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by

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**Mind the Gaps:
Studying the Absence of Indigenous Policies in Major INGOs**

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Dedication

This Report is dedicated to the indigenous peoples' organizations and indigenous advocacy organizations that tirelessly fight for the rights of indigenous peoples and for their inclusion in the development process.

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I would like to first thank my two readers Kate Weaver and Josh Busby whose input and guidance were invaluable through this process. They offered recommendations, acted as a sounding board, reminded me when I was being under or overambitious, and were a system of support. In the same vein, I would like to offer my gratitude to Sasha West for her advice through the writing and editing of this Report.

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Thank you.

Abstract

Mind the Gaps: Studying the Absence of Indigenous Policies in Major INGOs

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Indigenous peoples are garnering more focus on the world stage, and as such it is critical to understand their role in development. Indigenous peoples are especially impoverished, and often face institutionalized discrimination by their governments and other forces. This repression, limited access to services, and resource predation endanger indigenous peoples' lives and livelihoods. I attempted to identify indigenous peoples' policies in seven major development international non-governmental organizations, and after finding none upon document research and staff interviews, propose theories for why this could be the case. I compare international non-governmental organizations' lack of policies to the presence of policies in international organizations. The difference between these two types of organizations formed the base of my theories, which were based primarily around the organizational structure and the different types of pressure and expectations that they face. I argue, though, that international non-governmental organizations should have indigenous peoples' policies for several reasons including the improvement seen in international organizations' treatment of indigenous peoples and the

importance of accountability and transparency in the development process. The Report finishes by suggesting avenues to test the theories proposed, and plans for indigenous advocates.

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Abbreviation List

BP 4.10- Bank Policy 4.10

C169- Convention 169

CRS- Catholic Relief Services

FAO- Food and Agriculture Organization

HRBA- Human Rights Based Approach

HRC- Human Rights Council

ILO- International Labour Organization

IPO- Indigenous Peoples' Organization

INGO- International Non-Governmental Organization

IO- International Organization

IWGIA- International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs

MRG- Minority Rights Group

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

OP 4.10- Operational Policy 4.10

UN- United Nations

UNDRIP- United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

UNPFII- United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

Introduction

Despite indigenous peoples' burgeoning influence on the world stage, there has been relatively little research into their involvement in the development arena. Much of the focus thus far has been on human rights and advocacy of indigenous peoples. Before identifying their role in these processes, however, it is critical to understand their unique situation in the global community. Although defining indigeneity and categorizing indigenous peoples is controversial, general definitions describe indigenous peoples as those who have a pre-colonial claim to land, have cultural characteristics separate from the national community, and self-identify as indigenous. These groups vary significantly in proportion of the population and contact with the rest of the population.

Many indigenous peoples are demographic minorities, with prominent differences in culture and style of life from the majority population. This is true of most indigenous groups in Asia such as the Amis and Atayal of Taiwan where all the indigenous peoples make up 2% of the population.¹ In some Latin American countries, however, indigenous peoples are a majority or near majority. In Guatemala, the Maya peoples make up 51% of the population.² There are also critical differences in the relationship between indigenous peoples and the national system. Some indigenous peoples, such as the Maori of New Zealand have allotted seats in parliament, whereas there are still a number of indigenous peoples classified as "uncontacted."

There are currently more than 5,000 different indigenous groups in more than 70 countries around the world.³ Indigenous peoples total approximately 250-350 million people, which accounts for 5% of the world's population.⁴ They make up, however,

approximately 15% of the world’s poor, and one-third of the world’s rural poor.⁵ This relative lack of development especially in rural areas signifies a clear need for poverty reduction in indigenous communities. In Table 1, a global spread of indigenous peoples is evident through data collected by Hall and Patrinos.

Table 1: Indigenous Peoples of the World by Country or Region⁶

Country or Region	Millions of People
China	106.40
South Asia	94.90
Former Soviet Union	0.40
Southeast Asia	29.84
South America	16.00
Africa	21.98
Central America/ Mexico	12.70
Arabia	15.41
USA/ Canada	3.29
Japan/ Pacific Islands	0.80
Australia/ New Zealand	0.60
Greenland/ Scandinavia	0.12
Total	302.45

In addition to poverty concerns, there are several other critical factors distinguishing indigenous peoples from other groups involved in development projects. Indigenous peoples are often repressed by their societies and national governments, which leads to limits in access of services. This discrimination is often systematic and according to most indigenous activists and advocacy groups “to the extent that their

demographic survival is threatened.”⁷ In fact, many peoples who were considered indigenous are endangered and have gone extinct. In Brazil, there were once thousands of tribes, but only a few hundred exist today.⁸

In addition to institutionalized deprivations, an inequality gap has been widening in poverty between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples.⁹ Without a special focus on indigenous peoples, this disparity may continue to grow. This deepening divide could be in part due to past development projects and policies with assimilationist indigenous policies, which negatively affected progress in many communities.¹⁰

Many of these programs promoting national development in recent years damaged the land, resources, and opportunities of indigenous peoples. An indigenous advocacy organization, Minority Rights Group International (MRG) addresses this issue in its yearly People Under Threat Report in 2012 finding “unprecedented demand for the world’s remaining resources, combined with new technologies to extract previously inaccessible resources in the remotest regions, are putting even the most isolated minorities and indigenous peoples under increasing threat.”¹¹ It is critical to note that in attempts to improve resource security and other national concerns, these development projects are damaging indigenous peoples through the encroachment on land and resources by threatening their lives and livelihoods.

This infringement on land could have serious consequences on regional security. When indigenous peoples do not have any autonomy and are continually marginalized by the national governments, there is potential for violent insurrection. When studying minority-based rebel groups, Ted Robert Gurr found “the incidence of violence and

armed conflict diminishes with autonomy and self-government arrangements, whereas neglect of internal diversity breeds political violence.”¹² Improvements in self-determination and greater regional autonomy are critical to regional stability.

Representatives to the Working Group on Indigenous Peoples affirm these findings noting “cultural repression, the denial of the rights of peoples and the political marginalisation of communities cause insecurity and conflict.”¹³ The International Indian Treaty Council also shares the belief that not recognizing indigenous peoples basic rights “has contributed to conflict and the destruction of States.”¹⁴

One of the most interesting aspects in the conversation on the indigenous peoples movements is the actors involved. As International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) have grown in prominence and influence in the last in the last few decades, I focused on how INGOs and indigenous peoples interact. In this report, I intended to compare the indigenous peoples’ policies of several large development INGOs. I planned to compare the content of the policies, and then the monitoring, compliance, and implementation of said policies.

I selected the organizations based primarily on funding and impact. This is evidenced in Table 2. From there, I excluded organizations whose activities were focused only on one continent, those younger than two decades, those whose programs only focused on one area (i.e. disaster relief), and those whose programs do not have the potential to include indigenous peoples. The INGOs I studied were ActionAid, CARE International, Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Mercy Corps, Oxfam International, Save the Children, and World Vision.

Table 2: Major Development International Non-Governmental Organizations

	ActionAid ¹⁵	CARE Int'l ¹⁶	Catholic Relief Services ¹⁷	Mercy Corps ¹⁸	Oxfam Int'l ¹⁹	Save the Children ²⁰	World Vision ²¹
Funds	\$97.6m	\$561m	\$816m	\$266m	\$1.2b	\$588m	1.06b
Staff	172	11,300	5,000	3,700	9,299	994	1,324
Year of Start	1972	1945	1943	1979	1942	1932	1950
Countries of Operation	45	84	90-100	41	92	120	97

My first step in the process of attempting to identify indigenous peoples' policies was doing website research on the seven organizations where I found no evidence of indigenous peoples' policies.²² This was followed by document research on the organizations, which also showed no policies.²³ After this, I sent emails to each of the seven organizations. At all of the organizations except Mercy Corps and World Vision, I emailed a contact at the INGO that a colleague or I knew. This only led to more fruitful conversations in the case of Catholic Relief Services and Save the Children.²⁴ In these conversations with Save the Children and Catholic Relief Services, both staffers confirmed that there were no general policies for indigenous peoples.²⁵

Early in the process, a former CARE International staffer stated that she believed that there were no policies, but was unable to confirm for certain.²⁶ I made several attempts at getting in touch with INGO staff and leaving messages over the course of two months. At CARE, I eventually contacted one staffer with whom I had an email exchange and a phone conversation and she stated that she found that the organization only has country specific policies, such as for Peru.²⁷

A staffer at ActionAid noted that while the organization promotes human rights and inclusive development, it does not have a specific indigenous policy.²⁸ An employee at Mercy Corps confirmed a similar framework to ActionAid.²⁹ World Vision stated that there were no indigenous policies, but attempted to find more information, which never came to fruition.³⁰ Oxfam International never confirmed that there were not indigenous policies. Despite this, each time I called, the staffer I spoke with did not know of any, and tried to get me in touch with the Latin American officer.³¹ This suggests that there are country policies like at CARE, but not a general policy. As is clear in Table 3, serious efforts were made to find indigenous peoples policies in the seven organizations.

Table 3: Attempts to Find INGO Indigenous Policies

	ActionAid	CARE	CRS	Mercy Corps	Oxfam International	Save the Children	World Vision
Website Research	01/02/13-01/04/13	01/02/13-01/04/13	01/02/13-01/04/13	01/02/13-01/04/13	01/02/13-01/04/13	01/02/13-01/04/13	01/02/13-01/04/13
Document Research	01/04/13-01/08/13	01/04/13-01/08/13	01/04/13-01/08/13	01/04/13-01/08/13	01/04/13-01/08/13	01/04/13-01/08/13	01/04/13-01/08/13
Email sent; no response	02/20/13 02/26/13 04/19/13	02/26/13 03/04/13 04/19/13		03/04/13 04/19/13	02/20/13 02/26/13 04/19/13		03/04/13
Left message; no response	03/14/13 04/24/13	03/14/13		03/14/13	04/23/13 04/30/13		04/26/13 05/01/13
Email Exchange	04/30/13	04/23/13-04/29/13	02/20/13-02/28/13			02/20/13-02/28/13	
Phone/ Other Conversation	04/30/13	01/02/13 04/23/13	02/28/13	04/23/13	04/26/13	03/07/13	04/23/13

The lack of formalization of policies, however, led my report in a different, and more interesting direction. First, to better understand how INGOs interact with indigenous peoples, I looked deeper at any discussion of indigenous peoples. In the reports and press releases, INGOs often discussed indigenous peoples, development, and

human rights. These were most often delineated by country and issue. Latin America and Southeast Asia were the primary regional focuses for INGOs on indigenous peoples and development.³² The issue areas in which indigenous peoples are primarily discussed are land, women, climate change, and education.³³ These issues and regional focuses, however, were mentioned in relations to indigenous peoples after projects, and not mentioned in the considerations to the build-up of a project.

Occasionally, indigenous peoples were a special focus in yearly reports.³⁴ All of these discussions of indigenous peoples by INGOs, however, were observational. They often recommended sustainable farming techniques or educational opportunities for indigenous peoples. Despite this, however, none of these constituted guidelines that would ensure protective policies specifically for indigenous peoples.

In contrast to their lack of policies for indigenous peoples, some of the INGOs do have relevant policies or at least guidelines about participatory development. Oxfam's Community Consultation Program is an example of this.³⁵ Catholic Relief Services also makes decisions about projects with the community, local partners, and CRS together.³⁶ ActionAid mentions indigenous peoples agency in development and their special relationship to land in ActionAid's "People's action in practice" model.³⁷ Similarly, over half of the organizations I examined are members of the INGO Accountability Charter, which stipulates how to work with local communities.³⁸ The INGO Accountability Charter also encourages fair ethnic treatment, but does not go further than that into policy guidelines.³⁹

Additionally, all of the INGOs in this report discuss vulnerable populations and/or participatory development in their Mission Statements.⁴⁰ These mission statements also indicate an approval of the human rights based approach (HRBA) to development. This development approach “looks to empower people through an inclusive and participatory approach focused on rights rather than needs.”⁴¹ The HRBA’s needs-based and inclusive policy would be a significant step if its guidelines were applied to a policy on indigenous peoples.

In the INGO sector, the HRBA to development is widely used. ActionAid was one of the early proponents of using the approach, and Oxfam applies it actively in the organization’s programs.⁴² Across other types of organizations this approach is also widely used. The United Nations (UN) has an official policy, which states its Common Understanding on the Human Rights Based Approach to Development Cooperation.⁴³ The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) states that the HRBA is necessary because “human rights are a fundamental tool for improving the economic and political situation of marginalized indigenous peoples.”⁴⁴ Many international organizations (IOs) like the UN and likely all Indigenous Peoples’ Organizations (IPOs) and indigenous advocacy organizations advocate for the human rights based approach to development.

Further than simply applying a human rights based approach to development, many IOs also have policies specifically on indigenous peoples. Because of this, it is particularly interesting that some of the main development INGOs do not have indigenous policies. The main focus of this report will be to propose hypotheses for why

this could be the case. It is critical to note, however, that these hypotheses were created based on limited information from INGOs and other sources. In all my correspondence with staffers at each INGO I examined, there was immense uncertainty initially about whether or not there was a policy.⁴⁵ Because of this, the likelihood of finding concrete theories from these sources about why INGOs do not have indigenous peoples policies is slim. After offering these hypotheses, then, further research is needed to test these hypotheses and propose others.

I will start by briefly looking at indigenous advocacy and rights in the last few decades. I will then examine the rise of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), who they are as actors, and their current role in the development space. I will then move into a discussion of the indigenous policies of IOs, and process trace the formation and changes of said policies. From there, I will propose reasons why the INGOs do not have policies on interacting with indigenous peoples when IOs do have policies. After discussing why there are currently no policies, I will answer the question: Why should INGOs have an indigenous policy? I will finish by discussing an advocacy plan for promoting indigenous policies and participation in development organizations and recommendations for future research.

History and Advocacy

Indigenous people have long histories by their very nature, but the global rights movement is far more recent. Indigenous peoples started organizing internationally in the 1970s, forming networks and coordinating meetings.⁴⁶ The earliest indigenous peoples' organizations worked in communities eventually expanding regionally, and finally nationally and internationally.

There were several indigenous advocacy organizations that came into the forefront at this time who are still active today. The most prominent of these are: IWGIA, Survival International, Cultural Survival, and MRG. Most of these organizations were originally founded with a focus or interest in Latin American indigenous issues.

IWGIA established in August 1968 at the 38th International Congress of Americanists after seeing various human rights violations directed toward indigenous peoples in Latin America.⁴⁷ Similarly, Survival International was founded in 1969 after what the organization declared was “genocide of Amazon Indians.”⁴⁸ Cultural Survival notes that it was founded in 1972 because of the “opening up of the Amazonian regions of South America and other remote regions elsewhere.”⁴⁹ The organization believed the new extractive endeavors were making indigenous peoples “victims of progress.”⁵⁰ Minority Rights Group, which was founded in the 1960s, alternatively, does not specifically draw attention to Latin America, but references minority and indigenous rights generally.⁵¹

INTERNATIONAL WORK GROUP ON INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS

The International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs started with advocacy at UN agencies and the governments of Europe and Canada.⁵² It went on to apply its advocacy efforts in other IOs and national governments. Its advocacy involvements with major IOs will be discussed in a later section. In addition to working with national governments, the Work Group often partners with local governments.⁵³

IWGIA played a critical role in facilitating the formation of global indigenous organizations like the World Council on Indigenous Peoples in 1974.⁵⁴ The Work Group also supported activists in creating the Indian Council of South America.⁵⁵ It also builds advocacy through the Latin American and African Commission on Indigenous Peoples.⁵⁶ IWGIA often works with other advocacy INGOs, and coordinates its efforts with them. The Working Group works primarily with MRG, Cultural Survival, and Survival International.⁵⁷ When discussing its operations with INGOs, IWGIA does not mention non-advocacy INGOs.⁵⁸

SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL

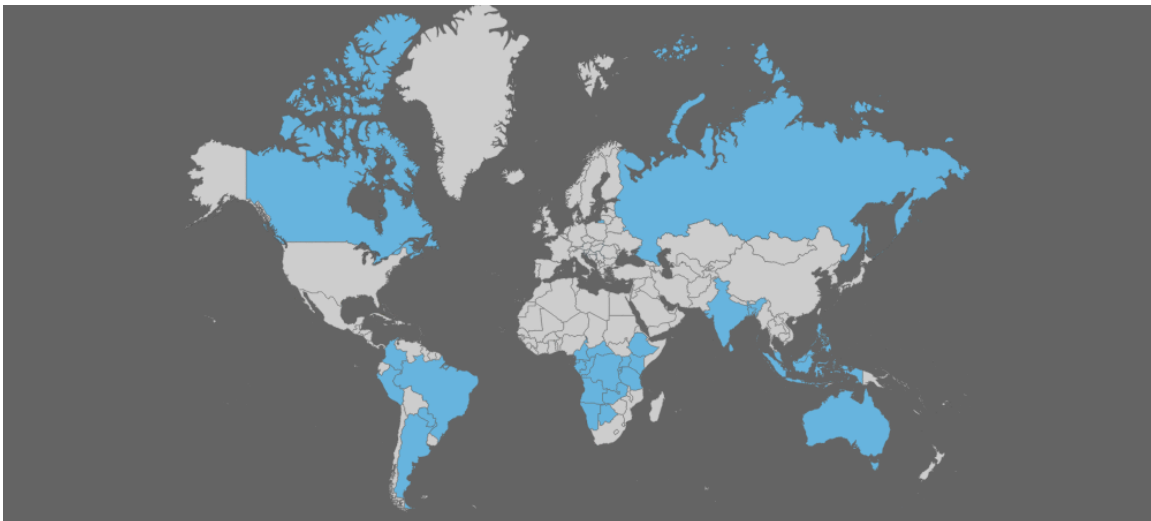
Survival International focuses on advocacy with IOs and protesting against development projects, which the organization believes infringe upon indigenous peoples. Much like IWGIA, Survival was influential in the early indigenous advocacy movement, and it continues to be primarily advocacy-based. It does not advocate specifically with INGOs.⁵⁹

The organization works to prevent governmental discrimination against indigenous peoples like the Bushmen in Botswana who had been deprived of a water

source since their eviction in 2002 until 2011.⁶⁰ Survival also works against business and government projects that are damaging indigenous peoples' lands and resources.⁶¹ More recently, Survival International has been protesting against the Gibe III dam, which they say would negatively impact half a million Ethiopian and Kenyan tribal people.⁶²

Survival International keeps a list of the Most Threatened Indigenous Peoples, which is focused mainly on disrespect for land rights. Illustration 1 is a depiction of the global coverage by including all countries where Survival lists most threatened indigenous peoples live.⁶³

Illustration 1: Survival International Most Threatened Indigenous Peoples⁶⁴



CULTURAL SURVIVAL

Cultural Survival works to promote legal rights and participatory development of indigenous peoples. Cultural Survival notes that the most critical indigenous issues to the organization are: “the right to live on and use their traditional territories; the right to self-determination; the right to free, prior, and informed consent before any outside project is

undertaken... the right to keep their languages, cultural practices, and sacred places; the right to full government services; and... the right to be recognized and treated as peoples.”⁶⁵

Cultural Survival advocates through its response program and protests against efforts which are harmful for indigenous peoples such as the open-pit coal mine in Bangladesh that a London business was promoting, which would “displace and affect over 50,000 Indigenous villagers and farmers.”⁶⁶ The organization also work against potentially harmful development projects, such as dam construction in Honduras by the national government and the Inter-American Development Bank, which did not consider its effects on indigenous peoples.⁶⁷ Cultural Survival also works with local NGOs.⁶⁸ One example is through projects such as their Community Radio Program in Guatemala.⁶⁹ Unlike IWGIA and Survival International, then, Cultural Survival does engage in some development projects.

MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP

Minority Rights Group was also involved with early indigenous advocacy efforts, and had involvement with IOs. Additionally, much of its involvement has been with national governments. MRG states that some of its primary goals are to “strengthen international systems for minority protection,” and “bring about positive changes in national law, policy, and/ or practice.”⁷⁰ These two goals obviously correspond with IOs and national governments without mention of other INGOs.

MRG’s main programs fall into the area of legal advocacy, awareness-based advocacy, development, and training. There are three areas distinguishing MRG from the

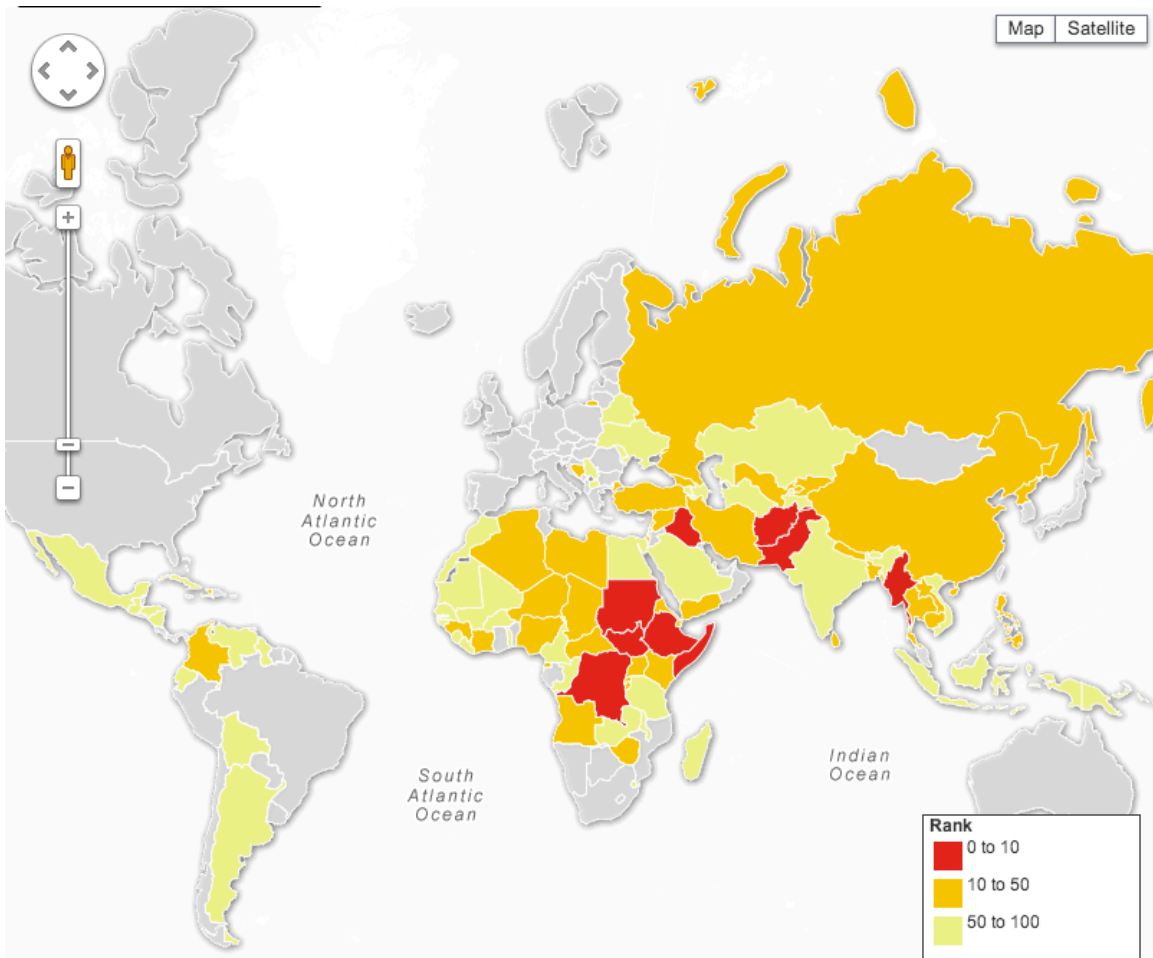
other advocacy organizations already mentioned. First, Minority Rights Group focuses on minority advocacy in addition to indigenous advocacy. MRG deals in some cases, then, with peoples and groups who do not have natural rights to land and resources. Second, as I already mentioned, MRG does its own development projects.⁷¹ Cultural Survival does this to an extent, but not to the depth or magnitude of Minority Rights Group. Third, MRG thrives on its publications, which it uses to raise awareness for indigenous issues, advise new European Union members on how to apply the HRBA⁷², or to report on the state of the world's minorities.

The State of the World's Minorities is likely what MRG is most known for. It is a book published yearly that documents the current situation of minorities and indigenous peoples across the world.⁷³ Within the book, MRG ranks what the organization calls "People Under Threat."⁷⁴ Much like Survival International's list, it ranks the minorities and indigenous peoples whose lives and livelihoods are most threatened. Illustration 2 is a map of MRG's rankings. It is used widely by IOs, other indigenous advocacy organizations, academics, and indigenous peoples' organizations.

In the State of the World's Minorities, Minority Rights Group International critiques the reliance on advocacy organizations bringing indigenous and minority rights to legal cases. Although the decisions made in those tribunals are critical, "such cases are a means of last resort: to hold states to account for actions they should already be taking... or refraining from... without the full participation of the local people."⁷⁵ Additionally, MRG finds that after the tribunals' decisions "governments continue to

drag their feet in implementing the decisions.”⁷⁶ These statements indicate MRG’s shifting focus toward national governments and IO pressure on national governments.

Illustration 2: Minority Rights Group’s People Under Threat 2012⁷⁷



REGIONS OF FOCUS

The four regions most frequently focused on when examining indigenous peoples rights and rights violations are the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Arctic. The four regions have unique issues, and abuses they face. Although, the indigenous peoples

within the region are not all similar, the human rights victories and violations on a large scale are often relevant to all groups.

The Americas continue to be a focus since Latin America was an initial tipping point in the indigenous peoples movement. In much of the Americas, MRG finds that countries “have been at the forefront of affording constitutional and legislative recognition to their indigenous populations and to certain accompanying rights.”⁷⁸ Although this is the norm, there are certainly exceptions. Additionally, many national governments forego these established rules when development projects offer strong financial incentives.

African governments take a different approach. National leaders contend that all Africans are indigenous because they are all pre-colonial.⁷⁹ Some African governments argue “recognition of particular ethnic groups as having specific rights has been resisted by many African states on the basis that it would create tensions between different ethnic groups and instability in newly sovereign countries.”⁸⁰ Despite resistance from governments, indigenous Africans such as the Ogiek and Bushmen have achieved some success through the establishment of the African Commission on Indigenous Peoples and the mention of their rights in African Union covenants.

In Asia, the situation varies greatly from country to country. On the regional scale, however, Asia lacks an independent human rights mechanism for indigenous peoples, even though it is home to most of the world’s indigenous peoples.⁸¹ This severely weakens the ability of IPOs to advocate at the national and regional levels. As MRG finds in Africa, in Asia, there is “resistance to the very concept of indigenous peoples [which] has meant that protection of indigenous peoples’ property rights (as well as other rights) remains severely underdeveloped.”⁸² Indigenous advocacy organizations,

however, attempt to counterbalance this by focusing a great deal of their efforts in this region.

The Arctic region's indigenous peoples are unique as most of the countries where they reside are developed. This, however, only deepens the inequality between indigenous and nonindigenous in the region. One critical issue for the Arctic indigenous peoples is climate change. The Arctic region is already warming twice as fast as the global average, and the indigenous peoples generally live closer to the pole than others in the country.⁸³

Concerning recognition as indigenous, the experience varies. It is critical for a national government to recognize a group as indigenous because it identifies the peoples as having land and resource rights as well as other protections. While Norway recognized its indigenous peoples officially by a constitutional amendment, Finland considers its indigenous peoples a "linguistic minority," and Russia only considers approximately a quarter of its indigenous population indigenous.⁸⁴ Canada has a strong record on recognizing the rights of indigenous peoples. The Arctic Council Indigenous Peoples Secretariat is made up of the indigenous organizations that are a part of the Arctic Council.⁸⁵ This permanent representation on the Arctic Council has allowed significant indigenous involvement on Arctic issues.

NGOs in the Development Space

Whereas advocacy groups have exercised a great deal of influence and shown significant interest in the debate on the treatment of indigenous peoples in development, the same cannot be said of INGOs. International Non-governmental organizations, despite their relative inactivity in the field of indigenous rights and activism, however, have dramatically increased their presence on the international stage in other arenas. Their absence in this human rights focused area is surprising, and I will demonstrate this through outlining their rise and current position on the global stage.

THE GROWTH OF NGOS

There are many theories on why Non-Governmental Organizations have emerged in the last several decades. The traditional explanation of the reasons behind the fast expansion of NGOs is by Steve Charnovitz of George Washington University. He offers the following four reasons:

The growth of intergovernmental negotiation around domestic policy brought about by increasing integration of the world economy; the end of the Cold war, which removed the polarization of global politics around the two superpowers; the emergence of a global media system which provides a platform for NGOs to express their views; and the spread of democratic norms which may have increased public expectations about participation and transparency in decision-making.⁸⁶

His arguments were primarily focused around the decade following the Cold War, and the emergence of new technologies. The upsurge of the NGO sector, however, started in the 1970s before either of those factors, and has continued through the 2010s during which those factors have lost much of their sway. Upon further examination,

therefore, it is clear that there are other factors at play. The most critical of these were political and ideological factors.

The political factors were primarily based on neoliberal agendas and ideals.⁸⁷ The growth of non-governmental organizations was an effective way to scale back government intervention and provision of goods and allow for private investment in development projects. This privatization was, unsurprisingly, attractive to the neoliberal movement, which began in the United States and the United Kingdom in the late 1970s and is still appealing to many today.

The ideological factors leading to the growth of NGOs were twofold according to David Lewis. It was, first, the “perceived failures of state-led development approaches.”⁸⁸ Many funders saw this as a “theoretical impasse within development theory.”⁸⁹ They had attempted to follow the state-led approaches, but seeing the lack of progress, were eager for a different method that could more effectively promote growth.

There was also attraction to an NGO-style approach. Non-governmental organizations offer “innovative and people-centered approaches to service to service delivery, advocacy, and empowerment.”⁹⁰ Funding agencies were not the only ones attracted to this new approach to development.⁹¹ This idea was also attractive to those who believed state-controlled development gave certain parties too much power.

NGOs were (and still are overall) seen as the voice of the people in development interests. Because of their varied funding sources, many see NGO as bodies promoting progress equitably without political interests getting in the way. Non-governmental organizations arrived as a new force that Lewis argues “could operate as a counterweight to balance public interests – and more specifically those of more disadvantaged groups – against the excesses of the state and the market.”⁹² The neoliberals, funding agencies, and

development-interested public, thus, were all parties that strengthened the emergence of the NGO sector.

THE CURRENT STATE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

In 2013, NGOs are critical actors on the world stage. The landscape of development and of human rights no longer solely belongs to states and international organizations. They are part of what Terje Tvedt calls a “new, much broader international social system.”⁹³ He goes on to dub non-governmental organizations the “new global superpower of consciousness.”⁹⁴ Many view NGOs as knowing more about the people that they are working with than organizations like the World Bank or Western nations doing projects in former colonies.

It is not only NGO’s reputation of being on a moral high ground that is ahead of states; NGOs are now receiving more funding or equal funding to national governments.⁹⁵ Their relevance is increasing, not only generally in the international community, but specifically with funders. In the health sector, for example, direct assistance from NGOs and funds increased from approximately \$1 billion in 1990 to approximately \$9 billion in 2010.⁹⁶ States and inter-governmental organizations are growing to rely on NGOs.⁹⁷ Development-oriented non-governmental organizations “have increased their profiles at local, national, and international levels.”⁹⁸ The relationships between communities and NGOs, between national governments and NGOs and between IOs and NGOs are growing stronger and more complex.

In addition to growing more complex, non-governmental organizations have also increased dramatically in number. In 2009, the estimates of worldwide NGOs are approximately one million when including all types of NGOs, whereas approximately a few hundred thousand NGOs are receiving international aid.⁹⁹ These huge players on the

world stage have incredible influence not just in the projects that they themselves implement, but also in general development policies and changing global norms.

International Organizations and Indigenous Peoples

Despite the increased presence and power of INGO, it would be an overreach to suggest that their power is comparable to IOs such as the World Bank or the United Nations. The growing influence of INGOs has affected IO policies in some areas, but clearly not in the field of indigenous rights. The power of IO policies on indigenous peoples, which will be discussed below, however, potentially has been weakened by the presence of INGOs without policies. IOs did not always have indigenous policies, however.

Governments and IOs still struggle with how to incorporate the indigenous community into their development plans. In the early stages of the indigenous movement, many development projects implemented by IOs and INGOs used an “integrationist” model where they attempted to assimilate indigenous peoples into the national culture and society.¹⁰⁰ As indigenous advocacy organizations gained stronger footholds in the development discourse in IOs over the next few decades and encouraged culturally sustainable development and respect for indigenous rights, IO policies improved dramatically.

Today, international organizations have an overall strong record on treatment of indigenous peoples. I will discuss several organizations below that have indigenous policies. Highlighting the process of developing indigenous policies and the content of the policies will lead to some understanding of why IOs developed these policies, but INGOs did not. Table 4 shows the major institutions and policies established by the IOs I will discuss.

Table 4: International Organizations’ Indigenous Policies and Institutions

Agency	Institution/ Policy	Date
International Labour Organization	ILO Convention 107	1957
United Nations	Working Group on Indigenous Peoples established	1982
World Bank	World Bank Operational Directive 4.20	1982
International Labour Organization	ILO Convention 169	1989
World Bank	World Bank Bank Policy 4.10	1991
World Bank	World Bank Operational Policy 4.10	1991
United Nations	United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues established	2000
United Nations	UNDP and Indigenous Peoples: A Policy of Engagement	2001
United Nations	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples	2007
United Nations	United Nations Development Group Guidelines on Indigenous Peoples	2009
Food and Agriculture Organization	FAO Policy on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples	2010

UNITED NATIONS

In her research on the United Nations and indigenous peoples, Rhiannon Morgan makes an argument that indigenous groups were most effective because of their use of framing their case for better representation.¹⁰¹ When indigenous delegates first met with the United Nations, they carefully discussed their right to self-determination “in the language of international law.”¹⁰² They argued that their discrimination stood in contrast to the UN Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.¹⁰³

The indigenous delegations tried to argue that self-determination was within states and not just generally across states, and Morgan notes that they took these laws “above

politics in a realm of objective validity, indigenous peoples... contributed to the evolution of international law.”¹⁰⁴ Another critical aspect of the debate was to frame self-determination as a peaceful, non-secessionist idea.¹⁰⁵ The delegates also framed their issue to include environmental components and attract environmental activism.¹⁰⁶

M.J. Peterson’s analysis on the success of indigenous influence at the UN goes further into the activists’ strategy. She notes that one critical factor was “the actions of supportive gatekeepers, like Theo van Boven in the secretariat’s Human Rights unit, and Expert Working Group chairs Asbjørn Eide of Norway and Erica-Irene Daes of Greece, [which] helped get indigenous issues on the agenda and shift UN considerations onto a particular path.”¹⁰⁷ These three UN leaders in the 1970s and 1980s opened the door indigenous discussions at UN bodies.

Another significant aspect in the rise of the indigenous movement at the NGO movement was the timing. Indigenous peoples’ organizations “arose at a propitious moment. Indigenous activists and supporters of indigenous causes were able to exploit UN system receptivity to both the initial stages of the ‘NGO revolution’ in the 1970s and 1980s and the vast expansion of ‘global civil society’ in the 1990s.”¹⁰⁸ During this time, the United Nations gradually expanded its presence in the arena of indigenous rights and development.

The United Nations was at the forefront of the indigenous advocacy movement. The first substantial international indigenous body operating under the auspices of the UN—the Working Group on Indigenous Peoples—started in 1982. A decade later, in December 1993, the General Assembly declared 1995-2004 the First International

Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples. During this time, the most critical UN indigenous body, the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), was established.¹⁰⁹ The Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples immediately followed.

The UNPFII publishes report on indigenous peoples' perspectives in country development processes approximately every two years to evaluate UN development programs.¹¹⁰ The reports have shown improvement in the incorporation of indigenous perspectives in the development process.¹¹¹ Indigenous peoples were consulted on development projects, and the processes did not infringe upon indigenous rights or lands. The Permanent Forum's inclusion of indigenous policies, monitoring the implementation of the policies, and evaluation of the policy effectiveness are all critical factors in ensuring indigenous peoples have their rights ensured in the organization.

The Permanent Forum holds an annual conference where indigenous delegates discuss pressing matters in their communities. Several of these conferences specifically drew attention to development issues. In 2006, the fifth session recognized a "clear need to redefine approaches to the implementation of the [Millennium Development] Goals."¹¹² This was reaffirmed in the sixth and seventh sessions in 2007 and 2008.¹¹³ This demonstrates that the Forum is not simply focused on indigenous rights in terms of development, but also indigenous peoples right to development.

In addition to UNPFII, there are other UN organizations with indigenous policies. In 2009, the United Nations Development Group (a part of the Inter-Agency Support Group on Indigenous People) created guidelines on indigenous development along with

methods for monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness and follow through on the policies.¹¹⁴ The United Nations Development Programme also issued a report on its policy of engagement with indigenous peoples in 2001.¹¹⁵

Additionally, at sessions of UN Human Rights Council (HRC), the indigenous advocacy groups mentioned in the last session are active in reporting the indigenous rights abuses of national governments as a part of the HRC's Universal Periodic Review process. Cultural Survival and Minority Rights Group International are particularly active in submitting Universal Periodic Reviews to HRC sessions.¹¹⁶ MRG also regularly submits reports to other UN bodies on minority and indigenous rights violations.¹¹⁷

Beyond the UNPFII and other bodies of the UN, the most influential result of United Nations indigenous advocacy is undoubtedly the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). It was adopted by the General Assembly in 2007 after twenty-five years of drafting and debate, and all current UN members now support the Declaration. The long process in implementation was due to initial reluctance of UN member states. The UNDRIP is monumental not only in that it guarantees rights from states, but also in that it ensures self-determination.¹¹⁸ Self-determination as a right of indigenous peoples is controversial as it brings to light issues of autonomy. This issue will be discussed further in a later section.

Because of the UN's indigenous focus, many IOs followed and IPOs had stronger influence on the global stage. In some ways, the UN—the Permanent Forum in particular—acted as an indigenous advocacy organization. Morgan notes that its efforts were critical, especially concerning “early indigenous networking and organization.”¹¹⁹

While IPOs were necessary for the policy shift at the UN, indigenous advocacy organizations acted more as partners at the UNPFII at the early stages of the indigenous movement.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

The International Labour Organization (ILO) is a United Nations agency, which deserves special attention because of its two critical indigenous policies. It issued its first policy in 1957 with Convention 107, which is often seen as a pioneering document. The Convention discussed development and included a broader agenda of human rights including the “integration of indigenous peoples [which] was supposedly aimed, in part, at extending to them some socio-economic human rights.”¹²⁰ This document, however, tended toward assimilation.

Many indigenous advocacy organizations campaigned actively for a new ILO policy. IWGIA was particularly involved in the consultation process for a new Convention.¹²¹ Convention 169 (C169), the International Labour Organization’s attempt for an indigenous rights document reflecting more contemporary norms about indigenous rights, was adopted in 1989. It is a binding convention, which is likely the reason why only 22 countries have ratified the document. Most of the countries participating are in Latin America. C169 calls for indigenous peoples to have a role at the decision-making level and free participation in “policies and programmes which concern them.”¹²² The ILO’s C169 was a strong effort at setting an international precedent, but many countries still refuse to be subject to international human rights law.

The ILO's efforts at indigenous inclusion do not end at C169. The ILO has indigenous advocacy workers and staff that serve as delegates to the organization.¹²³ The International Labour Organization could have escaped criticism if it did not have an indigenous policy because its main focus is not on any of the most pressing indigenous policy issues (land, education, women, etc). Despite this, the ILO has been pushing for its members to implement conventions on indigenous rights. This could be, in part, due to the ILO's relationship with the United Nations.

THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

Another critical UN agency in the field of indigenous development is the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Unlike the ILO, the FAO has a clear main reason behind its focus on indigenous peoples. Two of the critical issues in indigenous development are land and natural resources, which are a major thrust behind the FAO's policies. Many indigenous peoples lived nomadic lifestyles for centuries and have a sacred relationship with their land and are developing new ties to food and resources. The FAO recognized indigenous ties to their land and their part in the debate. After ILO C169 was adopted, the FAO published the elements applicable to the United Nations Forum on Forests—of which it is a member—on its website.¹²⁴

The FAO also responded to potential policy changes when confronted with negative externalities with current efforts. In the “Declaration of Atitlán” in 2002 indigenous people called on the international community to recognize the critical nature of indigenous culture in sustainable food systems.¹²⁵ Because of this, the FAO works “with Indigenous People’s Organizations to identify Cultural Indicators for Sustainable

Agriculture and Rural Development [SARD].”¹²⁶ The FAO has followed up on these efforts with surveys of the cultural indicators, and in 2006, the technical paper produced a consensus on critical indicators for SARD.¹²⁷ The areas of focus were land access and resources, knowledge and cultural sharing, traditional food, and self-determination.”¹²⁸

Much of the Food and Agriculture Organization’s involvement with indigenous peoples continued in the form of recommendations and observations. In 2004, the Food and Agriculture Organization examined the difficult balance of development and land rights reform for indigenous peoples. In 2009, the FAO published two reports on Indigenous Peoples. The first examines cultural and biological diversity’s relationship with indigenous peoples, and the role the FAO can play in those efforts. It discusses the relevant Millennium Development Goals in these efforts and how the FAO can cooperate with indigenous peoples to ensure greater development.¹²⁹ The second is an operational guide for responsible fisheries and indigenous peoples. The Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries was adopted by the FAO in 1995, and this Report’s purpose is to show its application in indigenous communities.¹³⁰

There was a shift, however, in April 2010, at the UNPFII’s 9th Session, when the FAO noted it was working on a draft policy for Indigenous Peoples.¹³¹ At this session, the FAO was also careful to indicate several programs in which it was being inclusive of indigenous people and ensuring indigenous development and rights through traditional food systems, fisheries, and agriculture heritage systems.¹³² The most notable aspect, though, was undoubtedly the mention of an upcoming indigenous policy.

The FAO's policy was released in the fall of 2010, and it was lauded by indigenous advocacy groups and indigenous peoples' organizations. This is unsurprising as IPOs and advocacy organizations were involved in the process of developing the policy.¹³³ When the FAO came out with its indigenous policy, the Director General noted that the organization "aspires to play an important role in the international community's efforts to ensure a better life for indigenous peoples and rural populations. The fight against hunger cannot be won without them."¹³⁴ The FAO's core principles on indigenous rights are self-determination, development with identity, free, prior, and informed consent, participation and inclusion, rights over land and other natural resources, cultural rights, collective rights, and gender equality.¹³⁵

WORLD BANK

The World Bank is not the only development bank with indigenous policies. However, its policies are more thorough and they cover all regions of the world while the regional banks do not. Additionally the World Bank is the largest development bank donor. These policies were not always in place, and it took a confluence of factors and activists to encourage the World Bank to implement official policies.

In the 1970s in the Philippines, the World Bank was planning a dam project on the Chico River, which was highly opposed by the indigenous people in the region. The Chico River Dam Project would have flooded thousands of hectares of rice fields threatening ninety thousand indigenous peoples.¹³⁶ Eventually, then World Bank President, Robert McNamara, was forced to change the project and he said "no funding of projects would take place in the continued opposition form the people."¹³⁷

A few years later, in the Amazon, the World Bank was considering supporting projects, which threatened indigenous peoples of Rodônia in Brazil. Because of this possibility, Andrew Gray found that the Bank established “a set of guidelines for the World Bank to follow in situations where projects they funded threatened to infringe the rights of residual ethnic minorities. The first World Bank policy guidelines were therefore drawn up with the aim of mitigating the effects of the Bank’s colonization schemes in the Amazon.”¹³⁸

When the Bank developed its first policy in 1982, the Bank sought advice from indigenous experts and indigenous advocacy organizations such as Cultural Survival and Survival International.¹³⁹ In the early 1980s, the World Bank’s indigenous policies recognized national development as necessary, and attempted to find ways to mitigate potentially negative effects.¹⁴⁰ Its assimilationist measures are in no way as severe as the ILO’s Convention 107 but do mirror some of the intentions.¹⁴¹

There are two opposing perspectives for why the World Bank created this indigenous policy. In the view of John Bodley, a cultural anthropologist, the guidelines were created “to enable development projects to encroach on indigenous territories and resources with as little trouble as possible.”¹⁴² More optimistically, however, Gray finds that “some bank specialists argue that the policy arose from a genuine internal concern that its development programs were causing indigenous peoples harm and that their rights and well-being should be respected.”¹⁴³ It is likely that it was a mix of both reasons that led the World Bank to issue its first policy, Operational Directive 4.20, in 1982.

Despite the policy, the IWGIA, Cultural Survival, and Survival International continued to protest many of their projects.¹⁴⁴ At this point, environmental organizations and NGOs also got involved in the project to protect resources.¹⁴⁵ Cultural Survival believed that “devastating projects could be ameliorated or prevented by placing knowledgeable and committed people within the Bank... In their view, World Bank projects were inevitable, and NGOs could ameliorate the dangers as much as possible by ensuring that subprojects addressed indigenous needs.”¹⁴⁶ This was not the case, however, for the two other indigenous advocacy organizations that had been protesting the World Bank’s policies alongside Cultural Survival.

Survival International and especially IWGIA believed that some World Bank projects should not go forward at all, and were skeptical of the World Bank’s dedication and ability in putting Operational Directive 4.20 into force.¹⁴⁷ Some indigenous organizations were also worried that with the growing influence of the environmental NGOs in this movement, other factors would be ignored.¹⁴⁸ They were successful in the mid-1980s of a shift toward a human rights perspective in the approach due to the inclusion of human rights NGOs in the process.¹⁴⁹

The World Bank’s 1987 Five-Year Indigenous Policy Review found greater identification of indigenous peoples, but Gray notes there was also “a greater tendency among Bank staff to underestimate the unique social, cultural and environmental problems that both tribal and indigenous or semi-tribal populations have in the process of development.”¹⁵⁰ Between the 1987 Policy Review and the 1991 Operational Directive by

the World Bank, most of the challenges to the World Bank's indigenous policy were based on environmental and land concerns.¹⁵¹

It is notable that this change in World Bank's policy took place at the same time as ILO's change in policy from ILO Convention 107 to ILO Convention 169, which was likely a critical factor in the Bank's decision to focus on indigenous consultation and participation.¹⁵² The Bank also improved attention to negative externalities of its projects by hiring environmental and social staff that attempted to alleviate these issues.¹⁵³ NGOs often worked with the bank on better defining the terms "participation and consultation."¹⁵⁴

The two policies currently in force are Operational Policy 4.10 and Bank Policy 4.10, which were established in 1991. World Bank Operational Policy 4.10 (OP 4.10) recognizes the importance of indigenous attachment to land as it relates to culture and natural resources.¹⁵⁵ The Bank notes that "these distinct circumstances expose Indigenous Peoples to different types of risks and levels of impacts from development projects, including loss of identity, culture, and customary livelihoods."¹⁵⁶ A critical way of avoiding these impacts is through consultation followed by assessments to define attachment to land and project modification if necessary.¹⁵⁷

According to OP 4.10, a World Bank Borrower must prepare an Indigenous Peoples Plan to ensure that indigenous peoples benefit from a project and are included in the process. The Plan must have measures ensuring the following: "(a) Indigenous Peoples affected by the project receive culturally appropriate social and economic benefits; and (b) when potential adverse effects on Indigenous Peoples are identified,

those adverse effects are avoided, minimized, mitigated, or compensated for.”¹⁵⁸ The Bank reviews the Plan to ensure that it meets the standards.

World Bank’s Bank Policy 4.10 (BP 4.10) focuses on a consultation process. This process is both with indigenous communities and IPOs and thoroughly clarified and monitored by Bank members.¹⁵⁹ BP 4.10 allows for a more active involvement of the indigenous peoples themselves rather than simply evaluating the impact of development programs.

The World Bank recently reviewed its Operational and Bank Policy on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. In the period between 1992 and 2008, the Bank found that 510 projects “triggered the Bank’s Policy on Indigenous Peoples.”¹⁶⁰ The new policies were triggered significantly more than the World Bank’s previous indigenous policy.¹⁶¹ This policy review was done to determine how often indigenous peoples were involved in the projects and to test the effectiveness of the policies.¹⁶² The Bank’s internal results from the policies were overall positive.¹⁶³ Andrew Gray notes, however, that many indigenous advocacy organizations find that the Bank’s “implementation in practice, remains uneven and largely dependent on sustained, external vigilance and advocacy.”¹⁶⁴ Indigenous advocacy organizations are still involved in monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of its policy.

Theories on the Absence of a Policy

GENERAL REASONS FOR POLICY MOVEMENTS

Before identifying specific reasons why INGOs do not have a policy it is critical to understand more about global social movements and policy changes in general.

Rhiannon Morgan defines global social movements as generally “hard to construct and difficult to maintain.”¹⁶⁵ She notes that this is especially “true for a global movement developed around ‘tribal’ or indigenous identities, which are inherently local and based largely on a common experience of poverty and discrimination.”¹⁶⁶ The great challenge of making this intrinsically local movement effective on a global scale to achieve rights and fair treatment at a local and national level is evident.

There are several factors, which could have led to the success of the international indigenous movement in the last three decades. In their seminal book, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, McAdam et al identify three general areas that appear to increase the likelihood of a movement change. These are: political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and cultural framings.¹⁶⁷

In the arena of political opportunity, McAdam finds four points that seem to spur social change: “(1) the dramatization of a glaring contradiction between a highly salient cultural value and conventional social practices, (2) ‘suddenly imposed grievances,’ (3) dramatizations of a system’s vulnerability or illegitimacy, (4) the availability of an innovative ‘master frame’ within which subsequent challengers can map their own grievances and demands.”¹⁶⁸ The most notable factors, which clearly played a role in the indigenous movement, were finding the glaring contradiction and a frame for airing

grievances. Another way that groups can increase their potential is by identifying allies to support their movement.¹⁶⁹ The indigenous movement was particularly deft in using the environmental movement, which was already active in the international community.

Snow and Benford introduced the framing perspective in the 1980s and they noted three tasks in the process. These are: “(a) a diagnosis of some event or situation as problematic and in need of change; (b) a proposed solution to the diagnosed problem; and (c) a call to arms to engage in collective action.”¹⁷⁰ As already discussed, the framing perspective principally used international legal norms. Early in the movement, the United Nations, regional indigenous mechanisms, and indigenous advocacy organizations were critical mobilizing structures.

WHY INGOs DO NOT HAVE POLICIES WHEN IOs DO

If international organizations have indigenous policies, then why do international non-governmental organizations lack policies? As I already stated, INGOs came onto the development landscape as a new ideological force, which would represent the people. Development INGOs often argue for participation and rights but do not have policies of their own. IOs have the policies discussed in the previous section because of pressure from indigenous advocacy and human rights INGOs. It seems counterintuitive, then, that development-oriented INGOs would not have indigenous policies.

Additionally, this is surprising since many of these organizations use rights-based approaches. Wendy Wong finds that because of their human rights-based reputation, “NGOs have become the primary way in which most people experience human rights, whether through defending existing rights, advocating the creation of new ones, or

helping reify those rights through the provision of services, goods, and tools.”¹⁷¹ This was true primarily for human rights and advocacy INGOs, however. Development INGOs without indigenous peoples policies do not guarantee these rights.

There are several potential reasons for why International Organizations develop policies and International Non-Governmental Organizations would not. First, INGOs could be concerned about the overlap or contradiction of their policies and the indigenous policies of IOs. Second, International Organizations face considerable pressure to promote indigenous rights from international laws that INGOs do not face. Third, IOs deal with other pressures from indigenous advocacy organizations and sometimes national governments that INGOs rarely encounter. Fourth, INGOs have to be more cautious of the reactions from national governments than do IOs because they are more susceptible to negative pressure. Fifth, INGOs are more decentralized than IOs and passage of any policies is an arduous process. Sixth, INGOs are more concerned about tailoring a program to a community than IOs, so many INGOs resist implementing a general policy on indigenous peoples.

Repetition of Policies

One potential reason why INGOs still lack policies is that if they developed strong general policies, they could conflict with IO policies. This is significant because many of the IOs listed are principal donors and partners on INGO projects. If there was an overlap or inconsistency in policies, it could cause problems in implementation or monitoring.

The World Bank actually published recommendations in 2000 for INGOs interactions with indigenous peoples that were endorsed by the ILO and the Canadian International Development Agency.¹⁷² The recommendations proposed are:

Ensure that your objectives and those of the indigenous peoples are the same... create a representative NGO for the community or join one... work with the indigenous peoples to help estimate the impacts... help by providing access to information... assist indigenous peoples to communicate in different media... assist indigenous peoples to understand the powers at play [i.e. international covenants and national laws]... be sure you understand the nature of traditional knowledge... [and] encourage the inclusion of indigenous knowledge in finding innovative solutions.¹⁷³

These are fairly standard, and since the World Bank has no enforcement mechanism for these guidelines, it is unlikely that simply publishing these recommendations would have an effect on INGOs' decisions on creating indigenous peoples policies.

If recommendations like the World Bank's above are leading INGOs to resist creating their own policies, then, they are working directly against the goals of international organizations. In *Rules of the World*, Barrett and Finnemore find that once IOs establish norms in their own circles, they "are eager to spread the benefits of their expertise and often act as conveyor belts for the transmission of norms and models of good political behavior... Officials in IOs often insist that part of their mission is to spread, inculcate, and enforce global values, and norms."¹⁷⁴ By having norms that are made official into policies, however, there is a possibility that IOs are negatively driven away from establishing indigenous policies. If this hypothesis were true, researchers would see INGO policies in areas where there was a common international norm, but not where IO policies are varied.

International Law

As was already discussed in some depth, indigenous advocates framed the global indigenous movement as a legal debate. There were already several international legal mechanisms in place, which they believed implied that indigenous peoples had a right to self-determination. In the past thirty years, though, there has been a massive expansion in the specific inclusion of indigenous peoples in international law.¹⁷⁵

The main international legal mechanisms have mostly been mentioned. There were also quite a number of regional instruments at the continental level. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, for example, has strong protective measures for indigenous lands.¹⁷⁶ The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights guarantees property rights, which the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights has ruled frequently to include indigenous lands.¹⁷⁷

The breadth of the legal mechanisms on indigenous rights draw a critical divide between what is expected of IOs and what is expected of INGOs. International organizations are much more involved in the international legal system than international non-governmental organizations. In fact, IOs are often a part of the process of writing the new legal mechanisms. Because of this, INGOs are much less compelled to match policies to the indigenous legal framework than their IO counterparts. If this hypothesis is correct, then you should see IOs being subjected to international law, and see an absence of INGOs subjected to lawsuits for violations of international law.

External Pressure

Pressure from international laws is not the only pressure that IOs receive and INGOs are generally immune from. International Organizations face immense external pressure from indigenous advocacy organizations, indigenous peoples' organizations, and sometimes national governments. These pressures are applied much more rarely on the INGO community.

As was clear in the previous section on international organizations and indigenous rights, external actors were a critical force in the development of policies. Without the pressure from indigenous advocacy organizations, it is unlikely that any IOs would have developed the strong indigenous peoples' policies that currently exist. Because of this fact, it is critical to note that most indigenous advocacy organizations do not actively work with development NGOs.¹⁷⁸

While in the process of developing indigenous policies for IOs, indigenous advocacy organizations often worked with human rights INGOs, there was never participation from the development INGO community.¹⁷⁹ Until recently, however, most human rights NGOs focused on local changes rather than changes in the international indigenous system¹⁸⁰ For some indigenous advocacy organizations, they could not interact with development INGOs because of their own development efforts. This is true of MRG and Cultural Survival. Survival International does have a publication *Progress Can Kill*, which discusses the dangerous effects of some development projects.¹⁸¹ This project, though, does not advocate specifically for any policy shifts. It simply points out potentially negative externalities of development. A staffer at Survival noted that the

organization does not engage in advocacy with INGOs.¹⁸² If this argument is true, one should find that indigenous advocacy groups have exercised little to no pressure on INGOs compared to IOs.

On the side of national governments, there was significant pressure on IOs, especially from the Latin American region. McAdam et al note that governments and “political elites are most likely to behave in a reformist way when there are political advantages to be gained from it.”¹⁸³ This was a clear case of gain for leaders promoting indigenous advocacy. States are incredibly influential in the process of social movements approaching it either favorably or unfavorably.¹⁸⁴ As states are often members of IOs, they are much more likely to sway policymaking in those bodies than in INGOs. If this argument is true, we should see limited to no efforts by national governments to pressure INGOs to adopt formal policies on indigenous groups.

National Governments’ Reactions

Although some national governments look favorably on indigenous peoples’ policies as evidenced above, there are also cases where the opposite is true. INGOs are then faced with the difficult task of determining a countries’ stance on its indigenous peoples, and responding accordingly. With some national governments, approval is necessary from the highest level on every project the INGO does in country.¹⁸⁵ In many cases, countries do not want INGOs supporting the indigenous peoples. In fact, it is often the national governments that are the largest marginalizing force.

A relevant example came in the late 1980s when the Ecuadorian government had a policy of discrimination and exclusion of the Quechua peoples, and thus, did not want

the Peace Corps to work with the indigenous community. Although the Peace Corps is not an INGO, its small-scale development projects make this a relevant example. In Ecuador, the Quechua were opposed to the sitting government, and for the past few decades had always voted for the communist party (Movimiento Popular Democrático). The Peace Corps, however, was determined to support the Quechua peoples.¹⁸⁶

Because of this, in 1996-1998, after sending volunteers through a 6-week language crash course, the Peace Corps surprised its volunteers by sending them to the indigenous communities. As far as the Ecuadorian government knew, the Peace Corps volunteers were in other communities serving other populations. If the Peace Corps had an indigenous policy at that time, it is unlikely that the volunteers would have been able to serve in that community, or potentially in that country.¹⁸⁷ The national governments' anti-indigenous sentiment could have responded negatively to the revelation and expelled the Peace Corps from the region.

Minority Rights Group International faces similar problems when it implements indigenous rights and development projects with discriminatory governments. In some countries, MRG frames its programs that promote indigenous languages as simply promoting education.¹⁸⁸ Although the framing is critical in this case, it is unlikely that the governments are unaware of MRG's policies toward indigenous peoples. Therefore, it is unreasonable to believe that indigenous policies alone would prevent INGOs from being able to implement projects in unfavorable environments.

In addition to generalized discrimination for the national governments, some countries are concerned about indigenous claims to self-determination. As noted earlier,

two common claims to indigenous rights are self-determination and land rights.

Predictably, this leads to concerns from IOs, INGOs, and national governments that indigenous groups may seek territorial autonomy.

In signing the UNDRIP or discussing self-determination in the case of indigenous peoples, Karen Engle finds that “the possibility that [it] might imply a right to statehood or secession had concerned a number of states throughout the years.”¹⁸⁹ Despite the grave concerns of most national governments, while self-determination is sometimes seen as political autonomy, for the vast majority of indigenous peoples the goal is not to form a separate state.¹⁹⁰ Rhiannon Morgan states that for most indigenous groups “the political, demographic, and economic realities don’t point to independence as a viable option.”¹⁹¹

Instead, indigenous peoples have a different approach to self-determination and resisting assimilation. Rodolfo Stavehagen notes that even prior to the indigenous rights movement in the 1970s, “indigenous opposition to domination took the form of passive resistance, or turning inward and building protective shells around community life and cultural identity.”¹⁹² As stated earlier, though, if indigenous rights to land are not recognized, there is the danger of violent resistance. Former Special Rapporteur to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, Erica-Irene Daes, states that the danger is in “the denial of indigenous peoples’ right to self-determination [which] will leave the most marginalized and excluded of all the world’s peoples without a legal, peaceful weapon to press for genuine democracy in the states in which they live.”¹⁹³ The indigenous goals of land rights and self-determination are mostly based around

preserving identity through small steps of protection instead of large measures of independence.

There has been a movement away from national governments' concerns about this in recent years. In fact, many states that were initially fearful of recognizing indigenous rights to self-determination now believe that indigenous peoples do not want complete territorial autonomy, and the rights desired are already included in many international legal mechanisms.¹⁹⁴ Since the passage of UNDRIP, which all UN member states have now either approved or abstained from, there is obviously movement away from previous concerns of indigenous cries for statehood.¹⁹⁵

Additionally, governments feel some pressure from the international community to allow for humanitarian services and development. This is likely the reason why national government pressure has not affected IOs as much as INGOs. Although INGOs often rely heavily on state resources, they maintain their credibility by holding some independence from national governments. If INGOs underserve indigenous peoples or fail to develop policies due to national pressure, they are severely weakening their standing. If this argument were true, we would expect indigenous groups to refrain from adopting formal policies in countries where the ruling government has a history of hostility to indigenous groups or where indigenous groups have a history of secessionist demands. More broadly, we might expect INGOs to admit that they have not developed policies for this reason.

Structural INGO Issues

Unlike international organizations, INGOs are often very decentralized. With decentralized organizations, adopting a new policy and implementing it is a huge challenge. It is far easier to put new policies in place under an IO structure. IOs operate under bureaucratic universalism where they “necessarily flatten diversity because they are supposed to generate universal rules.”¹⁹⁶ Non-governmental organizations encourage diversity to get the most of the different contexts in each country in which they practice development.¹⁹⁷

Wendy Wong discusses the range of INGO models by saying:

“International NGOs tend to range from a decentralized model of loosely affiliated national sections that share a common name to more formalized agreements between national sections that have an obligation to follow a certain organizational standard or directive. There are also international NGOs that are highly centralized... despite their presence in multiple countries.”¹⁹⁸

She further goes on to say, however, that it is generally advocacy INGOs such as Amnesty International that are centralized and development INGOs that are decentralized.¹⁹⁹ This is particularly interesting given some advocacy INGOs involvement in the indigenous policy designing process. Additionally, Amnesty International and other advocacy INGOs often have standardized policies.

In a highly decentralized organization, such as Catholic Relief Services, it is up to the Country Representative to decide how to engage in the field and how to interact with indigenous peoples.²⁰⁰ Other non-governmental organizations, though, do not take such a strong decentralized tone, and instead face what Wong calls the “transnational dilemma of striking a balance between centralization and decentralization.”²⁰¹ Those with more

centralized frameworks often see more efficient implementation, while those with more decentralized frameworks believe that their policies serve the populations more effectively. INGO policies can be most effective if they are centralized at the design level, but decentralized at the implementation level.²⁰² If this argument is correct, we should expect to see some variation in INGO policies based on the degree of centralization, with more centralized INGOs having more policies across the board.

Different Communities, Different Policies

While potentially critical to decisions about development projects, the difficulty of defining and generalizing indigenous peoples could be a reason that some INGOs do not have established policies. One of the principal motivations INGOs cite for not having policies is that they like to consider each community separately.²⁰³ Wong finds that INGOs believe that “decentralization at the implementation or execution stage of advocacy allows for an to better tailor messages to different domestic contexts.”²⁰⁴ CARE International and Save the Children in particular noted this as a cause for why they did not have a general policy.²⁰⁵ Oxfam and CRS also prefer to use community consultation, rather than general policies.²⁰⁶ When trying to find if the INGOs had official policies on indigenous peoples, some directed me to specific country offices.²⁰⁷

To highlight the degree of contention in the debate on what it means to be indigenous, I will discuss the definitions of several organizations.

The United Nations definition of indigenous is:

self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by community as their member; historical continuity with precolonial and/or pre-settler societies; strong link to territories and

surrounding natural resources; distinct social, economic or political systems; distinct language, culture, and beliefs, and the fact that they form nondominant groups of society, and resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities.²⁰⁸

The official UN definition is complex and multi-faceted, but has the pitfalls of nearly every definition—there are subjective descriptors. In 2001, instead of giving an entirely new definition, the United Nations Development Programme noted that self-identification is the most critical aspect in defining indigenous peoples.²⁰⁹

The ILO also notes self-identification as critical in addition to descending from populations who inhabited in the country prior to current state boundaries and/ or “whose social, cultural, or economic conditions distinguish them” from the national community.²¹⁰ The International Labour Organization’s definition is similar to the UN’s, and is cautious, as it does not address self-determination or discrimination.

The Food and Agriculture Organization’s definition is similar to the UN definition, but adds a significant factor, which is highly subjective. The FAO’s criteria for indigenous peoples are occupation of land prior to another group, “the voluntary perpetuation of cultural distinctiveness... self-identification, as well as recognition by other groups... and an experience of subjugation, marginalization, dispossession, exclusion, or discrimination.”²¹¹ The condition that the people must also be ostracized complicates the definition considerably.

The World Bank takes a different approach than its fellow IOs. It does describe indigenous peoples using self-identification, ancestral land, cultural separation, and a language.²¹² However, the World Bank states “because of the varied and changing

contexts in which Indigenous Peoples live and because there is no universally accepted definition of ‘Indigenous Peoples,’ [World Bank] policy does not define the term.”²¹³ The World Bank attempts to avoid the definition debate as much as possible by using general descriptors and focusing on simply applying its official indigenous policies of participation and culturally appropriate benefits.

While the definitions of international organizations are critical to understanding the debate surrounding who is defined as indigenous, it is also important to consider how IPOs and indigenous advocacy organizations classify indigenous peoples. The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs defines indigenous people in its Mission Statement as “the disadvantaged descendants of those peoples who inhabited a territory prior to colonisation or formation of the present state. The term indigenous is defined by characteristics that relate to the identity of a particular people in a particular area, and that distinguish them culturally from other people or peoples.”²¹⁴ Its use of colonization is controversial, and would be problematic for most INGOs depending on Western donors that were former colonizers.

Some indigenous peoples’ organizations in the 1990s produced definitions of indigenous, which “de-emphasized the importance of ‘genes, blood, and the relationship to land as such’ for a definition of Indegeneity. Rather, it is argued, ‘the relationship to the nation-state in its present role, to colonial and postcolonial processes, and to the dominant population and nonindigenous groups, are the most important [factors] to consider.”²¹⁵ Several Russian, African, and Asian IPOs reacted against the above definition, and stated that peoples not indigenous by genes, blood, and land are simply

minorities.²¹⁶ The controversy lies in some groups trying to protect more peoples, and others trying to guard the influential term “indigenous,” and only applying it in rare circumstances.

An INGO may believe that it cannot have an organization-wide policy without also defining indigenous peoples. There are distinct challenges based on different ethno-linguistic identities. If the definition is left vague, some groups (who most would not consider indigenous) may demand that the policies be applied toward their peoples. As most INGOs pride themselves on being inclusive, but precise this puts them in a difficult position. However, INGOs could take the route that the World Bank did and simply focus on the policy and recommendations.

If an INGO were to take two indigenous groups, which almost all people would term “indigenous,” that would not necessarily make them comparable. There are some cases in Latin America where the indigenous are in the majority or nearly are the majority of the population such as the Quechua in Peru. In most contexts, however, indigenous peoples are generally in the minority, such as the Akha in Northern Thailand. Even in Russia, the indigenous groups vary from half a million to under one hundred people, so it is difficult to think about national or regional policies.

The types of policies that an INGO would want to implement for an indigenous group that is 5% of the population are vastly different than for an indigenous group that makes up 60% of the population. Additionally, indigenous peoples are at varying levels of development across groups and even within countries. INGOs also likely vary policies based on the level of development.

The difference in groups, however, does not preclude any policies from being possible. The policies could be based on a regional framework, whether they are minority or majority indigenous groups or both. INGOs may still be concerned that a specific indigenous policy could raise expectations in communities where they are unable or unwilling to deliver services. If this theory were correct, we would expect to see the presence of policies at the regional or community level, rather than the complete absence of indigenous policies. Additionally, to preclude other theories these policies should vary considerably by region or community.

Most Likely Theories

While there are a number of theories in this section, the cause for the gap in policies that I find the most likely is a combination of the lack of pressure from outside forces and the level of decentralization of INGOs. External pressure was a key factor in the development of IOs' indigenous peoples' policies, and without this, INGOs have felt no need to develop these policies. INGOs are less likely to create any policies for two main reasons. First, the decentralized nature of INGOs makes general policy creation difficult. Second, INGOs generally believe that their policies are better when specific rather than general.

Why INGOs Should Implement Indigenous Policies

Although as evidenced above, there are clearly reasons why INGOs do not have policies, there are several reasons why INGOs should develop and implement indigenous policies. First, INGOs should consider improving its relationships with funding bodies, recipients, and international organizations. Second, it is clear through the effects of IO implementation of policies, that it improves the development process for indigenous peoples. Third, if one INGO were to break the norm, and develop a policy, it would improve the behavior of many of its counterparts. Fourth, INGOs' record on indigenous development recommends itself to policies. Fifth, policies would ensure accountability and transparency in the treatment of indigenous peoples.

FUNDING BODIES, RECIPIENTS, AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

For non-governmental organizations, three of the most important groups are funding bodies, recipients, and international organizations. The outer two groups both look favorably on clear and centralized policies. As for recipients, if they are indigenous peoples, they are certainly concerned about the incorporation of their rights into the policies of INGOs.

As discussed previously, the World Bank, the UN and other IOs have policies on indigenous inclusion in development. Additionally, many regional banks have indigenous policies. The INGO- donor relationship is critical to organizational change and learning.²¹⁷ While not all donors have indigenous policies, many are aligned with IOs and development banks that have them. As INGOs have been responsive to donors, international organizations, and especially recipients in the past, it is strange that this has

not occurred with indigenous peoples. With such a strong support from these groups, it is in the best interest of INGOs to form an organization-wide policy.

EFFECTS OF IO IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES

One of the clear ways to know that INGO indigenous peoples' policies would improve the treatment of indigenous peoples is through looking at the effects of IO indigenous policies. Latin American countries have looked at the ILO C169 as they would a national law. Chile did this recently when the court ruled in favor of community water rights by applying aspects of the ILO C169.²¹⁸ Chile has also looked upon its adoption of United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a tool to interpret legal action.²¹⁹

One of the notable changes after the implementation of the policy at the United Nations was that all of the information on poverty and disadvantages was considered from the vantage of indigenous peoples.²²⁰ Additionally, the UN's led to the inclusion of indigenous peoples' in development programs.²²¹ They were also able to evaluate their own policy, and discover that indigenous women were still not being included enough in the development discourse.²²² Because of the UNPFII's reach, it was able to critique other UN organizations that were ineffective at implementing the policy.²²³ In country development documents, most included references to dignity and consultation.²²⁴

The World Bank likewise saw improvements in the treatment of indigenous peoples after the implementation of OP 4.10 and BP 4.10. Free, prior, and informed consultation was successful in 41 out of 59 projects.²²⁵ In 33 out of the 51 projects, the projects discussed the cultural appropriateness of the project activities.²²⁶ Additionally,

similarly to the United Nations projects, simply the presence of a policy allowed critical observation and reflection by the World Bank.

NORM BUILDING AND LEGITIMACY

Few things are as powerful in the international community as the presence of a norm. While international organizations have obviously set precedence with indigenous policies, development INGOs rarely have official policies. Norms in the INGO world are influential, and it takes a great swing in the global mindset to change a norm that will cause an organizational shift.

Finnemore and Sikkink find that in the case of international organizations, “for an emergent norm to reach a threshold and move toward [norm acceptance], it must become institutionalized in specific sets of international rules and organizations.”²²⁷ It is likely similar for international non-governmental organizations. However, this will only occur if INGOs are willing to make small shifts in policy toward indigenous rights. While currently, no INGOs have policies, if one INGO were to become a “norm entrepreneur,” and adopt an indigenous policy, then it could persuade “a critical mass of [organizations] to become norm leaders and adopt new norms...[until] the norm reaches a threshold or tipping point.”²²⁸ The norm could then become an internationally accepted norm in the INGO system. There are several factors that could lead to this phenomenon. One critical point is the socialization of development INGOs. INGOs could be motivated to adopt a policy through peer pressure, isomorphism, or fear of losing legitimacy.²²⁹ If INGOs

failed to respond to this peer pressure, and were left alone in the INGO sector, they would lose some of their legitimacy, and be ostracized for not conforming.

Additionally, if one of the more prestigious and influential development non-governmental organizations were to be the first or early adopters of an indigenous policy, its soft power and esteem could promote the norm change. While Save the Children and ActionAid are still very decentralized, Oxfam is growing more centralized in setting some of its policies.²³⁰ If Oxfam were to set an indigenous policy, it is possible that the socialization effect would occur.

This norm setting also happens within an organization. Unlike international organizations, in INGOs, operations often drive the policies. The operations in many country offices for international organizations have a similar set of guidelines on how to appropriately interact with indigenous peoples during development projects. These general guidelines are demanding new policy action from the INGOs.

INGOs PAST (AND CURRENT) RECORD ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

INGOs early efforts at development in indigenous communities attempted to improve the conditions by assimilating indigenous peoples.²³¹ These assimilationist policies are no longer officially practiced, but INGOs should ensure that they are not practiced occasionally by implementing official policies. Additionally, there is the concern that without specialized policies, indigenous peoples will be left out of development, and the inequality gap will widen.

There is a serious danger that could come from INGOs not having policies or guidelines. In IWGIA's report, they note many problems that occur due to harmful

development projects, especially in the cases of health and land resources. Development programs and policies which limit the nomadic or hunter-gatherer lifestyle of many indigenous peoples lead to nutritional and health problems.²³² Additionally, “indigenous people have their land taken from them for economic development projects... ignoring their rights to their land.”²³³ Educational programs sponsored by development organizations that are not well versed in the indigenous languages or culture may discriminate against the indigenous peoples indirectly. The consequences, therefore, for not implementing policies could be severe.

Carol Kalafatic, the Associate Director of the American Indian Program at Cornell University noted that “it has become profitable to look ‘indigenous peoples friendly,’ but many NGOs only pay lip service to the priorities and rights of indigenous peoples, especially if they don’t fit into the NGO’s organizational goals and culture.”²³⁴ While official policies would not ensure that INGOs would follow them, monitoring and evaluation of an indigenous policy would add a level of accountability into INGO indigenous development.

NO WAY TO ENSURE “GUIDELINES” OR GENERAL PRINCIPLES ARE FOLLOWED

One argument against implementing policies could be: why are formal policies necessary? As I already mentioned, most INGOs use human rights-based approaches that are participatory. They usually have a process of building trust and working with local groups that seems effective. These ideas are also similar to IOs’ official policies. Despite

this, INGOs are large organizations, so if there is not a policy, it is unlikely that there would be a substantive change towards improving indigenous participation.

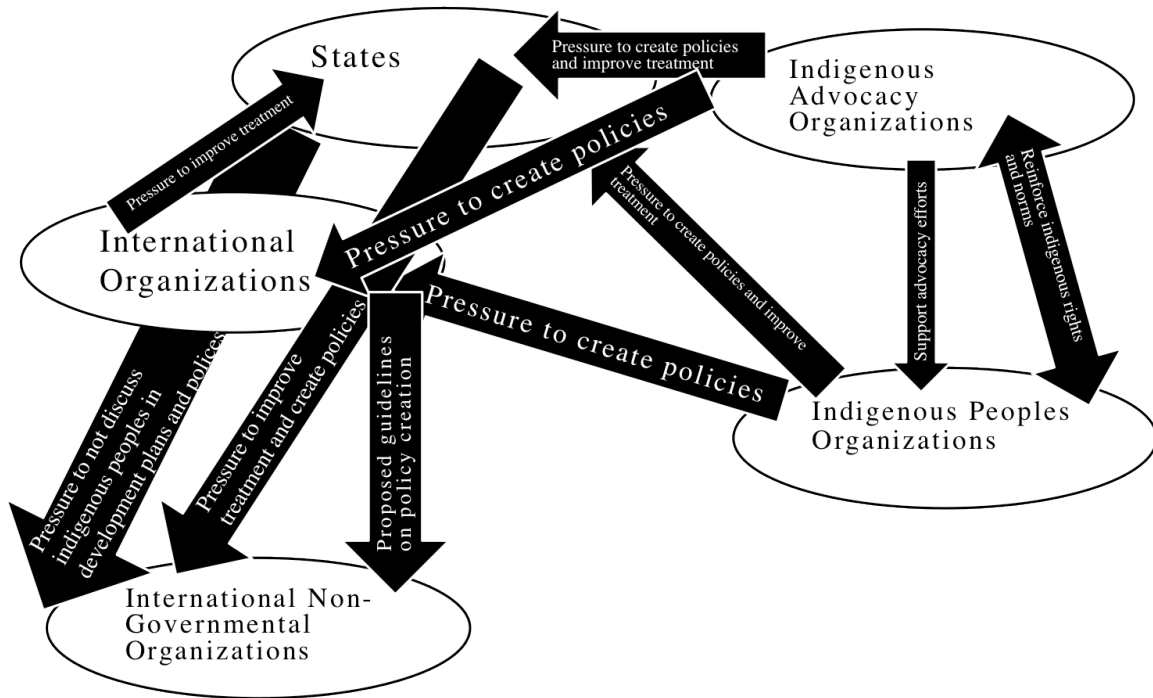
Because of INGOs level of decentralization, an INGO may not even be fully aware of the actions of its country or regional offices.²³⁵ The information asymmetry in the INGO policies of indigenous peoples is troubling. Greater transparency from an official policy would offer better treatment or at least a more accurate understanding of indigenous peoples' treatment.

Even with the best intentions or noble general guidelines, unless there are people actively on the ground ensuring good treatment, an INGO cannot confirm that indigenous peoples are treated fairly without policies. Even with policies, an INGO cannot guarantee balanced development processes, but there is an extra safeguard mechanism. A Country Representative in Honduras affirmed the variance in INGO policies saying, "it all depends on the country director and the team."²³⁶ He further added that there are often difficult transitions between teams.²³⁷ Without official policies, there is no way to ensure or measure the quality of indigenous development programs. By having official policies, INGOs would be forced to uphold higher standards.

Conclusion

Indigenous peoples rights and the development of policies have undergone critical shifts in the past four decades. The growing presence of INGOs on the world stage in the same time frame has also likely been a factor in the indigenous policy process. The pressures of different actors on the global stage and in the field of indigenous development have been critical in this process. Aspects of the actors' relationships in regards to indigenous peoples can be seen in Illustration 3.

Illustration 3: Diagram of Actors and Pressure



TESTING HYPOTHESIS/ RESEARCH AGENDA

The first step going forward is to do further research to test which of the proposed theories of the absence of policy has the strongest effect on INGOs. Through high-level interviews with INGO staff, the researcher should attempt to determine why INGOs do not have organization-wide policies. The researcher should examine if it is concern for overlapping policies with IOs, lack of international law or other external pressures, fear of backlash from some governments, in caution of autonomous wishes, the decentralization of the organization, trouble with defining indigenous, the desire to offer different indigenous communities different plans, or a different reason altogether.

The researcher should, then, analyze the interviews to find the most common reasons for the absence of policies. It is likely the researcher will find it is a mix of these reasons that has led to the absence of INGO policies. With that information, the researcher should determine the most effective way to deliver this information to advocacy organizations.

ADVOCACY PLAN

Indigenous peoples' organizations and indigenous advocacy organizations should look at these results with interest. One of the most critical results to discover would be if INGOs did not have official policies because of a lack of external pressure. As already mentioned throughout this report, indigenous advocacy organizations do not advocate with development INGOs. If the lack of advocacy were leading to the absence of indigenous peoples' policies, the path forward would simply be to apply pressure on INGOs.

Other results from the research also lend themselves to policy action plans. If the research shows that IOs cushion INGOs from believing that they need a policy or that INGOs do not want to centralize any policy agendas, then the way forward could be to put pressure on INGOs through IOs. The researcher could find that the concern of policy overlap with IOs is the strongest motivation. In that case, an advocacy organization could work with IOs to clarify a streamlined position that the major international organizations all supported. Then, INGOs would not have to change their indigenous development plans based on individualized policies of each organization.

No matter which theory of INGO policy absence is most influential, however, there are a few points that indigenous advocacy organizations should keep in mind. First, it would be prudent to frame the indigenous policy in the human rights based approach as most INGOs back it. If an organization can frame an indigenous policy as a way to improve their implementation of the HRBA, then INGOs who back this approach will be more likely to support it.

An additional point to consider is that INGOs need for policies to have a sense of purpose for the timing. An indigenous advocacy organization must be able to answer the question: Why now? Understanding the importance of framing an argument with urgency, the IWGIA attempted to use the Rio +20 Conference in 2012 to promote sustainable indigenous development.²³⁸ They worked with indigenous peoples to identify key areas for progress in development including cultural recognition, protection of indigenous land and resources, and recognition of the importance of indigenous knowledge.²³⁹ Unfortunately, this was not effective in changing any INGO perspectives on developing a new policy approach toward indigenous peoples in development.

Looking forward, a feasible option could be to use the post-2015 Development Agenda, where the UN and civil society has come together under “The World We Want” theme. Much of its focus so far has been on inequality, so discussing the gap between indigenous and nonindigenous in terms of development could be an effective way to advocate for the creation of indigenous policies within international non-governmental organizations.

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² “Guatemala- Maya.”

³ Hall and Patrinos, *Indigenous Peoples, Poverty, and Development*, 10; Nongkynrih, *Integration of Indigenous Peoples’ Perspectives in Country Development Processes: Review of Selected CCAs and UNDAFs*, 3.

⁴ Hall and Patrinos, *Indigenous Peoples, Poverty, and Development*, 10.

⁵ Hall and Patrinos, *Indigenous Peoples, Poverty, and Development*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁸ “Brazil- Overview.”

⁹ Hall and Patrinos, *Indigenous Peoples, Poverty, and Development*, 6.

¹⁰ Blaser, Feit, and McRae, *In the Way*, 6.

¹¹ *State of the World’s Minorities and Indigenous Peoples 2012*, 7.

¹² Morgan, “Advancing Indigenous Rights at the United Nations,” 490.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Purkis, *ActionAid Trustees’ Report and Accounts 2011*; “ActionAid International.”

¹⁶ Gayle, “CARE International 990 2010”; “CARE International.”

¹⁷ Woo, “Catholic Relief Services 990 Form 2011”; “Catholic Relief Services.”

¹⁸ Zimmerman, “Mercy Corps 990 Form”; “Mercy Corps.”

¹⁹ *Oxfam Annual Report 2010-2011*; “Oxfam International.”

²⁰ Miles, “Save the Children 990”; “Save the Children.”

²¹ Probus, “World Vision 990 Form 2011”; “World Vision.”

²² “Save the Children”; “CARE International”; “Catholic Relief Services”; “ActionAid International”; “Mercy Corps”; “Oxfam International”; “World Vision.”

²³ “ActionAid International”; “Catholic Relief Services”; “Mercy Corps”; “Oxfam International”; “Save the Children”; “World Vision”; “CARE International.”

²⁴ Sheenan, “Catholic Relief Services and Indigenous Peoples in Honduras and Africa”; Sheenan, “CRS Indigenous Policies”; Vincent, “Working with the Peace Corps in Ecuador”; Vincent, “Save the Children Indigenous Policies.”

²⁵ Sheenan, “Catholic Relief Services and Indigenous Peoples in Honduras and Africa”; Vincent, “Working with the Peace Corps in Ecuador.”

²⁶ McCaston, “Interview with Kathy McCaston- CARE.”

²⁷ Chen, “Interview with Stephanie Chen”; Chen, “CARE Indigenous Policies.”

²⁸ Campbell, “Interview with Katie Campbell- ActionAid”; Campbell, “Action Aid Indigenous Policies.”

²⁹ Mercy Corps Staffer, “Interview with Mercy Corps Staffer.”

³⁰ World Vision Staffer, “Interview with World Vision Staffer.”

³¹ Gorokhovskiy, “Interview with Olga Gorokhovskiy of Oxfam America.”

³² “World Vision”; “Save the Children”; “Oxfam International”; “Mercy Corps”; “Catholic Relief Services”; “CARE International”; “ActionAid International.”

³³ “World Vision”; “Save the Children”; “Oxfam International”; “Mercy Corps”; “Catholic Relief Services”; “CARE International”; “ActionAid International.”

³⁴ *Oxfam America Annual Report 2011-12*.

³⁵ *Working Together: Oxfam’s Partnership Principles*.

³⁶ Sheenan, “Catholic Relief Services and Indigenous Peoples in Honduras and Africa.”

³⁷ Archer, *People’s Action in Practice: ActionAid’s Human Rights Based Approach 2.0*.

³⁸ “Charter Members.”

³⁹ “Charter Content.”

⁴⁰ “Oxfam International”; “ActionAid International”; “CARE International”; “World Vision”; “Mercy Corps”; “Catholic Relief Services”; “Save the Children.”

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- ⁴¹ Ussar, *Integration of the Human Rights-based Approach into Development Policies and Programmes: A Guide for the New EU Member States*. 6.
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- ⁴⁹ "What We Do."
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- ⁵¹ "MRG: Background."
- ⁵² Dahl, *IWGIA*, 27–28.
- ⁵³ Ibid., 172–73.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., 49.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., 96–98.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., 164.
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- ⁵⁹ Wieche, "Survival International's Relationship with INGOs."
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- ⁶² "Aid Agencies Turn Blind Eye to 'catastrophe' in Ethiopia."
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- ⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ "What We Do."
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- ⁶⁸ "What We Do."
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- ⁷⁰ "MRG Strategy 2009-2012."
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- ⁸⁹ Lewis, *Non-governmental Organizations and Development*. 39.
- ⁹⁰ Banks and Hulme, *The Role of NGOs and Civil Society in Development and Poverty Reduction*. 3.
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- ⁹³ Tvedt, "Development NGOs." 366.
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- ⁹⁸ Lewis, *Non-governmental Organizations and Development*. 1.
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- ¹⁴³ Ibid.
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- ¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 282.
- ¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 283.
- ¹⁵¹ Ibid., 286–7.
- ¹⁵² Ibid., 288.
- ¹⁵³ Ibid., 289.
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