cadell et al., 2001).

Furthermore, resilience is often seen to be important during times of transition, when stresses tend to be greatest (Luthar, 1991, 2003). Mindful of the complex interplay of cultures in Niu Sila that indigenous urban youth interact in, their identities (collective and personal) are often transitional. Their decision to adopt multiple and situational identities is a process of resilience and a means of 'bouncing back' that is not recognised in literature about urban migration and youth identities. Instead, much of the discourse has been centred on negative ramifications of cultural identity where urban youth are often described as undergoing an identity crisis and identity confusion. Future policy and research that explore urban indigenous youth in developed countries should adopt identity models that embrace multiple and fluid identities in a fashion similar to that of 'Pasifika edgewalker'. More so, the notion of multiple identities should be interpreted from resilient and not cultural deficit frameworks.

These patterns of resilience are not in isolation from the trends that can be seen amongst young people of indigenous and immigrant backgrounds in the United States and the United Kingdom that I have also worked with. It seems that, despite the flux of negative publicity about domestic and international migration on a global scale, these youngsters, in collaboration with their communities, are working hard to break the dependency and helpless stereotypes often made about their populations (Cattell, 2004; Tupuola, 2006). Like their Pacific peers, their experiences and perspectives seem to be misinterpreted and misunderstood. In their attempts to break outside of their own comfort zones and, in turn, from their adverse surroundings and neighbourhoods, many are choosing to create their own self-identities as a means of survival (Tupuola, 2007; Tupuola & Cattell, 2007; Tupuola et al., 2007).

Researchers and policy-makers alike need to revise interpretations of cultural resistance and resilience so that the discourse about negative experiences of internal and external urban migration, while important, is acknowledged as one of many perspectives. For example, some of my research has found there to be a changing mindset amongst Pacific youth about their political, economic and cultural standing in urban areas. Instead of relying on conventional social support systems to enhance their well-being (family, peers, church and neighbourhoods), some are creating their own support systems that are not necessarily culturally based. These may be through their sports and/or youth clubs and through youth networks courtesy of the internet, including international chat rooms and/or youth forums. In addition, some have mastered help-seeking skills in order to access educational resources, training facilities and health services not as easily available to earlier generations. The effect of such self-seeking behaviour can be seen in the increasing number of Pacific peoples returning to post-secondary and tertiary education as well as a visible mobility of Pacific generations in the health, political and educational sectors (Koloto, 2003; Macpherson, 2000).

By highlighting some of the more positive consequences and developments that arise from domestic and external urban migration, it is important to emphasise the necessity to explore some of the less spoken about patterns of settlement from the viewpoint of the young urban indigenous settler. Furthermore, it is critical that the observation of some of the overt behaviours of these young generations is neither misconstrued nor misinterpreted. As my own work illustrates, not all youth of indigenous backgrounds in urban areas are facing identity crises and identity confusion. Their decision to create their own self-identities is their way of surviving the constant bombardment of expectations placed on them as members of a multitude of cultures and societies. Therefore, their pro-active behaviour needs to be defined from a resilience standpoint rather than necessarily that of cultural resistance and distancing.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Urban migration is a multi-faceted experience that is complex on various levels. This paper has tried to briefly synthesise in some coherent form some of the issues that deserve further investigation when we talk about domestic and external urban migration within diverse urbanised indigenous contexts.

There has been a wealth of contributions by a diverse group of researchers, educators, scholars, policy-makers, politicians and indigenous peoples themselves that help to disentangle the nuances and fluid idiosyncrasies of the urban migration process, context and consequences. This is a challenging endeavour given that cultures are not static and thus the patterns of migration and definitions of 'urban' change with it.

Pasifika peoples are heterogeneous, thus their process of urban migration is difficult to define and interpret within a linear and blanket approach framework. However, the literature that is available about Pacific societies makes valuable starting points in unraveling some of the migratory patterns unique to each Pacific individual, community and society. As shown in this paper, there are intra-cultural differences within Pacific peoples that cannot be ignored.

A lot of the literature about urban migration within indigenous contexts provides a multitude of information, data and findings about the negative implications that indigenous peoples and communities face in their endeavour for a better life. These are useful and valuable in bettering the experience of migration as well as foreseeing both immediate and future harmful and dangerous consequences at the grassroots, micro, macro and global levels. However, this continual emphasis on negativities can reinforce deficit social stereotypes about indigenous peoples. They also can perpetuate self-fulfilling prophecies about indigenous peoples as dependent and helpless rather than creative, innovative and resilient world citizens.

Thus, the aim of this paper is to illustrate some of the positive developments that are taking place at the grassroots, urban and global levels by urbanised generations and/or Pasifika edgewalkers, many of whom are creating and developing strategies and identities that not only promote the visibility of indigenous cultures but that ensure indigenous cultures are 'show cased' and utilised with integrity. More importantly, the objective of this paper is to highlight the resilience of indigenous communities, with particular reference made to young people, as their insights and experiences are often missing in research, policy and theoretical frameworks about urban migration.

When we talk about indigenous urban migration there are some areas that deserve further investigation. They include the need to view the migration process within a resilience framework and to explore further the creative and innovative ways urban indigenous communities are developing social capital and social networks to better their well-being on multiple levels. We often talk about chain migration within a migratory context. However, as my paper shows, this process is taking place in urban places of settlement within a slightly different context. This human chain is used as an information broker that is inclusive of diverse cultural groups, in turn expanding the cultural social support systems of indigenous communities.

Cultural identity is an issue that has been debated for decades. Much of the research and literature that talk about identity tend to be measured around western psychological models, whereby a single identity is considered healthy, thus the emphasis on the achieved identity status. In current times young generations of indigenous backgrounds are living in societies where their fluid and multiple identities are an asset and an important component for fostering resilience in an increasingly globalised world. Identity, as seen in this paper, is an agglomeration of the person's self, collective, ethnic, cultural, genealogical, political and geographical identities. This understanding and interpretation of the urban indigenous identity deserves further recognition.

Finally, in an era where young people are exposed to technology, media and popular culture on a global scale, it is important to examine indigenous cultures, identities and experiences within a framework that acknowledges the increasingly technologically savvy generation of young indigenous peoples. It is important that greater attention is paid to the wealth of multi-media material that is available about the urban migration experience, mainly written, edited and produced by young indigenous peoples themselves (see www.pasifika.com).

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As I continue my journey as an urban indigenous female I am mindful of the responsibilities that come with that. Thus, it is often easy to play the victim during

times of adversity; however it is at these moments when I remind myself of how my ancestors and the generations before me faced their daily hurdles. It is also at these moments [sic] when I am reminded of the risks and achievements of my forefathers and foremothers in their efforts to create possibilities so that my generation can now achieve our own dreams. As I continue with my voyage, I must never forget my own responsibility to keep the doors of opportunity open for future generations without ever compromising the professionalism, commitment and integrity that my predecessors worked so hard to establish (Tupuola, 2006: 13).

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URBAN INDIGENOUS AFRICAN PASTORALISTS: DISTINCT PEOPLES WITH DISTINCT NEEDS[a]

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ABSTRACT

The paper essentially focuses on the distinct nature of African Indigenous Peoples in urban areas who are very distinct and have very distinct needs. The paper uses case examples from East Africa although there are many similarities with pastoralists in the rest of the continent. The paper begins with an overview of African indigenous peoples and typical characteristics on how to identify them. Specific reference is made particularly to their human rights situation and the violations of those rights by states within which they have found themselves. The paper then makes the link between the violation of rights and the production of conditions attributing to the migration of some pastoralist to urban areas in search for grazing and water following periodic droughts and employment opportunities for others. Some of these conditions include continuing loss of access to traditional lands and natural resources and consequent decline of the pastoralist economy to sustain the people. These conditions essentially explain the negative policy environment and the inability of pastoralists to influence political affairs in their respective countries.

Following migration to urban areas pastoralists are engaged in non-pastoral activities within the informal sector. The paper looks at the various challenges, poor living conditions, lack of facilities and services, lack of recognition, exploitation, discrimination and prejudices which the urban indigenous pastoralists are subjected to within the urban informal sector. It also discusses some of the coping strategies, forms of employment and occupations which they engage in order to survive in competitive urban environments. Some of these include the commoditization of certain aspects of their culture such as performing traditional dances for the entertainment of tourists, selling traditional handcraft, herbs and medicinal plants. They also get deployed as security guards on account of their reputation as brave warriors. Women engage in beadwork and in making and selling handicrafts as well as in selling medicinal herbs.

The paper makes recommendations emphasizing the need for studies focusing on the special needs of indigenous pastoralists in urban areas; skill development and a need for urban policy and informal sector reforms that take into account the distinct problems of distinct urban indigenous pastoralists. UN Permanent Forum is also urged to take advantage of the Second Decade of IPs to focus on the specific

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problems of urban based indigenous pastoralists. States are also urged to improve the urban informal sector in order to cater for the special needs for facilities and services of indigenous pastoralists, women and children of the poorest of the poor indigenous peoples in urban areas.

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

This section gives a broad overview of communities within the African continent who have identified with the international indigenous peoples movement and their typical characteristics.

IDENTIFICATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN AFRICA

The term "indigenous" with respect to Africa often leads to debates because it is acknowledges that, except for a few exceptions involving communities that migrated from other continents or settlers from Europe, Africans can claim to be aboriginal people of the continent and nowhere else. Within a common heritage of aboriginality, however, African people have for centuries been migrating from various parts of the continent and there have been wars of conquest, which shaped the character of nationalities. As if that was not enough, communities have over the years, mixed, intermingled and inter-married. The 19th century phenomenon of nation-states has further complicated the cohesion of African nations and communities. With the adoption of former colonial boundaries at independence, arbitrary lines of demarcation have divided indigenous communities making them numerical minorities in a number of states. Because of this confusion a 'working definition' of the term is difficult to get and may not be very useful. It is for this reason that the Working Group resolved to settle for a socio-psychological description of the term "indigenous", setting out broad criteria and affirming, as in the United Nations system, the principle of self-definition and recognition of self-identity of peoples.

These broad criteria have been forged by African peoples in independent African states who are facing particular human rights violations, and who have identified with the indigenous peoples' movement and are applying the term "indigenous" in their efforts to address their situation. They cut across various economic systems and embrace hunter-gatherers, pastoralists as well as some small-scale farmers. Similarly, they practice different cultures, are organized according to various social institutions and subscribe to different religious systems. Examples provided are by no means conclusive, but are meant to provide tangible content to what would otherwise be pure theory. Those identifying as indigenous peoples in Africa have different names; are tied to very differing geographical locations and find themselves with specific realities that have to be evoked for a comprehensive appreciation of their situation and issues.

The communities who have identified with the international indigenous peoples movement are mainly pastoralists and Hunter/Gatherers and small farming communities. They are spread throughout the continent. In North Africa, Amazigh of Morocco suffer cultural discrimination from the mainstream communities. In West Africa, the Touareg pastoralists of Mali, Bukina Faso, Niger and Libya also face similar problems relating to exclusion and marginalization . The Ogoni of Nigeria find the resources in their areas expropriated for the benefit of others and theyr remain on the periphery of development. In Central Africa Batwa/Baka Pygmies of DRC,Congo Brazaville, Gabon, Rwanda and Burundi as well as Mbororo pastoralists. sufer similar fate as do the pastoralists and hunter-gatherers of East Africa and the Horn. The same applies to Southern Africa where the San, Basarwa and Himba have been evicted from their ancestral territories to make way for "development" of the nation. Some the groups include the Barbaig, Endorois, Yaaku, Turkana, Samburu, Maasai, Borana, Waata, Ogiek, Hadzabe, Batwa of Uganda to name but a few.

Indigenous peoples of Africa cite the following as points of commonality. ILO Convention 169 and the World Bank have general criteria for identifying indigenous peoples. But in Africa, the peoples who identify with the international indigenous peoples' movement cite a number of elements in terms of violation of rights which include the following (Working Group of the ACHPR, 2005).

1. They are discriminated against and negative stereotypes such as "underdeveloped", "backward", "primitive" used to refer to them.

2. They are dispossessed of land and natural resources on which they are dependent and this leads to impoverishment.

3. They are not accommodated by dominant development paradigms

4. They are victimized by mainstream development policies and ideologies

5. Where "development" has been attempted, it has been misguided and destructive.

6. Their areas lack infrastructure - poor access to health services, inappropriate education systems, etc.

7. They are often excluded from true participation in their own development;

8. Sometimes denied cultural and language rights; and so on (Consultative Meeting of Experts on issues of indigenous Peoples and Minorities in Africa, 2006).

These factors relating to violation of human rights are mainly contributed to the migration of pastoralists to the urban areas.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO URBAN MIGRATION BY PASTORALISTS

A number of push/pull factors have been prompting migration of indigenous peoples to urban areas. Some of the main ones include the following:

1. Loss of land, territories and resources leading to the overall deterioration of the traditional livelihoods coupled with the absence of viable economic alternatives

2. Misplaced forms of development – dams, mining projects, large-scale farming, wildlife management.

3. Conflicts/insecurity

4. Natural disasters such as drought and climate change

5. Urbanization

6. Lack of recognition of rights

These are elaborated briefly below:

1. Loss of land, territories and resources leading to the overall deterioration of the traditional livelihoods coupled with the absence of viable economic alternatives

   All over Africa, pastoralists are losing access to their traditional lands and finding their movements increasingly restricted. More of their fertile lands are being taken-up by government and private interests for non-pastoral and commercial uses (mining, ranching, wildlife conservation, military training grounds etc.). Communal rangelands are being broken-up into discrete parcels for exclusive use. As a result, indigenous pastoralists are being pushed to urban areas.

   These processes are being experienced by a number of pastoralist groups on the continent. The Barbaig of Tanzania have found their prime grazing lands taken up by government for the commercial production of wheat for local consumption and for export ((Lane 1993, World Bank 1992). With the shrinking of resources for livestock, they have had to move to other areas and to peri-urban centres. The same fate befell the Baraguyu and Maasai also of Tanzania who found large parts of their traditional territory

taken up by farmers, either through government re-settlement projects or through haphazard encroachment by farming communities.

2. Misplaced forms of development such as the construction of dams, mining projects, large-scale farming, wildlife management, have also played a role in the displacement of indigenous African pastoralists. The Himba of Namibia are victims of a dam project, so are the Turkana of Kenya. Mining projects have affected the Southern Africa San and Basarwa as well as Tanzania Maasai of Arusha region. The same areas of Tanzania have also seen large scale farming and wildlife management displaced people off their land. Indeed all the famous wildlife parks and reserves are located in the territories of indigenous peoples.

3. Conflicts/insecurity

   The Karamoja area of Northern Uganda and the pastoralists of Northern Kenya have over the years received little state security apparatus. At the same time, conflicts affecting neighbouring countries of Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia have spilt over with guns and ammunition. Consequently, the level of insecurity has increased dramatically and this has contributed to mass movements especially of women and children to urban areas in search of safe havens. The Karamojong have flocked into Kampala, Jinja, and other urban centres as a result of insecurity in their areas (Draft Uganda Research and information visit report of the ACHPR, 2006).

   Without government protection (indeed often with government approval and facilitation) or policies, the process of displacement of pastoralists has continued unabated such that the remainder of lands in the possession of pastoralists do not adequately support sustainable pastoral livelihoods, hence the increasing number of pastoralists moving to urban areas.

4. Natural disasters such as drought and climate change

5. Urbanization itself is increasingly taking up areas, which were initially utilized by indigenous peoples for pasture and water. In due course, these urban centers also become denuded from over use by domestic stock, who then move away, leaving behind "pastoralists without livestock" (Kipuri undated).

6. Lack of recognition of indigenous peoples' rights, such as the right to self-determination, as well as the right to land and control over their natural resources have also contributed to influx of indigenous pastoralists into urban areas where they are increasingly becoming vulnerable, poorer and marginalized (ECOSOC, 2003).

Natural disasters such as drought and climate change have also combined to exacerbate the problems faced by African pastoralists. Rains are increasingly unpredictable in amounts and timing, while the indigenous early warning systems are waning or increasingly unable to cope with new climatic circumstances.

Droughts, deforestation, overgrazing, and widespread soil erosion and desertification and related factors have all combined to force pastoralists to leave their lands as "environmental refugees" (Brodnig 1998).

IMPACT OF URBAN LIFE ON INDIGENOUS PASTORALISTS

As urban dwellers, pastoralists and other urban indigenous communities face problems worse than those faced by their urban poor counterparts Some of the problems they encounter include the following:

1. Lack of access to decent work

2. Inadequate housing

3. Inadequate/inexistent social services.

4. Discrimination

5. Lack of credit

6. Lack of access to urban systems of governance

These are summarized below:

1. In terms of employment, many of the pastoralists who migrate to urban areas end up eking a living from the informal sector as unskilled labourers. This is because they lack technical skills required to access better employment opportunities. When they get jobs, they are generally low paying and work conditions are poor and even unsafe. The most common jobs that pastoralists men get in urban areas are to act as security guards which is usually low paying.

2. Most pastoralists live in slum areas in outskirts of towns in sub-standard shared shelters often associated with poor sanitation, hygiene and crime.

3. Inadequate social services -

4. Discrimination is commonly experienced by indigenous pastoralists, even by those having education and skills. This factor which plays a significant role in limiting small and micro entrepreneurs or self employed pastoralists workers from accessing credit.

5. Most of the urban pastoralists lack collateral and poor knowledge of the financial and credit systems.

6. Lack of access to urban systems of governance

CASES

CASE 1: PARAKUYIO PASTORALISTS IN URBAN AREAS

- Found in northern & Coast regions of Tanzania, but main migration areas is Dar es salaam, Tanga, Chalinze and Morogoro
- Few have formal education/no marketable skills
- Work as watchmen
- Sell indigenous herbs and medicines
- Hired by hunting companies as hunters
- Hair braiders for women
- Some work in tourist Hotels as doormen
- Live in shared shelters in slums
- Displaced from their own areas by farming
- Migrated into 9 district in search of pasture and water for livestock
- Conflict with farmers over resources
- Blamed for migrating out of own areas
- Have no facilities/services but livestock is taxed
- No representation because they are few
- Suffer discrimination and anti-pastoralist bias
- Recently have started building first-ever school

CASE 2: MAASAI/SAMBURU IN URBAN AREAS

- Maasai and samburu are cousins and speak a similar language
- Samburu in Northern Kenya & Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania
- They migrate in search of pasture and water for livestock
- Drought persist and they stay in urban areas in search of wage employment

- Some individuals move to urban areas in search of wage employment

- Live in slums/share shacks

- Work as watchmen

- Some work in the mines in Northern Tanzania

- Sell indigenous herbs and medicines

- Sell artifacts – mainly women

- Hair braiders for women

- Dance in tourist hotels

- Stand at tourist hotel entrants to advertise the tourist facilities

- No social amenities, majority of children do not go to school due to lack of schools, teachers and curricula not relevant to their needs

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OF PASTORALISTS IN URBAN AREAS

- Salaries are lower than other workers for equal work; below minimum wage and no legal remedies

- No job security

- No protection against attack

- No appropriate clothing for specific jobs

- Inadequate shelter

- Not in unions or any social movements

- No access to relevant information

- No means of improving their skills

- No access to credit or microfinance

- Politically disenfranchised

Ole Kaunga describes well the conditions of employment of Maasai security guards in Dar es Salaam when he writes:

> *"Most pastoralist men in offering security services are normally not given contracts and the terms of employment are mutually agreed verbally always to the advantage of the employer, including promptness in salary payments. This is due partly to their illiteracy, which denies them a bargaining power. They are even poorly paid by those urban poor who can afford their services. Due to low pay and poor working conditions, pastoralist security guards live in slums on the outskirts*

of the city. They do not have other benefits like protective clothing despite having to work all night in the cold. Maasai men migrating to urban areas are proving to be a source of cheap and unskilled labour. Their rights cannot be upheld because urban authorities also discriminate and despise them …as a result they transform them into a desperate and ignorant minority people whose voice may never be heard as long as they continue to be in urban centers. They are not protected against unscrupulous employers and the entire urban environment harbors anti-Maasai hatred, bias and prejudice" (Ole Kaunga, 2000).

CASE 3: KARAMOJONG IN URBAN AREAS

- Found in Northern Uganda
- Areas experience serious conflicts
- Migrate to Kampala/Jinja for safety
- Few menial jobs, majority beg
- No shelter/housing, live in slums together
- Overcharged by landlords
- No social amenities enjoyed – no schooling for children
- Discriminated against

Besides the above, there are other more subtle and long term challenges faced by urban indigenous peoples with serious implications. These are:

- Assimilation by dominant groups
- Loss of culture, language & identity
- Loss of spiritual values
- Globalization/social change
- Denial/exclusion by some governments and others

CHALLENGES PRESENTED BY THE INFORMAL SECTOR

In many African countries, the rate of urban unemployment has been rising steadily rising. In Kenya it almost tripled in twenty years from 7 per cent in 1978 to 20 per cent in 1999, whereas female unemployment rose from 18 per cent in 1989 to 26 per cent in 1999 (GoK 2003). In 2002, Nairobi province accounted for 24.2 per cent of the informal sector employment (GoK 2003). The government of

Kenya acknowledges the importance of the informal sector in creating jobs (GoK 2001,1974, 1986, & 1992). Support to the informal sector is also elaborated in the1974-78 Development Plan, Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 & Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1992. It is a clear reflection of the inability of the formal sector to absorb job seekers.

With a saturated formal employment market, the informal sector is the natural alternative for indigenous pastoralists. The options available include:

a. Selling cultural arts and handicrafts

b. Performing cultural dances for the tourist market

c. Preparing and selling traditional medicine for various illnesses.

Some of these jobs amount to commoditization of indigenous culture and skills as demanded by the tourism industry which thrives on the growing interest in 'authentic' and indigenous cultures of the world. Since indigenous communities are the ones who still have rich authentic cultures it is they that are frequently displayed at airports, airline magazines, in hotel rooms, etc.

Due to their ignorance and not being unionized, hotels in big cities employ pastoralists to model at their front doors in order to attract tourists and act as advertisers for the hotels. Yet they are not paid for their additional task of advertising, but only as guards. This amounts to the violation of their intellectual property rights (Ole Kaunga, 2000).

PREPARING AND SELLING TRADITIONAL MEDICINE FOR VARIOUS ILLNESSES

In most pastoralist societies, knowledge of medicinal plants is held by both men and women. As healthcare costs continue to skyrocket, many urban poor are increasingly finding it hard to access modern medicine and instead turning to traditional medicine. But in marketing the herbs and medicines they need licenses from city authorities and clearance from medical boards. Since these bureaucratic procedures require large sums of money which the urban pastoralists often lack, they end up operating as illegal traders. Accessing credit is difficult for them because financial institutions mistrust them. The argument has been that pastoralists are nomadic ad can never be traced, hence they are treated as natural loan defaulters. They also lack marketing skills to enable them effectively compete with other urban competitors in similar activities.

In the process of selling herbs and traditional medicine pastoralists often end up losing their property, intellectual and cultural rights .protection.

Private companies have taken liberty to process indigenous medicinal plant varieties and seeds without acknowledging sources or equitably sharing the benefits and profits as set out under the TRIPS Agreement.

URBAN PASTORALIST WOMEN IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR

The women who live in urban areas are often widows and they are sole bread-winners. They sell traditional herbs, work as home helpers, fetching firewood and make and sell art works and handicrafts.

It has been observed however that Maasai women in Kajiado district in south Kenya sell art items in urban centers at low prices compared to their non-Maasai traders. Their competitors have advantages over them because they procure licenses to curios and art shops, and are able to organize better. Thus after spending the whole day, only a few women are able to sell a few items and they make little money, if at all, In this way, they fail to benefit much from the tourist industry (Kipuri, 2002). Increasing poverty and HIV/AIDS-related mortality in much of Africa has correspondingly increased the burden on women who bear the responsibility of providing food and basic necessities for the household.

POSITIVE IMPACT OF URBAN CENTRES ON PASTORALISTS

While the negative side of moving to urban areas far outweighs the positive, there are nevertheless positive aspects to the moves depending on the situation.

a. One of these is, in the face of starvation, relief food may be available is some urban centres through aid agencies.

b. In the face of insecurity, urban centres might provide safety.

c. Despite their low wages, migrants are able to send some proceeds from their wages back home, and this plays and important role in alleviating the poverty in areas of origin.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Research undertaken to show the magnitude of the problem and its impact

- Attention of governments to be drawn about the problem of IP urban migration by bilateral agencies

- Policy guidelines be drawn to address special problem of Indigenous urban migrants

- Implementing agencies be identified and monitoring mechanisms be put in place

- Line Ministries be charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the their own tasks also cater for indigenous migrants who live in urban areas

- Informal sector reform be undertaken and should lead to the protection of people in the sector in terms of wages and working conditions and spatial organization particularly the special need of pastoralists

- Human rights organizations should be made aware and responsible in highlighting the issues of urban indigenous migrants and particularly their rights to their intellectual property and engage governments on mechanisms of human rights protection

- Use the 2nd UN Decade of Indigenous Peoples to address needs of IPs living in urban areas

- Develop special programmes to target IPs in urban areas and the need to include development of skills, housing and protection of their rights

- Regional and international Human Rights bodies to include urban indigenous peoples in their missions

- Sensitizing micro finance and credit institutions to give the Maasai and other indigenous peoples access to credit facilities as well as entrepreneurial training

- Improve and increase awareness among urban dwellers for respect of indigenous peoples.

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN INDIA: STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY, EQUALITY AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS[a]

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INTRODUCTION

The term "migration" has different connotations for different groups of people all over the world. For the poor and oppressed, it means hope, for the host often trouble and burden, and to those who are forced to migrate - pain and misery. To the developed world, it means enforcing more stringent laws; to the developing world it reflects imbalance and the need for development. Migration is a phenomenon so vast that explaining and dissecting it becomes a herculean task. This is why I would like to limit my presentation to India, with a special focus on the North-Eastern region of India. While dealing with migration, I intend to deal primarily with migration within India, specifically the shift of rural-based indigenous communities to bigger cities and the trends and consequences thereof.

Article 342 of the Indian Constitution[b] refers to indigenous peoples as "Scheduled Tribes." The national census of India does not recognize racial or ethnic groups within India. 'Adivasi' is the term popularly used to refer to India's indigenous or tribal peoples. It is a Sanskrit word meaning "original people" and contrary to the official government position, it reflects the widely recognized fact that the people in question are the earliest known settlers of the Indian subcontinent and North-East India.

In the 2001 census[c] 84.33 million persons were classified as members of Scheduled Tribes, corresponding to 8.2% of the total population. The census lists 461 groups recognized as tribes, while estimates of the number of tribes living in India go up to 635. While the number of members of the largest tribes such as the Gonds, Santals, Oraon, Bhils or Nagas, go into the millions, others such as the Onge or the Great Andamanese are on the brink of extinction.

The majority of the indigenous and tribal peoples live in an almost contiguous belt stretching from Gujarat in the west to the seven states in the North-East, with the highest concentration in the central region, where more than 50% of the tribal people live. The highest ethnic diversity among the indigenous and tribal population is in the North-Eastern region, where 220 distinct groups have been identified. They comprise approximately 12% of the total indigenous population of India.

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a. *Expert Group Meeting on Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration Santiago de Chile, 27-29 March 2007*
b. *Constitution of India, P.M.Bakshi 2002.*
c. *Census of India; Govt. site with detailed data from 2001 census.*

India, a country with immense potential that is rapidly emerging as a powerful economic power, is still a developing nation for various obvious reasons. It is intriguing to see that the problems faced by the indigenous peoples belonging to the developed world are very different from the ones faced by indigenous peoples in India, though the causes for these problems are very similar or almost identical globally. Though the issue of migration has been long evident in the context of the developed world, it has gained relevance and become visible in India only in the recent past and is yet to be addressed in the North–Eastern part of India - though some of its effects and underlying causes are beginning to show and therefore, the need to finally address them. Thus, it becomes particularly crucial to be able to discuss and deliberate on them now, before they cause irreversible damage.

Ideally, I wish my people would not have to migrate at all, but a proposition like this would be Utopic, to say the least. Migration is a reality we all have to deal with.

I am privileged to be here today and to be a part of this Expert Group. I am sure I will gain more than I will be able to contribute and I consider it a blessing to be here. Being able to attend a conference such as this makes me realize that belonging to a developing nation is not all that bad. For I always return home having learnt from the past that so many of you in the developed world have already lived and learnt from. Discussing the consequences faced by indigenous people belonging to the developed world helps me consider how to deal with those faced by people of my own country.

In the course of this presentation I would first like to focus on causes and then move on to effects. I will try to cover as many indigenous peoples around India as possible by inserting statistics and case studies wherever applicable.

CAUSES

The concept of indigenous migration is as complex and diverse as the network of indigenous peoples spread all over the world. Though the root causes may seem similar, the degree and extent of migration vary widely due to reasons ranging from historical background to cultural diversity to individual stages of economic development and the need for survival.

In the past migration was mostly forced and the reasons essentially revolved around subsistence and survival. However, in the recent past the trend has moved towards more voluntary migration - in most cases temporary, which has both negative and positive consequences. Though there is a positive side to migration, some of the effects are worthy to be seen and analyzed.

For many of us in the North-Eastern region of India our future is still being written. The present situation is still very fragile and various issues which affect us - including right to self- determination et al – are very delicate.

I would like to present the causes of migration in the North-East under the following heads and try to deal with each one of them as clearly as possible. Firstly I will deal with the causes for forced migration, then the recent trend of voluntary migration. Some of the causes may overlap but I would try to still see them as separate - though there may be a thin line dividing the two.

1. CAUSES FOR FORCED MIGRATION

SURVIVAL: ECONOMY, DISPLACEMENT, STARVATION.

The majority of indigenous populations still live in rural areas. For example, according to the 2001 census, the indigenous populations in the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu, primarily reside in rural areas and only 15.4 %[d] reside in urban areas of the State. Another example is the state of Gujarat in the Western-most part of India, where the indigenous populations constitute 14.8% of the total population. Here 91.8 % of the indigenous populations resides in rural areas and only 8.2 % in urban areas according to the 2001 census.[e] Orissa, another state where the indigenous populations constitute 22.1 % of the total population of the state, has 94.5 % of these indigenous populations still residing in villages according to the 2001 census.[f] The level and rate of development in rural areas is very slow and poor and the economy is backward, generally. Since most areas are located in the interior parts of the state and cannot be easily accessed, this physical barrier has lead to isolation, which results in a condition where the benefits of economy are not trickling down to a large section of the indigenous population.

There is a glaring lack of government initiative in investing and encouraging development in these areas, which has added to the increasing trend of migration from rural to urban areas. Most of the indigenous peoples are left to fend for themselves, and even as they continue doing what their ancestors did, i.e. farming in most cases, they lack the expertise or skill or support required to sustain their livelihood and families.

According to a study by The George Foundation,[g] a non- profit organization established in 1995 under the Indian Trust Act, a survey of 17 villages in Hosur Taluk in Tamil Nadu shows that over 80 percent of the population has family

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d. *Census of India; Govt. site with detailed data from 2001 census.*
e. *Census of India; Govt. site with detailed data from 2001 census.*
f. *Census of India; Govt. site with detailed data from 2001 census.*
g. *http://www.tgfworld.org/home.html*

incomes of less than $1 per person, and over 90 percent less than $2 per person. If this is any indication of actual poverty in rural India, there are far more poor people in the country than the numbers presented in government statistics.[h]

The studies undertaken by the George's Foundation also show that over 90 percent of the agricultural land is owned and cultivated by less than 10 percent of the rural population. It is this section of the indigenous populations who are left with no option but to abandon their place of origin for the sole sake of survival. Many of them live below poverty line and in most cases it is the male member of the family who must go in search of better jobs and wages, leaving the rest of the family members behind. Migration in such a case is more or less permanent in nature.

In the case of Orissa, the state which has one of the highest percentages of indigenous population (22.2%) - according to the Orissa Human Development Report 2004, recently brought out by the State Government with the help of the Planning Commission and the United Nations Development Programme - it has been noted that the worst sufferers have been the indigenous peoples. The undivided districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput and other tribal-dominated districts of Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Malkangiri and Kandhamal continue to present a picture of chronic underdevelopment and the indigenous population remain the most disadvantaged social group.

Poverty is acute and widespread among the indigenous populations in the southern and northern regions of Orissa - it is in these regions that 88.56 per cent of the State's indigenous populations reside. In the case of the rural indigenous population, the incidence of poverty, at 71.51 per cent, is the highest among the 16 major States of the country.[i]

There is yet another section of indigenous populations that is forced to migrate due to displacement caused by large-scale developmental projects such as the building of dams. In such a scenario the right of the indigenous peoples to their land and livelihood is sidelined for the sake of progress and in public interest, causing permanent damage not only to the ecology but also to the way of life of many untold faces and families. With the construction of one of the biggest dams called the Sardar Sarovar Dam on river Narmada, 57.6% of the displaced were indigenous peoples.[j]

h. http://www.tgfworld.org/Rural_India_Needs_Corporate_Investment.htm
i. http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl2211/stories/20050603003004300.htm
j. http://www.narmada.org/gcg/gcg.html

POLITICAL INSTABILITY

This cause is perhaps more relevant to the North–Eastern region because of its more turbulent historical background. The North–Eastern states are known as the seven sisters and have a unique history, distinct because of their geographical, social, cultural and political features from the rest of India. The struggle for self-determination and feeling of alienation is perhaps stronger here than amongst other indigenous peoples, as prior to the British colonization of India all seven states were never a part of India. It was only with the advent of the British that the North–East got integrated, and it became a part of India post-independence.

The earliest mention of this region was by the Chinese explorer, Chang Kien, in 100 B.C. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea and Ptolemy's Geography also suggest the same. Huen Tsang, the great Chinese traveler, visited this region in the 7th century. The Australoids or the pre-Dravidians were the earliest inhabitants of this state. Assam was a founding state of the Union of India in 1947. At that time, the state comprised the whole of the North-East region. Subsequently, a number of other North-Eastern states were carved out of Assam, starting with Nagaland in 1963 and ending with Arunachal Pradesh in 1972.[k]

The political situation in this region has been volatile and disturbed, and such an environment has not been conducive for the growth of economy. Such political instability and violence leaves no room for hope, peace or development as, without the assurance of security, it is difficult for any society to progress and flourish. This has been one of the causes of the migration of a section of young indigenous peoples from their original abodes to bigger places which offer better prospects and hope for a better future.

The lack of development on one side and the ever-increasing rate of educated young people has created a situation of anomaly. There is a huge vacuum in terms of jobs, for which there is a growing need; an excess of young people are unemployed. Increasing number of young people are being forced to move out to bigger cities in search of jobs to sustain themselves and their families. This section comprises of youths who are not highly qualified but have the basic education which enables them to find jobs in cities which do not demand a great degree of skill or expertise. They migrate to bigger cities to be able to earn a decent livelihood and most of all for stability and security.

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k. *www.northeastdiary.com*

2. CAUSES FOR VOLUNTARY MIGRATION

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

Lack of infrastructure is inclusive of lack of good institutions and universities for providing higher education. The trend of young indigenous people moving out of their land of origin in search of better quality of education has been prevalent for a long period of time. The present generation of political, social and religious leaders in the North-East are mostly beneficiaries of education from other parts of India. However, the difference is that all of them went back to their place of origin to serve their people and did not have to make a choice; the migration then was temporary.

The trend of migrating for educational needs still continues and the number of young indigenous peoples migrating have increased over the years. It is interesting to note that young indigenous peoples are now exercising their choice to stay in bigger cities. The exposure to a higher quality of life and the assurance of a better economic status has resulted in the younger generation of indigenous peoples being attracted to the bigger cities as compared to the small towns and rural areas they grew up in. This type of migration being a new trend in the Indian context, we are yet to learn what kinds of hindrances would be faced or benefits reaped, but I have touched upon this, speaking mostly from my own experience and interactions.

ECONOMY

One unique feature that stands out among the indigenous populations belonging to the North-Eastern region is that migration is temporary in nature and the migrating population comprises mostly of youths - very rarely of families moving to bigger cities in search of a better means of livelihood. The attachment towards their land, culture and identity is perhaps too deep for the older generation to think of an alternative option. This could also be partly because they have not been exposed to or have had the opportunity to experience what big cities could offer, like the younger generation who initially moves to big cities in search of better educational facilities and then chooses to stay on for the better opportunities offered to them in bigger offices and corporations.

In the case of the North–East region, the absence of basic infrastructure is conspicuous like in other rural parts of India. Private investment is deterred largely because of the political and economic situation and most of the educated unemployed indigenous populations are forced to depend on scarcely available government-generated jobs.

3. EFFECTS OF MIGRATION

IDENTITY CRISIS

When I first came to the capital city of India eight years ago to pursue undergraduate studies at university, I came face to face with this issue. I didn't know what to expect and like any normal teenager joining college, I was prepared to face the normal challenges – figuring out how to fit in, how to wear clothes that were considered chic and in vogue, how to be able to cope with the pressure of a new city and environment and also to build my dreams for the future. Not necessarily in that order because I had very big dreams to realize and I still do.

It took me years to be able to come to peace with who I am. I faced constant discrimination everyday because everything about me, including my physical features, was distinct. The most awkward situation, which I witnessed quite often during my university years, was when my own fellow Indian citizens came up to me wanting to know which country I belonged to. Initially, this can be fascinating and considered an opportunity to share one's identity and cultural history, but over a period of time it became a great irritant to discover these people's degree of ignorance. Worse still are those who judge without even an iota of knowledge of our rich history and culture.

This is an area that has not been much researched and there is a lack of statistics or data to substantiate this point, but I can speak from my own experience and those of my peers and fellow North-Easterners. I can only empathize with the indigenous populations who are forced to migrate and will have to learn to survive, no matter what, for they don't have a choice to go back to their land of origin. Some of the signs of isolation can reflected from the fact that most of the indigenous peoples group stick to their own kind. In my college days all the students from the North-Eastern region were often seen together; for them to mingle with students from other parts of India was rare. This in turn has lead to social isolation and division.

CULTURAL EROSION

One of the main reasons for concern and a chief effect of migration is the dilution of culture and the potential loss of invaluable heritage that has been passed down over generations. The history of the indigenous peoples especially with regards to the North–East is not a written record; it has been passed down through oral tradition. The stories and the history of the indigenous peoples are intimately linked with their land and probably the reason why land is considered sacred, great value attached to it.

With the trend of migration, there is a huge danger of the indigenous peoples losing contact with their land and with that also the loss of attachment to the people, culture, traditions, customs, language which invariably gives us our distinct identity. Indigenous societies are community-based and our identity and culture remains intact as a result of continuous interaction and contact with indigenous fellowmen. As young indigenous peoples move away from their land of origin, the emerging consequence is a growing lack of their sense of identity, pride and history.

Another cause for grave concern is the loss of language, which is the basis of indigenous identity and an intrinsic sense of belonging. When language is lost, a lot more than just language disappears; a sense of connection is lost as well, and with it the motivation to return home or work towards preserving one's culture and identity dwindles. One of my greatest fears has been not to be able to pass on to my children my own history or explain to them where we come from or where we are going as a people.

One witnesses among young indigenous peoples today a lack of interest and an insensitive approach towards issues relating to their roots. There is an emotional detachment, and with fast-paced development and globalization the influence of the outside world outweighs the interests and value of the indigenous communities, further aggravated by migration.

EXPLOITATION

To an extent, migration has enabled the indigenous populations to taste the fruit of development; it has in a way brought them closer to the rest of the populations of India. Migration has also introduced the history and culture of the indigenous peoples to the majority of the population who are largely oblivious of our existence; it has to a large extent contributed to the cultural diversity India is well known for.

However, there is also an ugly side to migration which cannot be ignored or avoided. Aside from the economic and cultural benefits that may be reaped as a result of migration, there is also the reality of rampant discrimination faced by the indigenous peoples in bigger cities. Indigenous peoples from North-East become an easier target of such discrimination because of our distinct physical features.

This discrimination cuts across all sections and age groups, touching everyone from university students to working professionals to daily wagers. Discrimination can be witnessed in every area and aspect of life, from the workplace to the classrooms, in shopping places and night clubs. As a university student, finding a decent apartment with a decent landlord was one of the biggest hurdles to cross. Most of the accommodation available was of average quality with exorbitant rental rates. The discrimination leveled against the indigenous peoples is not always spoken of

and is often subtle, but it is quite tangible. It is appalling to learn that some of the night clubs have a strict policy of not allowing young indigenous peoples from the North–East entry.

Perhaps the group which is worst hit is the indigenous women population; they are vulnerable to frequent eve teasing and are sexually harassed. The group which is most vulnerable to this kind of discrimination is that which is not highly qualified and has jobs that don't provide security. Young indigenous women who are forced to migrate in search of jobs to enable their daily subsistence fall victim to jobs that are ill- paid and put them in situation where they are liable to sexual harassment.

Another area of emerging concern is the threat that increasing population of young indigenous women in vulnerable circumstances face, giving rise to prostitution. Many of these women are naïve and unaccustomed to city life, and there have been incidents where they have been lured with assurances of good opportunities in terms of jobs and have then been put in danger or attacked.

THE OTHER SIDE OF MIGRATION

 Not only is there an outflow of indigenous peoples from their land of origin, but there is also an inflow of peoples from different parts of India into indigenous lands. The people migrating into indigenous lands comprises of both non-indigenous and indigenous peoples. In case of Assam there is an influx of 200,000[1] Bangladeshi refugees into Assam and West Bengal, some of the influx then trickling down to the neighboring states including Nagaland. Most of the Bangladeshi refugees are Hindus and representatives of minority religious groups in Bangladesh become daily wagers in the lands they migrate to. A section of the migrants also comprise of the traders and entrepreneurs who have the resources to economically exploit and are owners of mills, hardware stores and, electronics stores, or export farm products to other parts of India.

Effects of this kind of cross-migration are multi–layered and difficult to measure and pinpoint. There is a definite imbalance in the economic set-up. Opportunities for the indigenous populations get diluted to a great extent but on the other hand most of the indigenous peoples don't have the resources to invest in the first place. In a state like Assam, the influx of Bangladeshi refugees has affected the land environmentally, forests have been destroyed and an ecological imbalance has been created as a result of such an influx.

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l.   http://www.tiscali.co.uk/reference/encyclopaedia/hutchinson/m0020315.html

RECOMMENDATIONS

- There is great need for better research and data collection. Most of my presentation has been based on experiences and social interactions shared with people from various sections of my community.

- There is also a need to monitor the inflow of indigenous populations into the metropolitan cities and to check incidents of harassment and discrimination.

- There is no mechanism or support group that deals with indigenous issues comprehensively and fills the vacuum to keep the culture and history of the indigenous peoples intact and alive. We need an organization that addresses such a need.

- A crucial need for a comprehensive study of the indigenous populations, studies are too scattered, not systematic or structured in any manner.

- There is a need to conduct comprehensive studies focusing on specific indigenous populations. Most of the available data and statistics have clubbed the indigenous peoples with other religious and ethnic minority groups.

- There is a need for organizations which will spread awareness among the indigenous as well as the non-indigenous populations with regard to issues faced in bigger cities so that there can be better understanding of them as well as coping with them.

- There is a need for a support organization to cater to the needs of indigenous women population including protection against physical and emotional harassment and for whose who are vulnerable towards being lured towards becoming sex workers.

CONCLUSION

The preparation of this presentation has been challenging because while I have discussed this topic over and over again, putting down the same in paper and ink has been altogether a new challenge. Because of a lack of better material, a lot of the observations especially with regard to North – East has been an account of my own life and experience and my story which is also the story, I believe, of thousands of young indigenous peoples like me who continue to face a hostile environment in bigger cities.

Migration as a phenomenon cannot be viewed as wholly negative and in the end it's all about viewing it in a balanced perspective. To know both the pros and cons of migration and to be able to cope with the challenges that comes with it and also to benefit from opportunities we are offered as a result of migration. For someone like me who has had the advantage of a good education in a Convent school and in the University of the Capital City, I cannot undermine the benefits of migration, temporary or otherwise.

For a developing country like India, the impact of migration is not fully known as it is only emerging now. With this new trend it can only be hoped that the present indigenous peoples will greatly benefit from it and the future of the indigenous peoples will be safe, prosperous and vibrant.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. CONCLUSIONS ON POLICIES AND PRACTICES THAT WORK BEST

The complex nature of urban migration includes overt and covert factors that are not always discussed or recognised in the literature. Thus, while push and pull factors are valuable in underscoring the reasons for migrating, attention to cultural subtleties and identity politics can provide a comprehensive insight into the migratory process. Likewise, reasons that underscore rural-urban migration are diverse as are the conditions and effects of the migration experience. Some of the available data and literature describe the migratory conditions as voluntary or involuntarily or forced, while firs- hand accounts of indigenous peoples clarify the reality from the ambiguous rhetoric sometimes associated with the discourse. For instance, the exercise of choice commonly associated with voluntary migration is not clear cut. In light of this, studies, programmes and policies that recognise the ambiguous and fluid nature of migration in combination with both overt and covert push and pull factors make important contributions to the indigenous migration and urban dialogue. Therefore, policies and practices that work best are[a] those that adopt a

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a.   *Some country examples of best practices for consideration:*
Mexico: *Under the Lopez Obrador administration in 2001, the Institute of Housing of Mexico city (INVI) decided to attend to demands of the indigenous peoples by modifying the operational rules to incorporate indigenous peoples' needs. In compliance with the 1st paragraph of the 4th constitutional article and the 169th agreement of the ILO, indigenous peoples had access to housing programmes that recognised the well-being and cultural needs of indigenous residents. This programme guaranteed the permanence of indigenous peoples in neighbourhoods and was participatory in nature in that it included indigenous organisations in the design of the housing and distribution of spaces. It also materialised into the largest handing over of new and dignified housing to members of indigenous peoples. Pablo Yanes, (2007), Equality in Diversity: Agenda for the Urban Indigenous peoples in Mexico. EGM on Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration, Santiago, Chile, 27-29 March 2007, p. 11-12.*
Canada: *"The Institutional Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) and the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (AMC) partnered on a community level project to develop sustainability indicators with Winnipeg's urban First Nations Community. The objectives of this initiative include:*
•Building an improved understanding of the challenges facing Winnipeg's First Nations community for the First Nations, the city as a whole and decision makers;
•Identifying past successes of Winnipeg's First Nations community and factors that made success possible;
•Identifying critical problems and vulnerabilities and their underlying causes where policy action by First Nations and/ or other actors is necessary;
•Developing a set of goals and specific targets, and building on past successes, identifying options for policies and actions that will help meet those goals through engagement and consultation and;
•Building the capacity of the First Nations community of Winnipeg to better diagnose problems and identify successes, and to develop confidence in envisioning, planning and implementing collective and individual action in the interest of achieving a positive future.
The development of community sustainability indicators requires a planning process that fully engages the community and enables people to have influence on policy-and decision-makers. […]Engaging the community means giving its members real opportunities to help effect positive change. […]The Winnipeg urban First Nation initiative relied heavily on the community to identify, articulate and prioritize the issues impacting well-being."
Christa Rust, (January 2009) Measuring Progress, Strengthening Governance and Promoting Positive Change: Developing sustainability indicators with Winnipeg's urban First Nation community. International Institute for Sustainable Development, p. 3-4.
Nepal: *"The Western Uplands Poverty Alleviation Project (Nepal) was the first IFAD project to adopt a rights-based approach. It's aim is to reduce the high level of discrimination towards ethnic minorities and women by:*
(i) sensitizing communities and civil servants on human-rights issues;
(ii) offering financial incentives to communities that met specific social objectives;
(iii) raising awareness of constitutional rights through studies and information campaigns;
(iv) furthering policy dialogue by reporting human-rights violations, training people on rights issues, and funding policy reviews and measures promoting dialogue with community organizations; and,
(v) establishing a legal fund to defray the costs of legal action."

rights approach and gender perspective within a holistic context; those that view migration beyond a rural/urban dichotomous framework and an urban migration framework that includes an intra-cultural perspective. Effective programmes are those that promote capacity building, good governance and self-empowerment and that adopt a culturally appropriate resilience model that emphasises well-being and confidence. Programmes and policies that are committed to sustaining and/or improving the well-being of indigenous peoples on a long term basis are also pivotal. In light of these issues, the realisation of the human rights of urban indigenous peoples is best understood from a multi-perspective approach that does not address urban migration and housing and living conditions in isolation from the well-being, socio-cultural, political, economic and spiritual factors that are central to indigenous peoples.

The following recommendations are based on the accumulation of sources, policies, programmes, reviews and reports specific to the human rights, living conditions and urban migration of indigenous peoples. A selection of recommendations that were made at the Expert Group meetings in Geneva (2006) and Chile (2007) have also been included as have those made at and in various indigenous forums, events and publications. This multi-perspective and holistic approach acknowledges the demands of diverse groups of indigenous peoples and takes into consideration issues, where fitting, raised by local, governmental, NGO, academic, agency (and interagency), state and international organisations, including the United Nations.

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE REALISATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF URBAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR LIVING CONDITIONS FOR THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITY AREAS

5.2.1. POLICY FORMULATION

i. Policy must comply with the Principles of the ILO Convention No. 169 and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples to eliminate discrimination, inequality and the violation of human rights of indigenous peoples in urban areas.

ii. There must be full and active participation and contribution of indigenous peoples in all phases of policy and programme development.

iii. A rights approach and gender perspective should be consistently applied to policies and policy development regarding indigenous peoples in urban areas.

iv. Skills-based training, governance and capacity building should be considered for the economic mobility of indigenous peoples.

v. Prior, free and informed consent must be a guiding principal in policy development to protect indigenous knowledge and intellectual and cultural property.

vi. Holistic frameworks should recognised so that housing, health, employment and education are not assessed in isolation. Outcomes should be long term.

vii. Systems of accountability should be considered as part of policy development to address non-compliance with national and international rights of indigenous peoples.

viii. Cultural and linguistic continuity is essential to the overall well-being of indigenous peoples. This continuity must be reflected in policy.

ix. Ethical principles and frameworks must comply with ILO Convention article 169 and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

x. The diversity of indigenous peoples in urban areas must be recognised. Indigenous peoples are not a static population but have increasingly multiple identities.

xi. Policy should recognise the rights of women, youth, the disabled and other vulnerable groups. Consultation with the more vulnerable groups of indigenous peoples is important.

xii. The limitations and benefits of population churn and ethnic mobility on the well-being of and resources for indigenous peoples are important policy considerations.

xiii. Policies must recognise the multiple identities of indigenous peoples within urban areas and their continuing relationship to their traditional lands, natural resources and environments in rural areas.

xiv. Culturally-specific policy development is required in the areas of healthcare, housing, education and employment to ensure that benefits from progress in these areas are equally enjoyed by indigenous peoples.

5.2.2. PRACTICAL MEASURES/ PROGRAMMES

i. Programmes should promote help-seeking skills so that indigenous peoples have the necessary skills to access services.

ii. Holistic measures and frameworks should include the participation and contribution of indigenous peoples.

iii. Programmes should adopt a rights approach and gender perspective to education, health and adequate housing.

iv. Ethical guidelines must adhere to the principles of prior, free and informed consent as outlined in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The ethical framework must be culturally sensitive to indigenous traditions, knowledge, spirituality and cultures.

v. The discussion and analysis of migration should not be limited to economic and social consequences but must include the cultural impact of migration too.

5.2.3. RESEARCH

i. There is a need to revise indicators and measurements. Disaggregated data is important as are consistent indicators across indigenous groups. Indicators and measurements should be designed together with and/or by indigenous peoples.

ii. Fusion of traditional cultures and technology should be incorporated into indigenous research methodologies to recognise the multiple urban identities of indigenous peoples.

iii. Research should ensure terminologies and definitions used to define and interpret indigenous peoples are appropriate, particularly given the diversity of urban indigenous communities.

v. Research should prioritise the narratives and perspectives of indigenous peoples, including terminologies, research methods and best practices.

vi. Ethical principles must be adhered to. Ethical approval of research must be by indigenous peoples.

vii. Confidentiality and safety of indigenous people is a priority. The research must not be detrimental to the well-being of indigenous participants.

5.2.4 RECOMMENDATIONS TO GOVERNMENTS AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES

i. Governments and local authorities must consult with and ensure the participation of indigenous peoples at all phases of policy formulation process. They must also ratify and comply with the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and ILO Convention No. 160 to ensure indigenous peoples are equal partners in the decision-making process and that they comply with free, prior and informed consent on all matters that concern and affect indigenous peoples in urban areas.

ii. Indigenous peoples should not be displaced from their lands, territories and homes. Governments must respect the principle of free, prior and informed consent to prior planning projects affecting indigenous peoples and their lands, territories, natural resources and means of subsistence.

iii. Ensure economic and educational policies are tangible and pragmatic to ensure indigenous peoples gain the necessary skills, education and training to have equal access and opportunities to employment.

iv. Governments must take steps to provide the necessary resources so that indigenous peoples can achieve the full and progressive realisation of the rights to adequate housing; to eliminate homelessness and to provide the necessary services, especially for the disabled and women.

v. Governments should recognise the needs of young people through capacity building programmes and consult with them about policies regarding youth issues.

vi. Governments need to develop strategies to ensure best practices in the areas of health, housing and other social services for indigenous peoples and to cater to the needs of the homeless and mobile indigenous populations.

vii. Governments and local authorities should ensure indigenous peoples the privacy, access to and control of their sacred sites and ceremonial groups. Governments should also protect and return sacred sites and ceremonial grounds to indigenous peoples.

viii. Governments, local authorities and States are encouraged to ratify (CEDAW) and should actively work to protect indigenous women migrants.

ix. International law concerning migration and indigenous peoples' nexus should be effectively implemented.

x. Indigenous peoples should not be seen as divided between urban and rural, but rather as people with rights and a common cultural identity, adapting to changing circumstances and environments.

xi. Urbanisation is a phenomenon that governments, local authorities and States have to recognise to ensure that indigenous peoples are not forcibly removed or driven from their homelands, nor subject to discrimination once in urban areas.

5.2.5 RECOMMENDATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY INCLUDING THE UNITED NATIONS

i. Measures need to be developed to ensure governments and States both ratify and comply with international conventions and declarations relevant to indigenous peoples.

iii. Human rights treaty bodies and special procedures are invited to pay particular attention to the issues of the members of indigenous peoples who live in urban areas.

iv. The United Nations system and other relevant intergovernmental organisations are encouraged to address the needs of the members of indigenous peoples residing in urban areas.

v. The United Nations Country Teams are encouraged to include programmes and activities that address the needs of the members of indigenous peoples residing in urban areas, in particular to combat discrimination, exclusion and poverty.

vi. The United Nations system and other relevant intergovernmental organisations are invited to assist Governments in their policies, programmes and activities with respect to indigenous peoples, as relevant.

vii. The United Nations system and other relevant intergovernmental organisations are encouraged to consult with indigenous peoples on all matters regarding them and to comply with the principles of ILO Convention article 69 and the Declaration of the Rights on Indigenous Peoples.

viii. The Inter-Agency Support Group and the United Nations system are encouraged to provide information to indigenous communities and NGOs of their rights within international law and international compliance mechanisms.

ix. Inter-Agency co-operation and collaboration on indigenous peoples and urban migration are encouraged, particularly in assisting with providing data and resources for research, case studies, policies, reviews and reports.

x. Recommend and encourage collaboration between the various human rights Special Rapporteurs with regards the living conditions and realisation of human rights for indigenous peoples.

5.2.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, THEIR ORGANISATIONS AND NGOS

i.   Indigenous communities are invited to explore ways to revitalise and maintain continuity of their cultural and spiritual identity and language, taking into account the high number of members of indigenous peoples living in urban areas.

ii.   Individual indigenous communities and NGOs are encouraged to develop their own indigenous ethical guidelines and systems of accountability to safeguard their property and intellectual rights.

iii.   Indigenous peoples are encouraged to be active custodians of their cultures, traditions, knowledge and skills and to be informed of their intellectual and cultural property rights.

iv.   Indigenous elders are encouraged to transfer traditional knowledge, language and skills to the younger generation to ensure cultural and linguistic continuity.

v.   Indigenous peoples and NGOs are encouraged to develop a current database of resources by indigenous authors, researchers, scholars, practitioners and policy makers.

vi.   Indigenous peoples, organisations and NGOs are encouraged to seek information that outlines international laws, legislations, conventions and declarations on the protection of human rights and prevention of discrimination and that is available to indigenous peoples. .

vii.   Indigenous groups, organisations and NGOs are encouraged to involve and consult with indigenous youth, especially in areas of education, crime, employment, cultural identity, technology, facilities and services.

5.2.7 RECOMMENDATION FOR ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS, RESEARCHERS AND SCHOLARS

i.   Researchers, scholars and academics need to better understand and relate to local terminologies and indigenous concepts of migration and development. It is important to implement culturally appropriate methodologies that prioritise indigenous methodologies, knowledge codes and scholarship.

ii.   Indigenous narratives, theories, policies and methodologies must be a priority in any indigenous related matter.

iii. Encourage training in indigenous methodologies, research protocol and ethical guidelines.

v. Ethics and guidelines must be developed in close consultation with indigenous peoples at all phases. Indigenous peoples must sit on ethical committees and must be participators in and contributors to the decision-making process that approves or rejects research projects on indigenous communities and peoples.

vi. It is critical that indigenous scholars and researchers are principal investigators in indigenous research projects.

vii. It is important that indigenous peoples and communities that are consulted and who contribute to any form of research, programme and/or policy are compensated accordingly and should benefit directly from that research, programme and/or policy.

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URBAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND MIGRATION

A REVIEW OF POLICIES, PROGRAMMES AND PRACTICES

This review of policies, programmes and practices is the latest publication of the United Nations Housing Rights Programmes on indigenous peoples and their rights to the city in a world where they often are discriminated against. It is a joint effort to better understand the challenges facing indigenous peoples in urban areas and through the process of urbanisation.

This research initiative contributes to the work of the United Nations Inter-Agency Support Group on Indigenous Peoples' Issues, within the framework of the Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (2005-2015).

The ongoing accelerated migration of indigenous peoples to urban areas has generated new challenges for policymakers, urban managers and indigenous peoples themselves in both developed and developing countries. Despite benefits such as proximity to social facilities and job opportunities, many indigenous peoples living in cities have to endure inadequate living conditions, often as a result of unequal treatment and general disrespect for their human and civil rights. Indigenous women and youth are the most affected by these discriminations.

In this work, particular attention is paid to the varying nature of rural-urban migration around the world, and its impact on quality of life and rights of urban indigenous peoples, particularly youth and women. This report highlights some of the innovative and effective strategies, policies and practices currently in force to improve the living conditions of indigenous peoples in cities and to contribute to a better understanding of urban indigenous peoples.

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