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(Cover photograph from Indigenous Youth Caucus, Climate Change, Copenhagen 12 Dec 2009 by Ben Powless)

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LUKANKA

(Lukanka is a Miskito word for "thoughts")

Rudolph C. Rÿser
Editor in Chief
Fourth World Journal

A significant transformation is in process throughout the world. Many billions of people are ready and eager to make changes to preserve life even as hundreds of millions are still unconvinced that the transformation is necessary. All of the contributors to this issue of the **Fourth World Journal** demonstrate, with their thinking and writing that the evolving transformation has numerous facets, twists and turns that call out for our attention. We benefit from a series of essays that speak to indigenous peoples' identity, property interest, influence in the international arena, philosophical treatise on right and wrong, and linking conventional rationalism with traditional knowledge. The common theme

throughout this collection is perception and modes of thought among indigenous thinkers and change agents.

Jan Lüdert a doctoral candidate at the University of British Columbia takes up the question of identity in relations to the natural world in his essay entitled, ***Nature(s) Revisited***. He bravely approaches the question by considering the meaning of "nature" and the often-claimed relationship between indigenous peoples and nature or how "culture overlaps with nature." Lüdert contributes to the developing discussion about the importance of traditional knowledge and development.

Dr. Cristine Espinosa, Assistant Professor and Associate Director for the Masters Program in Sustainable International Development at The Heller School for Social Policy at Brandeis University writes in ***Globalization and the Separation of Indigenous Genetic Resources from Indigenous Peoples*** that the "de-territorialization" of genetic material such as alpacas (originally domesticated by indigenous peoples of the Andes Mountains in Peru and Bolivia, has converted nature, human labor and traditional knowledge into commodities that excludes indigenous peoples. Espinosa expresses her well-documented concern that

the process of domestication by indigenous peoples may end resulting in the separation of indigenous peoples' accomplishments genetically (with alpacas, for example) from natural habitats and from indigenous peoples themselves.

Dr. Rudolph C. Rÿser a professor of international relations, public service leadership, history and culture and Chair of the Board of Directors at the Center for World Indigenous Studies presents the results of a graduate studies simulation of indigenous peoples engaged in efforts to influence the global climate change negotiations organized under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in an essay entitled, ***The Muckleshoot Experiment***. Noting that indigenous peoples have largely been marginalized over the last twenty-years despite their obvious relevance to the Climate Change negotiations, Graduate Students from the Muckleshoot Indian Nation participate in a ten-week simulation of international negotiations to learn where the indigenous peoples' political strategy has strengths and weaknesses. Graduate learners play out a negotiating scenario where states' governments, NGOs and indigenous peoples are the main players.

Dr. Ani Casimir, Senior Lecturer on

human rights, indigenous intellectual property and good governance at the Institute of African studies at the University of Nigeria in per Peer Reviewed essay, engages in a monologue on ***Right, Duty and Obligation-Responsibility*** to discover the ethical foundations of these concepts. Taking up Emanuel Kant's challenge, Cassimir explores, point for point, the basic concepts that all right minded citizens should know. The concepts are proved to be universal in this important essay.

Rosario Galvan Torres, a researcher and cross-cultural environmental assessment professional writes in ***Beyond the Weather*** about here work with the Embera-Wounaan peoples of Panama and the inner city neighborhoods in the US city of New Orleans advocating community empowerment in the fields of health and education. She characterizes her efforts as promoting the role of women "leading emotional climate change through the marriage of culture, water and consciousness.

Finally, **Emerson Peek** reviews Mark Dowie's book ***Conservation Refugees***, *The Hundred-Year Conflict Between Global Conservation and Native Peoples*. Peek's incisive review draws out the major elements of Dowie's argument that conservation

organizations have played a dramatic role in the displacement of indigenous peoples and restrictions on the use of natural life imposed on indigenous peoples. He points to Dowie's description of how indigenous peoples are working to prevent usurpation of their rights to territories and the life supporting plants, soils and animals located in those territories. And finally, indigenous peoples are shown to practice ways of living that maintain and often expand biodiversity.

Two important documents were published over the last two years that amplify the strongly held views of our contributors. I reprint them here as a reminder that in 2009 more than 200 delegations of indigenous peoples from around the world gathered in Anchorage, Alaska to consider a global position on climate change. Only four days before the Anchorage Declaration was approved in general assembly, the Bolivia Government has placed before and gained UN General Assembly approval of a declaration on the protection of Mother Earth. Nearly a year later, the Bolivia government sponsored a conference of more than 13,000 people in Cochabamba, Bolivia to consider and agree by consensus to a proposed Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth. These statements will have less weight unless individuals like our contributors and

organizations and governments begin to define how the statements will be implemented. Our contributors give some guidance toward the implementation of Declarations such as these.

The Center for World Indigenous Studies has for more than 25 years published the ***Fourth World Journal*** *in hardcopy and digitally and offered it to the world at no expense. We will with this issue begin to offer* ***FWJ*** *for individual subscriptions of $40 (USD) per year and we will publish up to 250 pages of incisive, thoughtful and informative essays discussing indigenous peoples ideas and social, economic, political, cultural and historical issues of importance to indigenous peoples. Institutional subscriptions begin at $150 (USD) per year. We are grateful to our readers over all of these years for their loyalty and we hope they will continue to support our work and this publication.*

The Anchorage Declaration

24 April 2009

From 20-24 April, 2009, Indigenous representatives from the Arctic, North America, Asia, Pacific, Latin America, Africa, Caribbean and Russia met in Anchorage, Alaska for the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change. We thank the Ahtna and the Dena'ina Athabascan Peoples in whose lands we gathered.

We express our solidarity as Indigenous Peoples living in areas that are the most vulnerable to the impacts and root causes of climate change. We reaffirm the unbreakable and sacred connection between land, air, water, oceans, forests, sea ice, plants, animals, and our human communities as the material and spiritual basis for our existence.

We are deeply alarmed by the accelerating climate devastation brought about by unsustainable development. We are experiencing profound and disproportionate adverse impacts on our cultures, human and environmental health, human rights, well-being, traditional livelihoods, food systems and food sovereignty, local infrastructure, economic viability, and our very survival as Indigenous Peoples.

Mother Earth is no longer in a period of climate

change, but in climate crisis. We therefore insist on an immediate end to the destruction and desecration of the elements of life.

Through our knowledge, spirituality, sciences, practices, experiences and relationships with our traditional lands, territories, waters, air, forests, oceans, sea ice, other natural resources and all life, Indigenous Peoples have a vital role in defending and healing Mother Earth. The future of Indigenous Peoples lies in the wisdom of our elders, the restoration of the sacred position of women, the youth of today and in the generations of tomorrow.

We uphold that the inherent and fundamental human rights and status of Indigenous Peoples, affirmed in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), must be fully recognized and respected in all decision-making processes and activities related to climate change. This includes our rights to our lands, territories, environment and natural resources as contained in Articles 25–30 of the UNDRIP. When specific programs and projects affect our lands, territories, environment and natural resources, the right of Self Determination of Indigenous Peoples must be recognized and respected, emphasizing our right to Free, Prior and Informed Consent, including the right to say “no”. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) agreements and principles must reflect the spirit and the minimum

standards contained in UNDRIP.

Calls for Action

1. In order to achieve the fundamental objective of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), we call upon the fifteenth meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC to support a binding emissions reduction target for developed countries (Annex 1) of at least 45% below 1990 levels by 2020 and at least 95% by 2050. In recognizing the root causes of climate change, participants call upon States to work towards decreasing dependency on fossil fuels. We further call for a just transition to decentralized renewable energy economies, sources and systems owned and controlled by our local communities to achieve energy security and sovereignty.

In addition, the Summit participants agreed to present two options for action which were each supported by one or more of the participating regional caucuses. These were as follows:

A. We call for the phase out of fossil fuel development and a moratorium on new fossil fuel developments on or near Indigenous lands and territories.

B. We call for a process that works towards the eventual phase out of fossil fuels, without infringing on the right to development of Indigenous nations.

2. We call upon the Parties to the UNFCCC to recognize the importance of our Traditional Knowledge and practices shared by Indigenous Peoples in developing strategies to address climate change. To address climate change we also call on the UNFCCC to recognize the historical and ecological debt of the Annex 1 countries in contributing to greenhouse gas emissions. We call on these countries to pay this historical debt.

3. We call on the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, and other relevant institutions to support Indigenous Peoples in carrying out Indigenous Peoples' climate change assessments.

4. We call upon the UNFCCC's decision-making bodies to establish formal structures and mechanisms for and with the full and effective participation of Indigenous Peoples. Specifically we recommend that the UNFCCC:

a. Organize regular Technical Briefings by Indigenous Peoples on Traditional Knowledge and climate change;

b. Recognize and engage the International Indigenous Peoples' Forum on Climate Change and its regional focal points in an advisory role;

c. Immediately establish an Indigenous focal point in the secretariat of the UNFCCC;

d. Appoint Indigenous Peoples' representatives in UNFCCC funding mechanisms in consultation with Indigenous Peoples;

e. Take the necessary measures to ensure the full and effective participation of Indigenous and local communities in formulating, implementing, and monitoring activities, mitigation, and adaptation relating to impacts of climate change.

5. All initiatives under Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) must secure the recognition and implementation of the human rights of Indigenous Peoples, including security of land tenure, ownership, recognition of land title according to traditional ways, uses and customary laws and the multiple benefits of forests for climate, ecosystems, and Peoples before taking any action.

6. We challenge States to abandon false solutions to climate change that negatively impact Indigenous Peoples' rights, lands, air, oceans, forests, territories and waters. These include nuclear energy, large-scale dams, geo-engineering techniques, "clean coal", agro-fuels, plantations, and market based mechanisms such as carbon trading, the Clean Development Mechanism, and forest offsets. The human rights of Indigenous Peoples to protect our forests and forest livelihoods must be recognized, respected and ensured.

7. We call for adequate and direct funding in developed and developing States and for a fund to be created to enable Indigenous Peoples' full and effective participation in all climate processes, including adaptation, mitigation, monitoring and transfer of appropriate technologies in order to foster our empowerment, capacity-building, and education. We strongly urge relevant United Nations bodies to facilitate and fund the participation, education, and capacity building of Indigenous youth and women to ensure engagement in all international and national processes related to climate change.

8. We call on financial institutions to provide risk insurance for Indigenous Peoples to allow them to recover from extreme weather events.

9. We call upon all United Nations agencies to address climate change impacts in their strategies and action plans, in particular their impacts on Indigenous Peoples, including the World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII). In particular, we call upon all the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and other relevant United Nations bodies to establish an Indigenous Peoples' working group to address the impacts of climate change on food security and food sovereignty for Indigenous Peoples.

10. We call on United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) to conduct a fast track assessment of short-term drivers of climate change, specifically black carbon, with a view to initiating negotiation of an international agreement to reduce emission of black carbon.

11. We call on States to recognize, respect and implement the fundamental human rights of Indigenous Peoples, including the collective rights to traditional ownership, use, access, occupancy and title to traditional lands, air, forests, waters, oceans, sea ice and sacred sites as well as to ensure that the rights affirmed in Treaties are upheld and recognized in land use planning and climate change mitigation strategies. In particular, States must ensure that Indigenous Peoples have the right to mobility and are not forcibly removed or settled away from their traditional lands and territories, and that the rights of Peoples in voluntary isolation are upheld. In the case of climate change migrants, appropriate programs and measures must address their rights, status, conditions, and vulnerabilities.

12. We call upon states to return and restore lands, territories, waters, forests, oceans, sea ice and sacred sites that have been taken from Indigenous Peoples, limiting our access to our traditional ways of living, thereby causing us to misuse and expose our lands to activities and conditions that contribute to

climate change.

13. In order to provide the resources necessary for our collective survival in response to the climate crisis, we declare our communities, waters, air, forests, oceans, sea ice, traditional lands and territories to be "*Food Sovereignty Areas*," defined and directed by Indigenous Peoples according to customary laws, free from extractive industries, deforestation and chemical-based industrial food production systems (i.e. contaminants, agro-fuels, genetically modified organisms).

14. We encourage our communities to exchange information while ensuring the protection and recognition of and respect for the intellectual property rights of Indigenous Peoples at the local, national and international levels pertaining to our Traditional Knowledge, innovations, and practices. These include knowledge and use of land, water and sea ice, traditional agriculture, forest management, ancestral seeds, pastoralism, food plants, animals and medicines and are essential in developing climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies, restoring our food sovereignty and food independence, and strengthening our Indigenous families and nations.

We offer to share with humanity our Traditional Knowledge, innovations, and practices relevant to climate change, provided our fundamental rights as intergenerational guardians

of this knowledge are fully recognized and respected. We reiterate the urgent need for collective action.

Agreed by consensus of the participants in the Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change, Anchorage Alaska, April 24th 2009

Proposal Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth

Taken at Cochibamaba, Bolivia
April 24, 2010

Preamble

We, the peoples and nations of Earth: considering that we are all part of Mother Earth, an indivisible, living community of interrelated and interdependent beings with a common destiny; gratefully acknowledging that Mother Earth is the source of life, nourishment and learning and provides everything we need to live well; recognizing that the capitalist system and all forms of depredation, exploitation, abuse and contamination have caused great destruction, degradation and disruption of Mother Earth, putting life as we know it today at risk through phenomena such as climate change; convinced that in an interdependent living community it is not possible to recognize the rights of only human beings without causing an imbalance within Mother Earth;

affirming that to guarantee human rights it is necessary to recognize and defend the rights of Mother Earth and all beings in her and that there are existing cultures, practices and laws that do so; conscious of the urgency of taking decisive, collective action to transform structures and systems that cause climate change and other threats to Mother Earth;

proclaim this Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth, and call on the General Assembly of the United Nation to adopt it, as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations of the world, and to the end that every individual and institution takes responsibility for promoting through teaching, education, and consciousness raising, respect for the rights recognized in this Declaration and ensure through prompt and progressive measures and mechanisms, national and international, their universal and effective recognition and observance among all peoples and States in the world.

Article 1. Mother Earth

(1) Mother Earth is a living being.

(2) Mother Earth is a unique, indivisible, self-regulating community of interrelated beings that sustains, contains and reproduces all beings.

(3) Each being is defined by its relationships as an integral part of Mother Earth.

(4) The inherent rights of Mother Earth are inalienable in that they arise from the same source as existence.

(5) Mother Earth and all beings are entitled to all the inherent rights recognized in this Declaration

without distinction of any kind, such as may be made between organic and inorganic beings, species, origin, use to human beings, or any other status.

(6) Just as human beings have human rights, all other beings also have rights which are specific to their species or kind and appropriate for their role and function within the communities within which they exist.

(7) The rights of each being are limited by the rights of other beings and any conflict between their rights must be resolved in a way that maintains the integrity, balance and health of Mother Earth.

Article 2. Inherent Rights of Mother Earth

(1) Mother Earth and all beings of which she is composed have the following inherent rights:

(a) the right to life and to exist;

(b) the right to be respected;

(c) the right to regenerate its bio-capacity and to continue its vital cycles and processes free from human disruptions;

(d) the right to maintain its identity and integrity as a distinct, self-regulating and interrelated being;

(e) the right to water as a source of life;

(f) the right to clean air;

(g) the right to integral health;

(h) the right to be free from contamination, pollution and toxic or radioactive waste;

(i) the right to not have its genetic structure modified or disrupted in a manner that

threatens it integrity or vital and healthy functioning;

(j) the right to full and prompt restoration the violation of the rights recognized in this Declaration caused by human activities;

(2) Each being has the right to a place and to play its role in Mother Earth for her harmonious functioning.

(3) Every being has the right to wellbeing and to live free from torture or cruel treatment by human beings.

Article 3. Obligations of human beings to Mother Earth

(1) Every human being is responsible for respecting and living in harmony with Mother Earth.

(2) Human beings, all States, and all public and private institutions must:

(a) act in accordance with the rights and obligations recognized in this Declaration;

(b) recognize and promote the full implementation and enforcement of the rights and obligations recognized in this Declaration;

(c) promote and participate in learning, analysis, interpretation and communication about how to live in harmony with Mother Earth in accordance with this Declaration;

(d) ensure that the pursuit of human wellbeing contributes to the wellbeing of Mother Earth, now and in the future;

(e) establish and apply effective norms

and laws for the defence, protection and conservation of the rights of Mother Earth;

(f) respect, protect, conserve and where necessary, restore the integrity, of the vital ecological cycles, processes and balances of Mother Earth;

(g) guarantee that the damages caused by human violations of the inherent rights recognized in this Declaration are rectified and that those responsible are held accountable for restoring the integrity and health of Mother Earth;

(h) empower human beings and institutions to defend the rights of Mother Earth and of all beings;

(i) establish precautionary and restrictive measures to prevent human activities from causing species extinction, the destruction of ecosystems or the disruption of ecological cycles;

(j) guarantee peace and eliminate nuclear, chemical and biological weapons;

(k) promote and support practices of respect for Mother Earth and all beings, in accordance with their own cultures, traditions and customs;

(l) promote economic systems that are in harmony with Mother Earth and in accordance with the rights recognized in this Declaration.

Article 4. Definitions

(1) The term "being" includes ecosystems,

natural communities, species and all other natural entities which exist as part of Mother Earth.

(2) Nothing in this Declaration restricts the recognition of other inherent rights of all beings or specified beings.

We are grateful to our loyal supporters and readers for continuing to stimulate us and encourage us as we publish yet another issue of the Fourth World Journal.

Editor in Chief

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Nature(s) Revisited

Identities and Indigenous Peoples

By Jan Lüdert

Introduction

Rra Kesedile, an indigenous *Bayei*, sat on his donkey cart bumping along the sandy track toward his hut. He had gone to *Shorobe,* a larger village at the entrance to the mighty Okavango Delta, to pick up his monthly supplies of candles, mayonnaise, rice, and sugar. As the largest inland delta on the planet *Rra Kesedile's* life world has become the main tourist attraction of his country. The delta with its 'pristine wildlife', 'raw nature' and 'authentic cultures' lures tourists from around the world, thereby ensuring a steady economic base for Botswana.

I had just appeared behind him in a Toyota Landcruiser with Dr. Johnathan Habarad, a Berkley-educated anthropologist and founder of the non-governmental organization, People and Nature Trust (PNT). We had come to discuss an ecotourism project that the *Bayei*, in collaboration with PNT, wished to undertake. When we caught up with him he turned around, smiling at us, with a blade of grass in his mouth. After we had exchanged greetings, which in our shared language *Setswana,* was an extended and elaborate process, we agreed to wait for him at his hut another few kilometers down the sparsely-used track. *Rra Kesedile* had never left the Delta, his home, and the

furthest he had traveled was to *Maun*, approximately forty kilometers on a tar road. He didn't like it *there;* it was noisy, smelly and the young people had, he decried, lost their way. In contrast I was a young *Sekgoa*, a white man, still keen to learn from him how to build fishing traps, dig up roots and listen to his stories of a past that no longer was. We were *tsalas*, friends in a multicultural setting.

Instead of depicting a romanticized African development story, our friendship was in reality often contradictory. Curiosity and misunderstanding were equally present. While I brought 'development skills' and 'environmental awareness' he hoped to improve his dire livelihood while sharing *Bayei* knowledge that is in decline. *Rra Kesedile* cannot escape the encroachment of modernity and the forces of globalization. Dr. Habarad and I were there to even out the transition, by attempting to connect tourists with the *Bayei*: their culture and nature. We were as much part of the solution as we were part of the problem *Rra Kesedile* hoped to overcome.

This encounter, here and elsewhere, brings into sharp relief questions of culture and nature; the latter, in my view, remains ambiguous and "unresolved in any modern epistemological order."[1] This paper is concerned with the particular relationship between indigenous identities and nature. The invocation of indigenous peoples as 'stewards of nature' has become "one of the most powerful frames" through which they assert their distinctiveness and recognition vis-à-vis the dominant society.[2] Although indigenous peoples differ considerably with respect to their specific practices, belief systems, and relationships with their own habitats, "it is safe to say that…[their] culture overlaps with nature."[3] Thus, for the study of identity politics, an understanding of the nexus of nature and indigenous peoples seems crucial. However, as Escobar reminds us, a political theory of nature "has yet to be built."[4] This paper, though less ambitious due to confines of space, critiques the concept of nature in relation to the formation of indigenous identities. It conceptualizes nature as a constructed and, moreover, Western category.

I contend, building on Escobar, that there is not one but multiple 'natures', as there are identities. Moreover, I argue that

nature regimes are interwoven, not as essential or independent domains but often situated in "strategies of hybrid natures."[5] Indigenous identities are faced with the challenge, in their interaction with capitalist modes of production, to tactically negotiate among these strategies. As such the identity creation of indigenous peoples as 'stewards of nature' is a socio-political tactic, or arena of struggle, and is, as I will argue, in danger of becoming a Catch-22 position.[6] It can relegate indigeneity to a position of 'romanticized authenticity' deemed to be harmonious with nature, thereby foreclosing the possibility of affirming a more eclectic choice of identities - not only vis-à-vis different environments but, equally importantly, in engaging the broader social, political and economic plane of dominant society. Instead of totalizing or universalizing *a* nature, this paper argues, indigenous identities are to be understood in a multitude of natures. Thus the struggle for recognition of indigenous identities is specified and the perceived 'crisis of nature' in the 'First World' is simultaneously problematized. Indigenous identities, articulated from the vantage point of multiple natures, are equipped to express their own visions of an ecologically sound society[7] further enabling them to partake in decisions not only affecting their own lives but in support of sustainable relationships of human societies with their environments more generally.

The Invention of Nature from Within and Without Culture

The modern discourse on nature has been depicted as an 'either/or' dichotomy, within two intrinsically related scholastic traditions. First, the anthropomorphic thesis revolves around the notion of human emancipation from, and "domination of nature."[8] This gave rise to the second tradition, characterized by an objective to scientifically investigate nature in order to understand, and utilize the natural environment as an object of knowledge. This paper traces these two approaches historically. It navigates between these in order "to incorporate a greater awareness of what their respective discourses on 'nature' may be ignoring and politically repressing."[9] It balances these positions by recalling the 'constructed-ness' of nature within human contexts, because what is referred to as 'natural' is

indeed also a product of culture, yet it concurrently acknowledges "the existence of an independent order of nature, including a biological body."[10] The following analysis thus underscores the notion that individuals and collectivities can hold various 'natures' in tension, which in turn impact their identities in a given socio-political setting.

Arguments favoring the 'domination,' 'mastery' or 'humanization' of nature can be traced back to the hubris of the Enlightenment, rooted in a Judeo-Christian doctrine of domination. Descartes proposed that the "general good of all mankind" is best pursued by the attainment of "knowledge that is useful in life" so as to "render ourselves the masters and possessors of nature."[11] In a similar vein Spinoza argued that humans "consider all natural things as means for their own advantage" in inferring that they were legitimate rulers over nature.[12] Thus the anthropomorphic conception "of a goal-directed God" provided the "theological justification" for humanity's domination over nature.[13] As such, nature was not seen as an essential principle - an "independent domain of intrinsic value, truth or authenticity"[14] - but instead was to serve humanity, the new gods on earth, exclusively as a means for self-preservation.

This particular understanding of humanity as dominating nature can be best understood in the "twin Enlightenment ideals of *human emancipation* and *self-realization*."[15] The idea of emancipation was based on a variety of issues including "problems of material wants and needs, physical, biological, and social insecurities," that had to be overcome by turning away from "supposedly irrational beliefs" such as 'superstition,' 'false consciousness' and 'organized religion.' Self-realization - an "even vaguer proposition" - called for the "release of the creative and imaginative powers" with which humans are endowed, thereby opening "vistas for individual human development."[16] As such, it was, as Taylor argues, a "massive subjective turn" of a "voice of nature within us," separating individuals from the hostile and god-ordained environment they inhabited, which provides the 'enlightened' impetus for action and understanding.[17]

This separation was seen as crucial in order to uncover the

'secrets of nature' and gave rise to modern scientific enquiry. It divorced 'human nature,' with its "primary impulses and sense as foundation of his rationality and experience," from 'external nature' as an "existential environment" in which humanity forms society in a struggle with nature. In this way, the modern sciences were made possible.[18] Francis Bacon, celebrated as a founding father of modern scientific research methodologies, and an innovator of inductive reasoning declared that:

> I mean in this great plea to examine Nature herself and the arts upon interrogatories. For like as a man's disposition is never well known till he be crossed, nor Proteus ever changed shape till he was straitened and held fast, so Nature exhibits herself more clearly under the trials and vexations of art (mechanical devices) than when left to herself. [sic]

Nature, in Bacon's view, thus had to be "bound into service" and "made a slave," "put in constraint" and "modeled by the mechanical arts."[19] This anthropocentric prejudice granted the 'science of nature' a "strong scientific status," making way for an instrumentalized and functionalized conception of a progressive appropriation of the world toward progress that masters the world.[20] Thus the theological critique of the Enlightenment itself created a teleological outlook to progress in which humanity chose the attainment of its societal goals in utilizing nature as an object (of knowledge) for its realization.

It should be noted at this point that both views, while holding human and external nature distinct, point toward "both the social and the biological" as central, "albeit not essential," in Western conceptions of nature.[21] Moreover, in these manifestations, "nature is a historical entity" in which humans encounter nature as transformed by society, "subjected to a specific rationality, which became, to an ever increasing extent, technological, instrumentalist rationality, bent to the requirements of capitalism" and western civilization.[22] And as Masulli adds that "far from having any adverse effect, the naturalistic objectivism of the "new science" and the repositing of the subject-object dualism in knowledge"[23] reproduced an anthropocentric culture even more forcefully as the formation of

the capitalist system began to gather strength.

However, this invention of holding nature and culture distinct, proved to be uneven. The 'romantic reaction' to this separation was increasingly put forward as the dual construction was believed to construe human relations with its environment, rendering "conflictual the relationship between an ideology of domination on the one hand and politics of emancipation and self-realization on the other."[24] The notion began to emerge that there was a profound, even spiritual, link between humanity and nature, in which the social and natural are connected. Marx and Engels, for instance, wrote in 1844 that:

> Nature is man's inorganic body – that is, in so far as it is not itself a human body. Man lives on nature – means that nature is his body, with which he must remain in continuous interchange if he is not to die. That man's physical and spiritual life is linked to nature means simply that nature is linked to itself, for man is part of nature.[25] [*sic*]

It follows from this position that culture and society cannot be studied in isolation from nature, and "social and natural science must therefore be combined."[26] Yet, as Harvey contends, this reformulation of self-realization and emancipation "could not be held as stable trajectories based on an essentialist reading of human wants, needs, capacities and powers." Indeed the whole idea of "alienation from nature" becomes suspect.[27] Materialist conceptions, such as Marxism, in actuality did little to change these conceptual shortcomings, but subsumed the "cosmic question of the relation to nature into a technical discourse concerning the proper allocation of scarce resources (including those in nature) for the benefit of human welfare."[28] In short, the notion of domination over nature held sway in both the natural as well as the human sciences, and arguably continues to do so today.

This paper cannot, due to confines of space, provide a more in-depth analysis of the invention of dominant capitalist culture within and without nature. The above analysis

nevertheless highlights the notion of multiple natures that are in tension within 'western conceptualizations.' Moreover, nature is manifested in an ethnocentric subjectivity, and as such "the idea seems inseparable from teleology" and as an "object per se fitted all too well into the universe" of capitalist accumulation.[29] A universal *Nature* as such is a particular western category based in 'capitalist culture' that gave rise to its material appropriation and ideological subjugation.

The above conceptualizations help to anchor the argument of this paper. The strategies of hybrid natures invoked earlier are in large part found in an ethnocentric and capitalist domination of the natural environment. Indigenous peoples today are faced with this reality of global capital forces. And as the introductory example of an indigenous *Bayei* has highlighted the symbols and realities of capitalism have entered the lives of indigenous peoples. The *Bayei* of Northern Botswana, like many other indigenous peoples, consume and reproduce this reality. The ecotourism project instigated by the PNT and *Rra Kesedile's* supply trip to the 'Supermarket' in *Shorobe* provide clear evidence of this intricate engagement. Within this capitalist nature, indigenous identities are recodified and the ecotourism project highlights how indigenous peoples have indeed begun to 'value' the economic order of the era. Thus indigenous identities are no longer 'untouched' or 'outside' of the appropriation of nature in the broader capitalist mode of production. Therefore the power relations created for indigenous people by the capitalist culture must be considered as a part of the strategies of hybrid natures. The livelihoods of indigenous peoples, such as the *Bayei*, are at the periphery of such an appropriated nature; however, the resulting impacts of this link are often grave. As such, it is an uneasy and contradictory relationship. *Rra Kesedile* speaks of the youth having lost their way, while they would contend that he is a stubborn old man holding on to a *Bayei* way of life, which no longer exists. The repercussions for *Bayei* identity are far-reaching and highly ambivalent.

The Critique of Domination

The above section reflects a broader polarized debate that is described today, by some scholars, as a "paradigm war."[30]

Indigenous peoples, in adopting a social and political tactic, are depicted to be "stewards of nature" intrinsically linked to their natural surroundings.[31] Environmental stewardship has, in turn, become one of the most powerful frames of contemporary indigenous activism on which many assert their diversity and identity vis-à-vis dominant capitalist models. The United Nations Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues (UNFPII) states:

> As stewards and custodians of the world's biodiversity, cultural diversity, and traditional ecological knowledge, indigenous peoples can contribute meaningfully to the design and implementation of more appropriate and sustainable mitigation and adaptation measures.[32]

However, as Tsing argues, this "stereotype" of indigenous peoples as "close to nature" is not without problems. Instead it is "northern activists" that created and drive an alliance of indigenous peoples with "the environmental movement."[33] In addition, as the United Nations acknowledges "injustices to indigenous peoples have been and continue to be caused in the name of conservation of nature and natural resources."[34] Moreover, as indigenous peoples "broaden their economic activities and technologies for survival in changing circumstances" they can be "caught in a conservation Catch-22", as this is taken as evidence that they have lost, or been co-opted into a non-indigenous identity.[35]

This section analyses this tension. It situates the perception of a 'crisis of nature' in a primarily western genesis highlighting that the critique of domination of nature is a "distorting mirror"[36] created by northern environmentalists; this leaves them open "to charges of romanticism and colonial discourse."[37] As such, the 'crisis of nature' is constructed as a power to be reckoned with, while concurrently creating a need to defend, and fend for (and where possible with), indigenous peoples that remain helpless to modern predicaments and its consequences. Such a self-reflexive critique of modernity by environmental activists, that drives a discourse in which indigenous peoples are detrimentally affected but not yet fully

contaminated, clearly demarcates inside/out boundaries painting a picture of *an* indigenous identity as genuinely attached to the sacred environment and nature, and adverse to a capitalist world order in a struggle to maintain a subsistence level of survival. In this way a romanticized view of indigenous peoples is furthered that is largely based on a western conception of the 'crisis of nature.'

Albeit, the critique of domination over nature by modern environmentalists and their indigenous counterparts is in opposition to the core ideas of the Enlightenment and can be traced back to "plenty of currents of thought".[38] I begin here, however, given the space constraints, with the 'frontal assault' by the Frankfurt School, which has been kept very much alive and redefined by eco-feminist as well as deep-ecologists. Jay highlights how the Frankfurt School's analysis emphasized, instead of class struggle as the motor of history, the far larger conflict "between man and nature both without and within." [*sic*][39] Horkheimer and Adorno dialectically analyzed the struggle of "man and nature" [*sic*] as the internal relations in which nature was both "something external" as well as an "internal reality."[40] Domination of the externalized "other" would inevitably be internalized by humanity in making "a tool of that same nature which he subjugates." [*sic*][41] More simply stated the mastery over nature inevitably turns into mastery over humanity itself. It is not the purpose of this paper to undertake any deep elaboration of the Frankfurt School's nexus of society and nature, but I want to distill some key features of their critique.

First, it aimed to recapture and reform, as they saw it, the wrongheadedness of the science of nature. In an effort of "re-enchantment," depicted as overcoming the "alienation from nature", these scholars aimed at constructing an alternative science attuned with the natural world. Second, and "tightly coupled with consideration of rationality/irrationality," they sought to "give a deeper sense of meaning to life, to recuperate a sensuous and open dialogical relation" amongst humanity and external nature.[42] Adorno and Horkheimer asserted that:

> Myth turns into enlightenment, and nature into mere objectivity. Men pay for the increase in their power with alienation from that over which they exercise their power. Enlightenment behaves towards things as a dictator toward men. He knows them in so far as he can manipulate them. The man of science knows things in so far as he can make them. In this way their "in itself" becomes a "for him." In this transformation the essence of things is revealed as always the same, a substratum of domination. This identity constitutes the unity of nature. [sic] [43]

Thus, for these early critics, modernity was wrongfully dominated, and indeed culminated in what Heidegger has called the creation of 'a world picture' in which nature is encapsulated as a resource for humanity to use as it sees fit. This was problematized in the belief that it would 'boomerang' back to humanity and ultimately result in a crisis affecting both humanity and their environment.

In the early 1970s *ecofeminsim* brought renewed attention to such backfiring. It aimed in particular at women's potential to bring about an ecological revolution in the 'crisis of nature.' Francoise d'Eaubonne and her followers picked up the Frankfurt School's central theme, and the archaic yet apt usage of 'men' throughout Adorno and Horkheimer's work perhaps gave it further impetus. D'Eaubonne sought to describe the epic violence inflicted on women and nature as a result of male domination.[44] As Warren notes, ecological feminism takes the position "that there are important connections – historical, experiential, symbolic, theoretical – between the domination of women and the domination of nature."[45] Merchant concludes in her seminal work, *The Death of Nature,* that "the conjunction of conservation and ecology movements with women's rights and liberation has moved in the direction of reversing both the subjugation of nature and women."[46] What is of particular importance, for the purpose of this paper, is that eco-feminism was an early attempt to refocus an understanding of nature in taking "seriously the voice of women and other oppressed persons" in the construction of nature and its domination.[47]

Furthermore, as a revision of nature it "denies abstract individualism" and treats the natural world as constitutive of "what it means to be human."[48] As an anti-essentialist model, it brings into conversation a multiplicity of voices and identities that collectively and in solidarity aim to bring 'nature back.' And as Warren ensures, in recalling a story of a "Sioux elder," it is open to the narrative, context, and relational value systems that indigenous peoples hold and share with oppressed women in a patriarchal dominated world.[49] Therefore, eco-feminism seeks out alliances across gender, class and races in an attempt to recapture a relationship with nature, and in extension indigenous peoples are called to join the cause.

Similarly proponents of deep-ecology perceive a 'crisis of nature' and attempt a "deeper, more spiritual approach to Nature." When Arne Naess coined the term in 1973 he aimed to move beyond the 'objective science' of nature "to the level of self and Earth wisdom."[50] In contrast to the anthropocentric ideals of the Enlightenment in which humanity took center stage, deep ecology holds a radical bio-centric view in which "all things in the biosphere have an equal right to live and blossom and to reach their own individual forms of unfolding and self-realization with the larger Self-realization."[51] Deep ecologists draw no line between humanity and nature as everything is interrelated. In this view, human subjectivity "pales into insignificance" in light of the more appropriate view, as they argue, of the self as a 'juncture in a relational system.' They imply that value norms arise relationally with respect to the broader 'biotic community' of which humanity is only a part. This is not the place to critique this view in great detail, but I concur with Harvey, that deep ecologists, even in claiming to move beyond humanity in their 'holistic' view are deeply entrenched in a 'Leibnizian conceit' where a "monadic self internalizes natural values."[52] As it was already noted, culture and concepts of 'natures' are linked; deep ecologists want to escape scientific objectivity, which for them lies at the heart of the 'crisis of nature,' but they cannot, I argue, escape their 'specific subjectivity' nested in a Western culture.

There are countless other ecological accounts that aim to 'emancipate' humanity out of the 'crisis of nature.' This paper

can only account for some of them. Nevertheless the above discussion suggests that the critique of the domination of nature is a concern of 'northern environmentalists' that indigenous peoples may or may not share. The alliance of indigenous peoples with ecologically minded activists is moreover a distorting mirror in which the West sees indigenous peoples to hold a truth, an authenticity they themselves believe to have lost and want to regain. This tension confirms that concepts of a universal nature and ecology – 'deep,' 'feminist,' or otherwise – are in fact totalizing. They are, if not adopted reflexively, in danger of subsuming indigenous peoples and their identities with the environment in a form of blinded romanticism, and instead of overcoming oppression and liberation in fact continue hierarchical power relations they aim to overcome. I am sympathetic with environmentalists on many accounts; I disagree however, that indigenous peoples necessarily share, nor that they should, a view that is similar to our own. The 'crisis of nature' I have discussed thus far is, in my opinion, real and should not be underestimated. Whether we adopt an anthropocentric or bio-centric view largely depends on the subjectivity; which vantage point to nature is adopted by individuals and societies. Important now is to note that bio-centric constructions of nature are another 'strategy of hybrid natures' indigenous peoples are engaged through the environmental movement of the West.

To Be or Not to Be Stewards of Nature(s)

The argument presented up to this point has shown that nature, as a constructed concept, can be understood as a discourse that surrounds an antagonism of multiple natures. Anthropocentric views to appropriate the natural world and bio-centric views commenting on its consequences as epitomized in the perception of a 'crisis of nature,' I have argued, are such categories of multiple natures. Indigenous peoples cannot escape an engagement with these opposing western discourses and its realities. Moreover, as I have thus far focused on these dominating categories I now turn to conceptualizations of the natural world indigenous peoples hold themselves. This raises conceptual difficulties; not only are indigenous peoples

culturally stratified but furthermore their relationship with both anthropocentric and bio-centric views of nature have, apart from their own diverse understandings, resulted in changing, complex, and often nebulous realities.

The category of indigenous peoples today describes, according to some statistics, more than 7,000 distinct societies and 500 million people worldwide.[53] As such indigenous peoples cannot be meaningfully categorized to have a universal understanding of nature. Indeed, indigenous peoples around the world "have long been engaged in the *commodification* of nature: extracting, processing, and trading a diversity of products from a broad spectrum of natural environments."[54] Notwithstanding, many indigenous peoples have developed "ways of life remarkably attuned" to their natural world. These environments "are less modified and degraded" since indigenous peoples are traditionally oriented toward "self-sufficiency, and only secondary to the generation of surplus and trade."[55] Crucially, many indigenous peoples see clearly that their "long-term survival" depends on them caring for the environment they inhabit.[56] Moreover, a combination of both "past association" and a commitment to "remaining there in the future" can be judged to constitute a more interrelated relationship of many indigenous peoples with their specific life world.[57] Indigenous cultures have been grounded in, and integrated with their surroundings, and often are based in cosmologies in which a "proper relations between people, including past and present, generations" is traditionally articulated.[58]

It is, however, erroneous to equate these views with the notion that all indigenous peoples live in 'balance' and 'conformity with nature.' And the 'paradigm war' discussed earlier, in which the world of today is viewed as "two systems, two different irreconcilable ways of life" in which the indigenous world is collective, communal, wise, humane, and respectful of nature while the western world is "greedy, destructive, individualist, and enemy of nature" is indeed an idealized and romantic figure of an "ecologically noble savage" that does not exist.[59] The perception that indigenous peoples are 'of nature' – 'wild, primitive and innocent' however fits all too well into the

bio-centric conceptions that were outlined earlier. This view, I contend, not only continues a colonial discourse but also in fact denies indigenous peoples both agency and rationality. Berkes, for instance, argues: "Traditional systems tend to have a large moral and ethical context; there is no separation between nature and culture."[60] Berkes, I would argue, conflates his own understanding of the nature/culture dichotomy without considering that perhaps there is a separation, or an interrelation that is different from his own.

Indeed some indigenous peoples have adopted a primarily anthropocentric view themselves. For instance, as Pasquaretta shows, "Las Vegas-style gambling casinos have cropped up across North America."[61] North-American tribes such as the *Akwesasne* and *Mashantucket* have illustrated, how gambling has dramatically affected the Native American community and their relationship with nature. Insofar as casino gambling "fosters materialism, acquisitiveness, and self-interest divested of group interest," it might also represent the last phase in the "complete assimilation of indigenous North American peoples."[62] The Iroquois in contrast, in a more bio-centric view, show how the "Sacred Bowl Game ... when played during the four-day Midwinter, is not only meant to maintain a balance of nature but also to amuse life-giving forces; to please the plant and animal world; and to make the Creator laugh."[63]

This is not to say that indigenous worldviews of nature are not diverse. Callicott for example has shown that the "implicit overall metaphysic of American Indian cultures locates human beings in a larger *social*, as well as physical, environment." Many indigenous peoples as such perceive themselves to belong not only to a human community, rather to a community within a larger life world, both living and non-living. Callicott maintains that indigenous positions toward nature provide the basis for ethical restraint in relation to non-human nature. In other words, their worldviews can include "principles of an environmental ethic."[64]

In general, these cosmologies perhaps go back to the "dominant pantheistic tradition before the rise of monotheistic religions."[65] Indigenous peoples with such belief systems hold that the "entire phenomenal world contains godlike attributes"

in which humanity is part of a world that is sacramental. These traditions, generally, follow that actions of peoples in nature can affect their own fate, have consequences, which are immediate and relevant to life and afterlife. In this relationship there is "no non-nature category – nor is there either romanticism or sentimentality."[66] Indigenous peoples invoking relations with the 'Creator,' 'Mother Earth,' 'Pachamama,' or 'Dream Time' can be said to follow pantheistic cosmologies. Nature, as a category or discourse, understood in such a way perhaps does not exist altogether. It is difficult to fully grasp these complex relationships from my own subjective standpoint, however.

I want to nevertheless consider an encounter I had in September 2008. As part of an independent research I was invited by an indigenous *Mapuche* to participate in a cleansing ritual referred to as *Machiton.* The peoples (*che*) of the earth (*mapu*) in the Andean mountains near Temuco in southern-central Chile perceive themselves as caretakers of the land they inhabit. During my participation in the *Machiton* I understood the ritual as a means of cleansing its participants and their surrounding of, what I would refer to as, evil. I also realized that in the joy of peoples, including my own, after the eighteen hour-long proceeding, 'good' had returned to their dwelling. Therefore, I believe to be able to detect a dualism in *Mapuche* cosmology of good and evil, somehow mediated by the *machi* (Shaman) and legitimated by, a gate to the forefathers,' which further points to a celestial family that connects life on *Mapu* with a higher spirit. As such, the *Mapuche*, like other indigenous peoples I was privileged to meet, seem to consider themselves to be stewards of nature.

Whether indigenous peoples are 'stewards of nature' depends on their specific connection with their environment. Again, these contexts can be understood in taking account of the strategies they have adopted in light of multiple natures. In some instances, stewardship has become a lost value, in others it is mitigated by anthropocentric or bio-centric adaptations and in some cases it is perhaps permissible to speak of stewardship at least in relation to dominant society.

In fact the relationship with dominant capitalist society, and its anthropocentric as well as bio-centric explanations, has

perhaps spurred indigenous activists to adopt an overarching identity as 'stewards of nature.' Redford and Stearman, for instance, argue that indigenous peoples portray this view "only because they recognize the power of this concept in rallying support in their struggle for land rights."[67] While, given my own experiences, I disagree with such essentializing arguments; the reality that many indigenous peoples are no longer free to articulate their identities and are in a process of negotiating with other concepts of nature, nevertheless, seems to support this view partially. The example of the ecotourism project of PNT, in which land claims were central, with the Bayei highlights such a process. Furthermore, the International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) states that:

> "Land and related resource rights are of fundamental importance to indigenous peoples since they constitute the basis of their economic livelihood and are the source of their spiritual, cultural and social identity. Dispossession of traditional lands and territories is one of the major problems faced by indigenous peoples all over the world. In many African and Asian countries, for example, dominating development paradigms, perceive the modes of production of indigenous peoples - such as pastoralism, hunting/gathering and rotational slash and burn agriculture - as primitive, non-productive and not in line with the modernization aspirations of present day states. This paradigm also applies in other regions of the world."[68]

Indeed the nexus between cultural identity, land and preservation of the environment are central in the arguments of indigenous peoples in international forums. These claims are often couched in demands to the right to self-determination. The United Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples further states in Article 3: "Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."[69]

Such a right is put into question when we consider the

preceding argument. Whether it is feasible to have an abstract right to self-determination, that aims to provide a space for indigenous identities is questioned by the way traditional understandings of nature have been appropriated, reconfigured or even lost. A revision of the concept of nature, as a social construction, and its relationship to identities of indigenous peoples in dominant society therefore underscores that the discourse of stewardship is value-laden and imbued with ethnocentric misconceptions or idealizations. The arena of struggle, as this paper proposes, can thus be contextualized from the vantage point of multiple natures. Furthermore a universal adaptation of indigenous peoples as 'stewards of nature' cannot be supported to correspond with indigenous realities everywhere. Instead, as the examples in this section have illustrated a universal claim of indigenous peoples to be closer to nature does actually not constitute a general indigenous identity. With these remarks in mind this paper will provide a summary of the findings below.

Concluding Remarks

This paper set out to revisit the concept of nature in order to explore its relationship with indigenous identities. It has traveled some distance to show that the concept of nature is not universal and resolved but instead plural and ambiguous. Moreover, nature as a category finds its origins in western Enlightenment thought and capitalist materialism. This paper has reviewed anthropocentric and bio-centric notions that have come to dominate, while ideas such as pantheism constitute more diverse, yet marginal understandings of nature(s). It has moreover illustrated that cultural identities (both indigenous and non-indigenous) can be analyzed through the lens of adopted strategies of hybrid natures. Moreover, the framing of indigenous peoples as 'steward of nature' has been shown to be problematic. As such it can be understood to be both a response to the 'crisis of nature' as well, a challenge as it depicts indigenous peoples as quintessential 'guardians of nature.' In response, indigenous peoples have found alliances with the environmental movement that in return drive and maintain a bio-centric view that often romanticizes indigenous identities.

Here, the paper calls upon 'northern activists' to revisit their prejudices and rethink their idealized reasoning in engaging indigenous peoples dialogically. Indigenous peoples, moreover, have begun to adapt to the forces of globalization that can be ascribed to anthropocentric appropriations as well as bio-centric attempts to align their livelihoods. These have constrained indigenous identities not only because it idealizes indigenous lives - thereby foreclosing alternative identity articulations – but in addition hence indigenous peoples have been subsumed into the larger capitalist system without their prior consent. All of the above issues have far-reaching consequences for indigenous peoples around the world, but in highlighting contradictions and misunderstandings, I hope some of its conceptual shortcomings can be redressed.

Rra Kesedile and the *Bayei* of Botswana today run an ecotourism project; they have taken ownership of their lives and the environment in which they are situated. And in sharing it with tourists traveling from afar they have begun a conversation with non-indigenous peoples. The project when it was envisaged raised many sensitive issue and not all of them were, in my view, adequately resolved. Paternalism and patronizing ideas floated as much around our often heated deliberations with the *Bayei* as there were moments of shared understanding and equal partnership. Given these I am mindful that the reality of a globalizing world cannot simply be wished away, but in self-reflexive and open engagement of peoples around the world its repercussions can, I suggest here, at minimum be addressed.

Notes

[1] Arturo Escobar, "After Nature – Steps to an Antiessentialist Political Ecology," *Current Anthropology* 40:1 (February 1999) pp. 1-30, Page 1

[2] Emily T. Yeh, *"Tibetan Indigeneity: Translations, Resemblances, and Uptake"* in Indigenous Experience Today edited by Marisol de la Cadena, Orin Starn (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2007) Page 72

[3] Dennis Martinez, *"Protected Areas, Indigenous Peoples, and the Western Idea of Nature"* in People, Places and Parks edited by David Harmon (Hancock,

Michigan: The George Wright Society, 2006) Page 216

[4] Ibid., Escobar, Page 3

[5] Ibid., Escobar, Page 1

[6] I adopt this phrase from Flora Lu Holt, "The Catch-22 of Conservation: Indigenous Peoples, Biologists, and Cultural Change," *Human Ecology*, 33:2 (April 2005) pp. 199-255 She uses the term to argue that indigenous peoples are caught in a "conservation Catch-22" in their encounter with the West.

[7] Paul Nadasdy, "Transcending the Debate over the Ecologically Nobel Indian: Indigenous Peoples and Environmentalism," *Ethnohistory* 52:2 (Spring 2005), pp. 291-331, Page 292

[8] David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996). Page 121

[9] Kate Soper, "Nature/'nature'" in *FutureNatural* by George Robertson et. al. (eds.) (London: Routledge, 1996) Page 22

[10] Ibid., Escobar, Page 3

[11] René Descartes, *Discourse on Method - for Reasoning Well and for Seeking Truth in the Sciences* (1637) accessed online on the 15th of March 2009 at http://records.viu.ca/~johnstoj/descartes/descartes1.htm

[12] Benedict de Spinoza, *Ethics*, ed. And trans. Edwin Curley (London: Penguin, 1996), Page 26

[13] Michael Mack, "Toward a Redefinition of Europe's Political Identity: Spinoza's Non-hierarchical Vision" *Telos* 145 (Winter 2008) pp. 67-86, Page 73

[14] Ibid., Soper, Page 22

[15] Ibid., Harvey, Page 121

[16] Ibid., Harvey, Page 122

[17] Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition" in *Multiculturalism* by Amy Gutman (ed.) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) Page 29

[18] Herbert Marcuse, *Counterrevolution and Revolt* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972). Page 59

[19] Cited in Carolyn Merchant, *The death of Nature* (London: Wildwood, 1982) Page 69-99

[20] Ignazio Masulli, *Nature and History – The evolutionary Approach for Social Scientists* (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1990) Page 56

[21] Ibid., Escobar, Page 3

[22] Ibid., Marcuse, Page 60

[23] Ibid., Masulli, Page 57

[24] Ibid., Harvey, Page 128

[25] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 3, p. 276 cited by T. Benton, Marxism and natural limits: an ecological critique and reconstruction, *New Left Review*, 178: 51-86, Page 54

[26] Adrian Franklin, Nature *and* Social Theory (London: Sage Publications, 2002). Page 42

[27] Ibid., Harvey, Page 130

[28] Ibid., Harvey, Page 131

[29] Ibid., Marcuse, Page 66

[30] *International Forum on Globalization, Paradigm Wars - Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization, ed. Jerry Mander and Victoria Tauli-Corpuz (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 2006). p. 4*

[31] A. Durning, *Guardians of the land: indigenous peoples and the health of the earth*. (Washington, D.C.: Worldwatch Institute, 1992) Page 62

[32] UNFPII, Climate Change, bio-cultural diversity and livelihoods: the stewardship role of indigenous peoples and new challenges accessed online on the 11th of March 2009

[33] Anna Tsing, *Indigenous Voice* in Indigenous Experience Today edited by Marisol de la Cadena, Orin Starn (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2007) Page 48

[34] United Nations, Implementing the United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Rights accessed online on the 11th of March 2009 at http://colonos.files.wordpress.com/2008/03/unpfii-report-on-climate-change.pdf; http://209.85.173.132/search?q=cache:ptAT06NafaMJ:intranet.iucn.org/webfiles/doc/IUCNPolicy/Resolutions/2008_WCC_4/English/RES/Res_4_052_Implementing_the_UN_Decl.pdf+indigenous+peoples+nature+united+nations&cd=5&hl=de&ct=clnk&client=firefox-a Page 4

[35] Ibid., Holt, Page 209

[36] Adam Kuper (1988). *The invention of Primitive Society* (London: Routledge) Page 5

[37] Ibid., Tsing, Page 48

[38] Ibid., Harvey, Page 133 For instance romanticism, organicism, Darwinian biology, Nietyschian philosophy, to name a few.

[39] Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination - A history of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923-1950.* (Canada: Little Brown and Company, 1973). Page 256

[40] Ibid., Jay, Page 267

[41] Ibid., Harvey, Page 134

[42] Ibid., Harvey, Page 135

[43] Authors translation from Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer *Dialektik der Aufklärung*. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1969). Page 12

[44] Francoise d'Eaubonne, Le Feminisme ou la Mort (Paris: Pierre Horay, 1974), pp. 213-52

[45] Karen J. Warren, *The power and the promise of ecological feminism* in Environmental Ethics – What really matters, what really works by David Schmidtz and Elizabeth Willott (eds.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). Page 234

[46] Carolyn Merchant, *The death of nature* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980). Page 146

[47] Ibid., Warren, Page 246

[48] Ibid., Warren, Page 247

[49] Ibid., Warren, Page 246

[50] Bill Devall, George Sessions, *Deep Ecology* in Environmental Ethics – What really matters, what really works by David Schmidtz and Elizabeth Willott (eds.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). Page 120

[51] Ibid., Page 122

[52] Ibid., Harvey, Page 168 Note: Gottfried Leibniz fought against the Cartesian dualist system in his Monadology in which a monad is an irreducible force, which makes it possible for the bodies to have the characteristics of inertia and impenetrability, and which contains in itself the source of all its actions. Monads are the first elements of every composed thing. See Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz „The Monadology" trans. Robert Latta accessed online on the 18th of March 2009 at http://www.rbjones.com/rbjpub/philos/classics/leibniz/monad.htm

[53] Hughes Lotte, *The no-nonsense guide to Indigenous Peoples*. (London: Verso, 2003). Page 20

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[55] Krishna Ghimire, Michel P. Pimbert, Social Change and Conservation (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development) accessed online on the 11th of March 2009 at http://books.google.com/books?hl=de&lr=&id=UvcymNufO8AC&oi=fnd&pg=PA97&dq=indigenous+peoples+nature&ots=Npt2iy6Mcr&sig=KCLF_ypUqwNXfAS_mOfbntsuawg#PPA112,M1 Page 112

[56] Victor T. King, The peoples of Borneo. (Oxford: Oxford University Press) Page 167

[57] Ibid., Ghimire, Page 112

[58] Janis B. Alcorn, "Indigenous Peoples and Conservation" *Conservation Biology* 7:2 (June 1993), pp. 424-426, Page 424

[59] Kent H. Redford, The Ecologically Noble Savage, Cultural Survival Quarterly 15:1 (Spring 1991) No Pages, accessed online on 11th of March 2009 at http://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/the-ecologically-noble-savage

[60] Fikret Berkes, *Sacred Ecology* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1999). Page 9

[61] Paul Pasquaretta, "On the "Indianness" of Bingo: Gambling and the Native American Community" *Critical Inquiry*, 20: 4 (Summer, 1994), pp. 694-714. Page 696

[62] Ibid., Pasquaretta, Page 700

[63] Trudie Lamb, "Games of Chance and Their Religious Significance among Native Americans," *Artifacts* 8 (Spring 1980): 10-11. Note: The Sacred Bowl Game is one of the Four Sacred Rituals of Midwinter and symbolizes the struggle of the Twin Boys to win control over the earth. The Midwinter is a time of praying and awaiting the rebirth, a renewal of life. It is a time of giving thanks to the spirit forces and to the Creator.

[64] J. Baird Callicott, "Traditional American and Western European attitudes toward nature: An overview." *Environmental Ethics* 4: 1982. 298-318.

[65] Ibid., Berkes, Page 92

[66] Ian McHarg, *Design with Nature*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), Page 68

[67] K. H. Redford, A. M. Stearman, "Forest-dwelling native Amazonians and the conservation of biodiversity" Conservation Biology 7:2 (1993) pp. 248-255

[68] IWGIA, "Indigenous Peoples and Land Rights - Dispossession of lands and territories is a major problem for indigenous peoples" accessed online 10th of March 2009 at http://www.iwgia.org/sw231.asp

[69] United Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples accessed online on the 12th of March 2009 at http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf Page 4

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About the Author

Jan Lüdert is a current PhD student at the Department of Political Science at the University of British Columbia. He holds a Masters of Arts in International Relations from the Australian National University and a Bachelor of Business Administration from Hamburg University for Economics and Politics. Jan has studied in Tanzania focusing on sociology and economics and, before his graduate studies, was involved in development programs in Botswana for two years. This work in the non-governmental sector spurred his interest in indigenous peoples advocacy, ultimately bringing him to UBC. Jan anticipates in his PhD dissertation to trace the connection between international indigenous elites and experts and their relationship with local indigenous groups. Here, he is in particular interested in analyzing the construction of local identities that have been influenced by global actors and structures. His research, he hopes, will help to better our understanding of international politics while concurrently supporting the indigenous activism that has been established within the last decades.

Contact Information:
+1 778 9994360
luedert@interchange.ubc.ca
C405 – 1845 Main Mall
Department of Political Science
University of British Columbia
V6T1Z1 Vancouver, B.C. Canada

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Globalization and the Separation of Indigenous Genetic Resources from Indigenous Peoples:

The Booming Alpaca Industry in the USA and its Impact on Andean *Alpaqueros.*

By M. Cristina Espinosa Ch., Ph.D.

Introduction

Indigenous peoples in the Andes, especially those living in the high mountains and plateaus or punas, heavily depend on alpacas and llamas for making a living. Research has shown that alpacas were domesticated 6,000 years ago by the indigenous peoples of the central Andes in Peru (Wheeler, 1991; Acosta, 2002). These animals have adapted to the harsh conditions of the punas (extreme temperatures, poor pastures and high altitude that affect metabolic processes), where no trees or crops can grow and no other livestock can survive or reproduce. Indigenous culture in the *punas* developed a unique symbiosis with nature, as extensively reported by Flores Ochoa (1977), Orlove (1977), and Gade (1999). Families have strong bonds with alpacas, for instance, each member of the family knows each alpaca of the herd by name, being able to notice which one

is missing, at the end of the day, without counting the herd (Espinosa and Agreda, 1991).

Alpaca production in the Andes is concentrated in indigenous communities that have experienced marginalization since colonial times. With 95% of the world's population of alpacas, Peruvian regulations prohibit exporting alpacas since they are considered national patrimony of Peru. Smuggling alpacas could not be controlled and Andean monopoly of alpacas was lost in the 1980s, when alpaca breeding in the USA,

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Australia, and New Zealand succeeded.[1]

The free-market paradigm assumes that resources will be relocated toward the most profitable activities, resulting in a global economy of higher efficiency. The question is to what extent Andean and American alpaca producers are competing in equal terms and if the Andean producers would have the capacity to adapt to new scenarios resulting from the competition of new global centers of alpaca production and export. Alpaca producers in the Andes don't have the flexibility to find alternative livelihoods since they live in altitudinal floors where agriculture is not possible and where only alpacas and llamas can reproduce. The international trade of genetic

resources has broken the Andean monopoly of alpaca producers and they have now to compete in global markets with foreign producers who certainly have advantaged access to capital, technology, information, and organization.

Indigenous Peoples from different regions of the world have struggled to get recognition of common property rights over genetic resources domesticated by their ancestors, a right recognized by ILO Convention 169 and the Convention of Biological Diversity (CBD). However, international regulations like TRIPPS do not recognize collective property rights to genetic resources (Sahai, 2004; Rhoderik, 2006). As pointed out by Heal (2002), the debate on intellectual property over genetic resources has broadened in the last years, transcending the limited institutional spaces of established international organizations, like WIPO and WTO, taking place within other international organizations dealing with environmental law, human rights, and public health. This has opened spaces to show how regimes of property rights evolve and reflect different actors and institutions. These new developments might open a revision of the way collective property rights to genetic resources are defined.

The de-territorialization of genetic resources like alpacas has occurred in the context of globalization, where expanded and deregulated markets have transformed natural resources, labor, and knowledge into commodities and where global markets support a new unified and stratified global structure of social and economic exclusion. Unprecedented technological advances have contracted time and space and reduced communications costs, radically transforming the way business is conducted and how people relate to each other and to their environments. The long established bonds between people, resources, and their localities have been redefined, eroding local livelihoods, which explains unprecedented international migratory flows from developing countries despite visa restrictions and anti-immigration policies in developed countries (Nef, 2002).

Alpaca Production in Peru

Alpaca population in Peru decreased from 3,290,000 in

1967 to 2,401,805 in l980 (Flores Ochoa 1980) and was estimated as 2,510,912 in 1986 (Laboratories Philipps 1986 in Wheeler, 1991). Several factors like the political violence generated by Shining Path between 1980 and 1992, the closing of INIPA -National Research and Extension Institute in 1990 as part of President Fujimore's WB IMF SAP program to reduce fiscal deficits can explain this stagnation. The situation has improved however in the last decades. For 2008 the Peruvian production of alpacas has increased to 5.5 millions, and a national registry has 25% of alpacas registered. Peruvian alpaca fiber production in 2003 was 6440 tons, which generated an export value above US $82 million (CONACSICONCYTECT 2007).

In Peru, alpaca producers, or *alpaqueros,* are among the poorest of small rural producers. They belong to Quechua and Aymara communities in the Southern highlands of Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Arequipa, Cuzco, and Puno, where Puno concentrates the majority of alpacas and *alpaqueros* (Fairfield, 2006). Most herds are smaller than 100 heads, which explains why *alpaqueros* remain among the poor. While estimated yearly income generated by such a small herd differs from $122 to $600 (CONACS, 2005 and SENASA, 2005 in Fairfield, 2006; Infante, 2005); no estimation places *alpaqueros* above the poverty line, not even for the small group that owns more than 400 alpacas, since herds are vulnerable to climate hazards, diseases, and other type of stress that can drastically decimate a herd (Espinosa and Agreda, 1991).

Herding is an activity conducted with minimal investment and that relies on indigenous knowledge about reproduction and management to adapt to harsh environments. Alpaca producers have not benefited from public rural extension services, which have been chronically limited by lack of adequate budgets, but also focused on producers who are closer to urban markets, geographically more accessible and socially assimilated as mestizo farmers. In that regard, the stigma of indigeneity has prevented alpaca producers from being perceived as an important resource for development, and they have remained marginal to the attention of central and local governments. This lack of technical assistance is shown in the low productivity of the fiber production per animal. From the

potential 5.4 Kg of fiber per animal per year, small producers who represent 85% of total alpaca producers have a yield of 1.59 Kg per animal per year, while medium size producers who represent 10% of alpaca producers harvest 2.27 Kg per animal per year, the same yield obtained by private enterprises who represent 5% of alpaca producers in Peru (http://www.perulactea.com/2008).

Stigma associated with consumption of alpaca meat and alpaca jerk *(charqui)* has prevented the development of local and domestic markets for alpaca meat; therefore, *alpaqueros'* income mainly comes from selling alpaca fiber while alpaca meat is locally exchanged through bartering. The low prices paid by intermediaries for the alpaca fiber have driven male seasonal emigration to the more dynamic economies of Tacna in the coast and Madre de Dios in the Amazon in search of income, leaving women in charge of the family and the herd. In a context of poverty, *alpaqueros* cannot negotiate better prices for their unprocessed fiber (Espinosa and Agreda, 1991).

Prices have shown great instability due to changes in supply and demand in international markets. Peruvian alpaca fiber is exported mainly to China, Italy and Japan (Fairfield, 2006). Prices paid to producers dramatically shrank in 2008 and 2009 from 14 soles to 1.5 soles, reflecting the current vulnerability of this sector and generating a real crisis that led strong mobilizations of alpaca producers, supported by grassroots organizations, unions, NGOs and public opinion.[2]

The market for alpaca fiber is one of the most distorted markets in Peru. With only five enterprises buying alpaca fiber from thousands of dispersed producers, this oligopsónic market explains that independently of the global prices for alpaca fiber, prices paid to producers always remain low. In 2008, 92% of all alpaca products exported from Peru came from the processing plants Michell y Cia S.A., Productos del Sur S.A. e Inca Tops S.A., all of them based in Arequipa. According to the Sociedad de Criadores de Alpacas y Llamas (SPAR)—representing 10,000 *alpaqueros*—these enterprises use their control of the market to fix a low price for the fiber collectors, indirectly limiting the prices obtained by the 180-thousand alpaquero families in Peru.

Alpaca production involves men, women, and children who

are members of indigenous communities; a total estimated 1.5 million people in Peru. Their livelihoods strongly depend on alpaca and llama production, since agriculture cannot be conducted due to high altitude. *Alpaqueros* have developed an historical adaptation to these harsh environments in close dependence with alpacas and llamas, and they have an important body of traditional knowledge to manage their herds. A large network of intermediaries buys cheap unprocessed alpaca fiber for two processing plants in Arequipa (Mitchell & Co, created in 1947 and PATTHEY & CORZO, created in 1957). Lack of public policies to improve breeding, fiber production, and commercialization and diversify production (for instance opening domestic and foreign markets for alpaca meat), explains the stagnation of alpaca production in the Andes.

Few institutions, like the Instituto Veterinario de Investigacion Tropical y de Altura (IVITA), have maintained long-term research programs for alpacas, through their experimental stations in La Raya, Cusco and Juliaca, Puno, IVITA was part of the Small Ruminant Collaborative Research and Support Program (SR-CRSP), which linked a Consortium of American Universities with the Instituto de Investigacion y Promocion Agraria (INIPA). The goal was to conduct research on goats, sheep and alpacas to design technical assistance for poor farmers belonging to Peasant Communities in Peru (Quijandria, Fernandez and Espinosa, 1984). SR-CRSP closed operations in Peru in 1981 after the terrorist group Shining Path attacked several research sites, including IVITA research station in La Raya.[3] SR-CRSP linked researchers from American universities with top Peruvian experts on alpacas, like those working at the IVITA Research Stations, giving American researchers access to indigenous genetic resources, local research results and data bases and expertise; in exchange SR-CRSP trained Peruvian researchers in animal genetics and range management (for instance it facilitated embryo implants and in-vitro fertilization for alpacas). The boom of alpaca breeding in the USA after 1985 was supported by strong research and management expertise from American Universities that were directly or indirectly involved in the SR-CRSP program.

There has been a better integration of research, extension

and production for alpacas in Peru since late 1990. For instance, genetic research of alpaca herds was used to create six regional breeding centers for extra-fine alpaca fiber production (<20 micras), which has allowed Peru to remain the leading exporter of extra-fine alpaca fiber, despite the strong competition of Australia. Artificial insemination and embryo transference, promoted by the Ministry of Agriculture and national universities, are routinely used in the breeding centers and have improved fertility and fecundity rates that were historically low. A network of regional marketing centers has been created in the production areas to collect the fiber production scattered through vast and isolated territories. However, the efficiency of these centers needs to be improved since it only captures 40% of the national alpaca fiber production. The fact that fiber is usually bought by weight has discouraged producers from doing fiber classification using national technical norms that are in sync with international standards. There have also been initiatives to diversify production, selling skin and meat for domestic markets and transforming fiber into knitting and clothing for export and for domestic markets. Alpaca meat consumption only increased by 10%. Sanitary concerns about sarcocistiosis—a disease that has not been yet eradicated from alpaca herds—have restricted the marketing of alpaca meat (CONACS/CONCYTECT 2007).

Political changes in Peru after the 1990s and increasing participation of social movements and civil society have somehow transformed the ways that national government perceives alpaca production: From a marginal resource in hands of poor indigenous peasants to a strategic national resource that can build up a robust export sector for the highlands. Increased exports have resulted from the Free Trade Agreement for the Americas (FTAA), not only in terms of fiber, but also in terms of knits and clothing. In 2006 supportive legislation (Ley de Promocion para el Desarrollo de la Produccion de Camelidos Sudamericanos) provided tax incentives for investments in technology and severe punishment for alpaca smuggling. Genetic improvement programs combined with improved range management have been reestablished since 2003, which coincided with some better organization and representation of

alpaca producers at different institutional levels and a better articulation among them, the alpaca processing industry and the national state programs. In 1995 SPARPERU, Sociedad Peruana de Criadores de Alpacas y Llamas, a national organization was created with four working areas: marketing, institutional capacity building, breeding, and sustainable production.[4] There is also the Confederacion Nacional de Criadores de Alpacas y Llamas (CONCAL) that represents indigenous alpaca and llama producers and the National Council of South American Camelids[5] (CONACS). These different organizations represent different interests invested in the alpaca production, from the *alpaqueros* to those involved in domestic trade, processing and exporting the fiber.

The question is whether these changes are enough to bridge the challenges faced by Andean alpaca production, such as its high vulnerability to natural conditions like droughts or frost that affect natural ranges on which alpacas depend; poverty and lack of resources to invest in herd health to eliminate sarna and sarcosistiosis; development of markets for meat and skins; and fiber quality improvement through genetic selection, also required to reduce the current high consanguinity of herds that results in high incidence of hermaphrodite animals in the herds. The vulnerability of alpaca production and *alpaqueros* in the Andes was exposed in 2008 when an early and severe frost (started in March instead of June) affected thousands of herds that could not graze in the frozen pastures of Peruvian high plateaus[6] and in 2009 when prices for alpaca fiber reach an historical low that threatened the survival of *alpaqueros*.

Alpaca Production in the USA

While Peruvian *alpaqueros* are members of indigenous communities that have managed to survive in a context of challenging physical environments, poverty, and social exclusion,[7] American alpaca farmers are urban investors looking for a safe and profitable activity to secure their retirement. The first 10 alpacas were imported from England in 1980 and some more imported from Canada. In 1984 alpaca herds were imported from Chile, starting an explosive growth of alpacas in

the USA: estimated to be 80,000 in 2003, 90,000 in 2005, and currently beyond 100,000. With the creation of the Alpaca Owners and Breeding Association in 1988;[8] the American Alpaca Registry incorporated in 1995 and the Alpaca Research Foundation in 2003[9], the alpaca industry in the USA has become highly organized and competitive, with research well Integrated into management, breeding, and marketing. The marketing campaign includes financing to start a new herd.[10]

Since the 1990s the USA has taken the lead within developed countries like New Zealand, Australia, and Switzerland, starting their own breed and registry and building technical and institutional capacity to develop their OVITI alpaca production. The size of American alpaca herds has been conservatively estimated to reach 1 million heads in 16 years, representing a growth 16 times the size of the herd in 2004. Some American researchers have expressed concerns about the lack of sustainability of such industry, considering the historically unstable behavior of fiber prices in global markets (Saitone and Sexton, 2006).

Final Comments

The booming alpaca industry outside the Andes reflects the lack of international protection for the collective rights Indigenous Peoples have on genetic resources they have domesticated and conserved, and that are critical for their physical and cultural survival. The continued expansion of alpaca production outside the Andes will certainly affect alpaca fiber prices in global markets, prices that have been already unstable. Unless demand is significantly expanded, such an increase in supply of alpaca fiber is expected to increase competition and to reduce prices of alpaca fiber.

The demand for alpaca fiber is differentiated according by fiber types and Peru seems to hold the comparative advantage on the extra-fine alpaca fiber. Even though Peru still concentrates the majority of alpaca production, the booming alpaca industry in the USA, New Zealand and Australia might become a real threat in the next decades in terms of the size of the alpaca population they control and specially if they manage to specialize their production toward the extra fine alpaca

fiber—something that is already addressed by organizations supporting American Alpaca producers.[11] While the future size of their herds remains uncertain, what is clear is that these foreign alpaca producers are better positioned and resourced to compete in global markets with Andean alpaca producers in terms of funding, management, breeding and marketing. This is another hit indigenous peoples might have to take in their disadvantaged battle to defend their livelihoods, their culture, and their autonomy.

The long process of indigenous domestication of alpacas and the cultural adaptation of *alpaqueros* might end because globalization has allowed the separation of indigenous genetic resources from their natural habitats and from the indigenous peoples who domesticated and conserved them, and who rely on them for survival. This survival is at stake once *alpaqueros* have to compete with foreign alpaca producers that are better positioned in global markets. Further erosion of *alpaqueros'* livelihoods might push them out of the punas and toward cultural assimilation. The indigenous world of *alpaqueros* with all its cultural, environmental and spiritual richness might be then forever gone.

Notes

[1] http://www.alpacasintheusa.com/about/alplacas; http://www.alpacas.co.nz/Alpaca%20Information.htm

[2] http://www.perulactea.com/2008/12/30/crisis-internacional-afecta-a-criadores-de-camelidos/comment-pa; http://www.losandes.com.pe/Opinion/20090220/19151.html; http://www.pt-peru.org/

[3] Quijandria, Benjamin, Espinosa, Cristina, and Fernandez, Maria. 1984 "Small Ruminant Production System Research and Technology Validation in Peasant Communities in the Highlands of Peru." Report to Small Ruminant CRSP, U. of California Davis/INIPA, Lima.

[4] (http://www .sparperu.org).

[5] CONACS/CONCYTECT 2007 Estudio de Prospective de Alpaca 2014 (http://www.sparperu.orgiindex.php?id=13)

[6] In July of 2008 the Peruvian government declared emergency status for 11 of the 25 highland provinces where alpaca is produced. Funded by the Belgium government, FAO announced an emergency intervention in coordination with the Peruvian Ministry of Agriculture to save 18,000 sick alpacas affected by this frost (http://afp.google.com/article/ALeqM5i5nvwvNTxyWEYdsln6vGp6MeOwg).

[7] Espinosa, M. Cristina and Agreda, Victor. "Toma de Decisiones en Pequenos Productores Alpaqueros en Puno." IN: Final Report to IDRC Project "Decision Making Process in Peasant Systems of the Southern Highland of Peru." CE&DAP. Lima, 1991

[8] (http://www.alpacainfo.com/index.asp).

[9] (http://www.alpacaresearchfoundation.org/)

[10] An initial investment of $102,000 can buy a herd composed of two males and five pregnant females, which in ten years are projected to reproduce into 126 alpacas and generate a return value of more than $1,272,500. The net return after deducting all the projected costs is $960,260 (57.8 % annual average rate of return with an average amount invested over the ten-year period of $166,200 (Alpacas of America (http://www.alpacasofamerica.com/service/finances_profit.asp; http://www.alpacabusinesssecrets.com/AlpacaInformation.htm; http://www.alpaca1.com;http://www.alpacas.co.nz/Alpaca%20Information.htm)

[11] As explained by Mike Safley for AlpacaConnect (retrieved June 9 2009 from http://www.alpacaconnect.com/articles/archive/200809)

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About the Author

After 20 years of researching migration, gender, livelihoods, and sustainable development in Peru, in 1998 Cristina Espinosa obtained a doctoral degree in environmental anthropology at the University of Florida and took charge of the Social Policy Global Program for IUCN, The World Conservation Union based in Switzerland with operations in five continents. Between 2002 and 2008, she was Associate Director at the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida and at the Institute for the Study of Latin America and the Caribbean at the University of South Florida. In August of 2008, she became Assistant Professor and Associate Director for the Masters Program in Sustainable International Development at The Heller School for Social Policy at Brandeis University, where she combines teaching and research with program management. She has published books like *Migracion y Socializacion: Los Cortadores de Caña de Azúcar* (1991), *Desenredando el Laberinto* (2002), *Unveiling Differences, Finding a Balance* (2004), and multiple articles, book chapters, and technical reports on the

intersections of gender, livelihoods, migration, ethnicity, globalization, sustainable development and indigenous spirituality combining cultural studies with political ecology approaches. Recent articles include “Ethnic Spirituality, Gender and Health Care in the Peruvian Amazon" (2009), "Negotiating Landscapes, Survival and Modernity: Goats, Migration and Gender in the Arid Lands of Northern Peru" (2009), and "What has Globalization to do with Wildlife Use in the Remote Amazon? Exploring the links between macro-economic changes, markets and community entitlements" (2008).

Contact Information:
espinosa@brandeis.edu
equityplanet@yahoo.com

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The Muckleshoot Experiment

Testing an Indigenous Peoples' Climate Negotiation Scenario

By Rudolph C. Rÿser, Ph.D.

Indigenous peoples around the world are being adversely affected by changing weather, draughts, floods, melting glaciers, and shifting temperatures resulting in serious health problems, environmental changes, changes in plants and wildlife, food security problems, population growth, and displacement. All of these affects are altering indigenous peoples' cultures, social and political relations; and in many instances forcing indigenous peoples into becoming "climate refugees." Driven from traditional lands by drought, flooding, food scarcity, and violence from other competing peoples more than 15 million indigenous peoples worldwide are being forced out of their lands into lands where competition pressures with other populations are further contributing to growing conflicts and violence as well as strains on the international relief programs. Indigenous peoples are, and have been, dramatically affected by changing climate in ways not fully apparent to people living in urban and suburban areas.

Marginalized and out of sight, indigenous populations have little political influence in sub-regional, regional and international fora where regulatory, mitigation, and adaptation strategies are being discussed and negotiated. Indigenous

peoples are generally recognized as neutral contributors to carbon dioxide, greenhouse gases, and other pollutants known to affect changing climate. Indeed their cultural practices in relation to the environment make indigenous peoples net reducers of pollutants and greenhouse gases. Despite the limited influence indigenous peoples have on the production of gases that change climate they experience the most direct adverse affects of urban generated carbon dioxide and other green house gases that have altered the atmosphere. Where and how might indigenous peoples effect changes in international and state-level policies on climate change while allowing political space for each indigenous nation to develop and implement its own adaptation plan?

That is essentially the question put to ten graduate students enrolled in the Antioch University/Muckleshoot College "Global Pluralism" course in the winter of 2009 working with two faculty and two faculty assistants.

Testing By Simulation-Elevating Indigenous Peoples

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change[1] had convened the 14th Session of the Conference of Parties[2] in Poznan, Poland (December 2008)—a month before the Global Pluralism course started. The International Indigenous Peoples' Forum on Climate Change[3] (IIPFCC) gathered as an "indigenous peoples caucus" to organize an effort to influence the policy direction of the more than 180 governments meeting to lay the foundations for a new treaty on climate change. The expectation at the meeting was that work done in Poznan would inform and shape the final agreement so that final work could be concluded during 2009 with a capstone meeting of all the parties in Copenhagen, Denmark in December of 2009.

The Muckleshoot Experiment, as the "Global Pluralism" course became known, set up a ten week scenario where Muckleshoot graduate students would play the roles of several states' governments, several non-governmental organizations, and representatives of several indigenous nations and organizations—roughly proportionally grouped according to

political representation at an actual United Nations conference. The states' government representatives served as the Conference of Parties that would meet to discuss, negotiate and attempt to conclude an agreement on the regulation of carbon dioxide and other human created greenhouse gases.

The non-governmental organizations would represent environmental, labor, business and sectarian interests seeking to function as civil society contributors to the Conference of Parties. Members of the non-governmental organizations met separately and discussed their interests and policies. The indigenous peoples caucus met separately as a body.

The Muckleshoot Graduate Learners were given two weeks to prepare for their roles. They were given the scenario describing the organization and convening of the United Nations sponsored Conference of Parties. Each learner was responsible for conducting independent research to establish a state government's, non-governmental organization's, or indigenous people's position. Having conducted their research, each learner was responsible for playing the part of the assigned role and advancing the policy position held in reality by the state, organization or indigenous group.

Roles established for the Muckleshoot Experiment included:

State Government	Peoples Republic of China
State Government	Republic of Brazil
State Government	Kingdom of Denmark
State Government	Republic of Botswana
State Government	Australia
State Government	United States of America

Indigenous People	Maori
Indigenous People	Cataluña
Indigenous People	Inuit Circumpolar Conference
Non-Governmental Org	Intn'l Chamber of Commerce
Non-Governmental Org	AFL-CIO
Non-Governmental Org	Amnesty International
Non-Governmental Org	Intn'l Union for Conservation
Non-Governmental Org	World Council of Churches

The Muckleshoot Experiment was organized so that participants had access to an online Global Pluralism website that permitted sharing of documentation, publication of news releases, colloquies with the faculty, and discussions with learners. Learners were required to play their roles online and they were also required to participate in three Global Pluralism Residencies where everyone convened for several hours in what would effectively serve as a "Conference Site."

At the first Residency, the "scene" was presented by the Monitor (the author) describing the problem and explaining the "simulation" learners would conduct as a part of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference of Parties. A schedule of events was reviewed, roles were assigned, and questions were answered.

The "simulation" instructions were presented this way:

1. There have been 14 meetings to establish a new Treaty on Climate Change

2. The most recent was the Poznan, Poland meeting of the United Nations Frame Convention on Climate Change called COP14

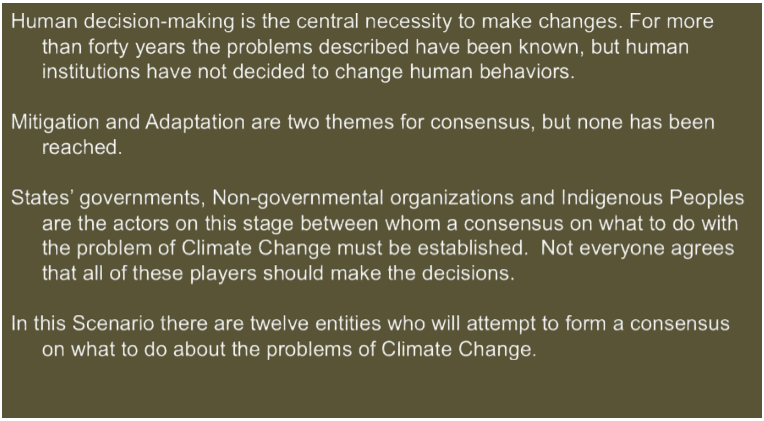
3. We will simulate a meeting of the Conference of Parties (COP15) that is now planned for December 2009 in Copenhagen, Denmark.

4. We will determine if a consensus can be made on the negotiation of a new Climate Change Treaty that will replace the Kyoto Protocols that will become defunct in 2012.

Participants in the first Residency were then given the following additional information:

Within the next 100 years significant and in many instances catastrophic changes in the earth's climate will dramatically alter life's conditions on the planet. These changes are in part brought on by human produced atmospheric and environmental toxins that have caused the natural cycles to fall out of balance. Green house gases including notably carbon dioxide are creating atmospheric changes, changes in the oceans, forests, deserts and mountain ranges altering plant populations, animal populations and even microscopic phytoplankton in the Ocean. Even if these conditions are not wholly caused by human action, the changes are taking place. Reductions in gas emissions will slow and possibly reverse the dramatic changes.

And further, they were advised:



In other words, the participants in this simulation were instructed to carry out a scenario to achieve a decision by December 2012 that was to occur in the third residency (near the end of the class).

The experiment was to determine whether indigenous peoples could elevate their participation in the dialogue and negotiations with state governments and non-governmental organizations. If they achieved a degree of elevation (signaled by acceptance of states' parties of indigenous peoples' participation in the dialogue and/or acceptance of indigenous peoples' policy recommendations) then indigenous peoples can directly

participate in the global dialogue in search of answers to the adverse affects of climate change.

The rules imposed on all participants were as follows:

1. Each Party plays a role and may not deviate from the role except in the CourseRoom Discussions
2. Each Party must maintain a primary relationship with the identified category (State, NGO, Indigenous People), though decisions may require secondary relationships with others.
3. Each Party must conduct communications via the CourseRoom using virtual conference rooms and facilities, chat rooms and document all communications.
4. Each Party has an interest in forming a consensus, but faithfully represent constituent interests, cultural norms or ethos.
5. Each Party must actively understand and present a cultural or ethos perspective to the other parties.

The Second Residency: Preparing for the Treaty

After about two weeks of independent learning and communicating via the online course room, participants were invited to gather for five hours at the Second Residency.

Setting the stage for the hours to unfold, participants now arrayed at separate tables (one each for the state's governments, a cluster of tables for the non-governmental organizations and one table for the indigenous peoples). The scenario was outlined as follows:

- Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate change have been invited to attend the 4 February 2009 Agenda Setting Session convened at the Muckleshoot Tribal College beginning at 4:00pm.
- The Parties have just four days in which to propose and agree to an agenda that will serve as the framework for a final Treaty Conference on Climate Change later this month.
- The Treaty will be negotiated between States' governments. NGOs and indigenous organizations are defined as Observers--part of "civil society" who may influence the process through advocacy.
- Access and influence are partly defined by culture and or ethos. Access to the decision-making process is primarily determined by customary practice

The simulation Monitor set the goal for the Second Residency as follows:

The Goal is to have an agreed upon Agenda established for the final Treaty negotiations that will take place during the final Residency #3 in February.

This must be accomplished within the time allotted during Residency #2.

Once the Monitor presented the initial formalities, a schedule of "conference events" that simulated four separate days of activity was presented to the group.

Throughout the first weeks of the simulation participants engaged in role playing in the online course room, received documents (contemporaneous to the actual events involving the actual parties to negotiations) and they engaged in extensive fact checking and revisions in their positions.

The simulation called for the individual state governments to prepare for and convene a session of the Conference of Parties (COP). Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were invited to deliver 1-2 minute presentations.

Indigenous peoples were not specifically invited to speak before the Conference of Parties except as a non-governmental organization representative. Since only limited non-governmental interventions were allowed, it was necessary for indigenous peoples to work out scheduling arrangements before

the Conference of Parties with non-governmental organization representatives.

The presentations delivered before the COP by non-governmental organizations represented business, environmental, and human rights views and perfunctory comments for indigenous peoples' rights.

Meanwhile, the states' government parties actively engaged each other in pursuit of a common language on which they could agree—mainly emphasizing allowable emissions of carbon dioxide and greenhouse gas emissions. Little actual agreement was being achieved between the states, owing to the reluctance of China to commit to reduction targets and states' like Botswana (left out of the discussions while experiencing growing dangers from the adverse affects of climate change). Denmark attempted to mediate between disagreeing states, taking–on the role of organizer of the Conference of Parties in Copenhagen in 2010.

The indigenous caucus decided to take its views to the Danish government after feeling deeply frustrated that their message in support of traditional knowledge and tribal sovereignty, and the desperate experiences of indigenous peoples due to climate change was not getting across to the COP through non-governmental organizations representatives. Their appeal to Denmark called for recognition of indigenous peoples' rights in accord with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 2007) and the application of these principles within the treaty being negotiated on climate change. Indeed, the Danish representative agreed to give more visibility to the indigenous peoples' position.

Pleased with the response of Denmark, the indigenous caucus decided to call a news conference to announce Denmark's decision to elevate indigenous peoples' concerns in the climate change negotiations.

When the United States and China heard of the news conference they immediately called in the ambassador to Denmark and asked if Denmark had actually made such a commitment. Denmark's representative expressed that government's policy for open negotiations and involvement of

indigenous peoples—reflecting the influence of Greenlandic Inuits governed by Denmark. The United States and China argued that a separate voice could not be given to indigenous peoples outside of the civil society context. If that were done, so the argument went, "indigenous peoples could make a case against the state within which they reside" creating no end of confusion over who represents the views of the state or various groups." It was further argued, "only the states' government parties can represent the policies within their sovereign jurisdiction," and indigenous peoples must not be allowed to speak independently. Denmark was urged to renounce the published claim that they had made an agreement with the indigenous caucus (which they did) and deny that any such event had taken place. Denmark called a news conference a denied that any agreement had been made with the indigenous peoples' caucus.

This proved to be a crucial point in the negotiations due to the considerable setback the Danish decision caused the indigenous caucus. The disappointment was palpable. Effectively, the indigenous caucus had attempted to secure an opening to elevate their participation in the climate change negotiations. The United States/China cabal pushed the indigenous caucus back into the civil society category. The consequence of this political maneuver applying pressure on Denmark confirmed agreement between the states' parties that placing indigenous peoples into the category of "civil society participants" would ensure their muted voice and very little influence would be coming from indigenous peoples.

Recognizing that non-governmental organizations may have greater influence on state government policies, the indigenous caucus sought out representatives of non-governmental organizations for support of their position. Indigenous caucus delegates negotiated with several large non-governmental organizations and won their support. Non-governmental organizations went before the Conference of Parties calling for support of indigenous peoples' policies. The sympathetic support delivered by some non-governmental organizations offered limited visibility but by virtue of their efforts to join forces with NGOs indigenous delegates tended to

reemphasize the "civil society" status of indigenous peoples.

The Second Residency ended without resolution of agreed treaty language between state government parties. Non-governmental organizations (particularly business and environmental organizations) offered their advice and recommendations and many were incorporated in draft language for a treaty. Indigenous peoples became more marginalized than before the session began—reduced to discussing ways to engage in public demonstrations to show their objections to draft treaty language.

The Third Residency: Negotiating an Agreement in Copenhagen

In February 2009, the Muckleshoot Experiment was for the final time called into formal session where participants could deal directly with each other to make a final effort to negotiate a treaty. The notification calling for the meeting read as follows:

> Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate change are cordially invited to attend the 26 February 2009 Final Treaty Negotiations Session of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to be convened at the Muckleshoot Tribal College beginning at 4:00pm. The schedule of events during this session is as follows:
>
> Conference of Parties specifically invited to participate in the Final Treaty Negotiations Session on Climate Change at the appointed date include, but are not limited to… the listed government parties.

During the Third Residency, participants were once again informed that they had five hours to achieve the final goal. The goal and rules were presented this way:

The Goal is to have an agreed Treaty established for the final Treaty negotiations that will take place during the final Residency (#3) in February.

1. Opening remarks by Plenipotentiaries in the Opening Session must be limited to 2 minutes.
2. Remarks by Plenipotentiaries are limited to 2 minutes in First and Second Sessions.
3. Closing remarks by Plenipotentiaries will be limited to 1 minute and Closing Remarks by Observers are limited to 1 minute.
4. News releases and news conferences must be conducted at the NEWS DESK either as single sheet news releases (yellow pad) or as verbal announcements that can be no longer than 1 minute.
5. Plenipotentiaries are free to meet with any other Plenipotentiary or Observer at any time during the four-day Negotiating session.
6. Observers must communicate in their conference rooms set aside by the Secretariat for their use.
7. Observers may meet with Plenipotentiaries upon making a request and appointment only.
8. Observers are invited to be as inventive as possible to not only develop appropriate items for the Treaty negotiations, but they are invited to be as inventive as possible to influence the outcome of the Treaty.
9. The Secretariat (Dr. Ryser) shall be the recipient of the final Plenary Session Treaty as agreed by the parties at 8:15pm on the fourth day.

All participants are encouraged to use what they have learned about organizations and other participants to their advantage…and to use whatever documentation one can secure from the Internet, library, or readings to advantage your position.

Negotiations immediately commenced in earnest between the states. A side negotiation was organized between China and the United States operating on the apparent assumption that the largest CO2 producers and largest economies should make the agreement that others could follow. It was during the side negotiations that a preliminary agreement was reached between the United States and China on the basis that they produced a combined total of more than fifty percent of the world's carbon

dioxide and other greenhouse gases. This agreement was reached without discussions with civil society parties or other states governments. Representatives from the US and China appeared before the Conference of Parties meeting in the simulated year 2012 with a pro-forma agreement that essentially by-passed the broader Conference of Parties.

Meanwhile, without knowing about the US/China agreement, the indigenous caucus approached the government of the United States to determine if they would approve the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and consequently recognized a voice for indigenous peoples in the climate change negotiations. Indigenous caucus members judged that the United States government was key to both elevating indigenous participation in the climate change discussions and finalizing approval of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Initially the US position flatly turned down the request for such recognition or action to support either the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples or the role requested by the indigenous peoples. As the discussions continued, the US position began to soften as it became apparent that the idea that indigenous peoples may want to separate from existing states (a view held by the US)—applying Article three of the Declaration[4]—was less likely. The longer discussions continued between the indigenous peoples representative and the United States there was movement toward the indigenous peoples' position. Unfortunately, the indigenous representative gave up and decided not to pursue discussions further because the US government didn't quickly step up to the request made by the caucus. This proved to be a serious error that resulted in the treaty being concluded, but indigenous peoples were left in the margins.

What Did We Learn From the Simulation?

The simulation came surprisingly close to the actual events that unfolded throughout 2009 and into 2010. The 15th session of the Conference of Parties—convened in December 2010—in Copenhagen resulted in a rough stalemate between the states'

governments and indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples became further marginalized as civil society participants with little or no influence in the process.

The Indigenous Peoples Environmental Network Media Team (the communications arm of the International Indigenous Peoples Forum on Climate Change) released this statement near at the close of the Copenhagen conference:

> Copenhagen, Denmark 16 December 2009 – As the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) winds down, thousands of people marched in the streets today to "reclaim power" from the UN process they say is not good enough. Indigenous Peoples led a march from inside the official venue of the climate negotiations, to stand in solidarity with the rest of civil society in demanding climate justice.[5]

The clear and present dangers of changing climate for indigenous peoples demand major changes in the way states'governments organize their economies and consume energy. States' governments were not in the mood to consider such matters. The indigenous caucus that had worked so hard to advocate indigenous peoples' positions fell very short of their goal as the news release reported:

> "Indigenous peoples rights are mentioned once in the form of a recommendation for nation states to consider, but not as a requirement," explains Alberto Saldamando of the International Indigenous Treaty Council (IITC). "But ensuring basic human rights for the worlds populations who are most affected by climate change should not be voluntary. It is a matter of obligation."
>
> "It's a sad situation that world leaders representing industrialized society have lost their understanding of the sacredness of Mother Earth," adds Tom Goldtooth, Executive Director of the Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN). "Before we can achieve global action, there needs to be

international awareness of why we are really here."

It was clear in the simulation and in the actual Conference of Parties meeting in Copenhagen indigenous peoples must recognize that their concerns will not be heard by the states. Indeed, the states, non-governmental organizations, and international institutions can't agree on a clear course of action to respond to the adverse affects of climate change. Indigenous peoples are left to develop adaptation strategies for themselves and proactively make changes in their social, economic and political organization while seeking to monitor and sometimes influence the decisions of states, international organizations and corporations. Self-survival is a ruling requirement for the course of action.

Importance of Climate Policy to Tribal Governments

Indian nations from the United States have remained passive and even uninterested in international developments that directly affect their social, economic and political interests. Very few Indian governments have actually attempted to participate in the international dialogue on such matters as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Convention on Biological Diversity, Convention on Intellectual Property Rights, International Labor organization Convention 169 not to mention decisions being taken by the Organization of American States, or the Organization on Cooperation and Security in Europe. Indian nations from the United States (though a few Alaskan Natives and Hawaiian Natives groups have sporadically participated) have not actively engaged the international debate swirling about for the last forty years.

The irony is that what Indian governments do inside the United States heavily influences relationships between indigenous peoples and states' governments elsewhere in the world. Indian leaders seem oblivious to the interconnectedness between indigenous peoples that has evolved over the last thirty years.

Tribal governments in the United States are implicitly central to setting a US policy that can protect their interests as

well as the interests of indigenous peoples around the world. Until now, US tribal governments have played a very minor role in efforts to influence US legislative and diplomatic strategy. Without an active role of tribal governments, indigenous peoples elsewhere in the world and Indian peoples inside the US will experience efforts to preempt their political authority to control their lands, undermine the use of traditional knowledge, and by-pass Indian peoples in the setting of rules, regulations and standards for carbon dioxide and other green house gas emission standards. Many indigenous peoples around the world are working with extremely limited resources to influence the direction of their state governments as well as the international negotiations...they are largely doing so with the participation of US tribal leaders.

International Treaty Negotiations & the US Central Role

The international treaty negotiations scheduled for last December 2009 in Copenhagen essentially failed to produce a binding agreement. United States President Barak Obama stepped in at the last moment to establish a non-binding understanding between key states' governments (China, India, Brazil among them) to list target carbon dioxide reductions by 2020. The assembly of states' governments meeting as the Conference of Parties "took note" of the understanding, but did not endorse the US promoted plan.

Intergovernmental meetings were scheduled in April, June, July and August preparatory to the next round of negotiations for a Climate Change Treaty in Cancun, Mexico in December 2010.

Holding close to his words stated in June 2009, US Ambassador Todd Stern has promoted what may be called a "Big Carbon States Strategy" to establish agreement on Carbon Emissions in the years to come. This strategy was acted out in the non-binding understanding produced in December 2009. Many low carbon-producing states have objected to the US government's "Big Carbon States Strategy" since it effectively removes the decisions on Carbon Emissions from the United Nations process that has been the framework for more than two decades.

Central to getting agreement at the international levels is the need for the US Congress to agree on a Bill ultimately signed by the President. Ambassador Stern's strategy was being carried out without formal instructions from the US Congress: the House of Representatives adopted a Climate and Energy Bill, but the Senate has failed to follow up. Senators Kerry, Graham and Lieberman have attempted to forge a Senate bill that faces a difficult time before the US Senate in 2010 leading up to the Cancun meeting.

After indigenous peoples' delegations participated in more than eight years of meetings to prepare for the final negotiation of a global Climate Change Treaty, the position occupied by indigenous peoples in relation to the negotiations remains the same: "minimal." During an international conference call involving indigenous peoples' organization policy advisors in early March 2010, participants agreed on this conclusion:

> "The current level of participation of indigenous peoples within the COP through the observer organization is best described being at the most minimal of satisfactory levels. This is NOT an assessment of the secretariat or the personalities within the Secretariat. The secretariat's engagement within these limits to the IPO constituency has been very good. However IPs have long said that these limits circumscribed to IPs are not satisfactory and not in line with other conventions or within articles contained within UNDRIP"[6]

Though engaged in prodigious diplomatic efforts to contribute to the global dialogue on treaty provisions for climate change mitigation and adaptation, expending very limited financial resources and offering the perspective of indigenous peoples on climate policy, Indigenous Peoples have remained largely marginalized by states' governments and big international non-governmental organizations (BINGOs).

Conclusion

Indigenous peoples in the simulation and in the actual turn

of events demonstrate that they must move beyond functioning in the role of civil society organizations: a position to which they were relegated due to the structure of international institutions. Indigenous nations must assume the proper role of governing authorities over their territories, prepared to challenge the authority of states' governments. They must demand a seat at the negotiating table based on their ability to deny access to territories and resources. Denial of access is the only authority left to indigenous nations if they truly wish to be respected and they wish to achieve an elevated political level in regions and international negotiations. Denying access points to a corollary: control over territory. Their decision to accept this role will determine the course of human history and perhaps survival of indigenous peoples accepting the responsibility.

(Special thanks to Dr. Shana Hormann, Associate Academic Dean at Antioch University-Seattle, Muckleshoot Indian College, the ten remarkable graduate students from the Muckleshoot tribe and the Center for World Indigenous Studies for the ten-week opportunity to teach the course *Global Pluralism* and to conduct the Muckleshoot Experiment in January – March 2009.)

Notes

[1] The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change was produced at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro from 3 to 14 June 1992. The treaty commits signators to agree to specific measures for stabilizing greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere. The thirteenth meeting of the parties to this convention decided in September 2008 to negotiate a new treaty that will replace the Kyoto Protocols initially adopted in Japan in 1997 and formally activated in February 2005. High-level talks between NFCCC signing states continue in an effort to establish a new agreement by or before 2012 when the Kyoto Protocol expires.

[2] The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change "Conference of Parties" met in its 13th session in Bali, Indonesia, and agreed to a "road map" intended to

lead to the negotiation of a new treaty on climate change. The Conference of Parties meeting in session #14 was the first meeting specifically intended to implement the roadmap.

[3] The International Indigenous Peoples Forum on Climate Changes is an adhoc body of indigenous peoples attending sessions of the Conference of Parties or other high level meetings on climate change. Members of the IIPFCC include as many as 200 representatives of indigenous peoples or indigenous organizations from around the world.

[4] Article 3: Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. 2007.

[5] North American Indigenous Peoples Demand More in Copenhagen, Email release. Indigenous Peoples Environmental Network Media Team. 16 December 2009.

[6] Rubis, Jen. (2010) UNFCC-NGO Consultation: Comments on Agenda. Unpublished memorandum to the International Indigenous Peoples' Forum on Climate Change.

About the Author

Dr. Ryser is the Editor in Chief of the Fourth World Journal, Chair of the Board of Directors of the Center for World Indigenous Studies and an active participant consulting with the International Indigenous Peoples Forum on Climate Change working groups. He teaches at Capella University in the School of Public Service Leadership and is an adjunct professor at the Union Institute and University in History and Culture. He co-authored with Dr. Leslie Korn ***Prevention and Treatment of Diabetes the Natural Way*** released (DayKeeper Press) in May 2010 and is completing a new book ***NationCraft***, a study in Fourth World Geopolitics discussing the political development of indigenous nations.

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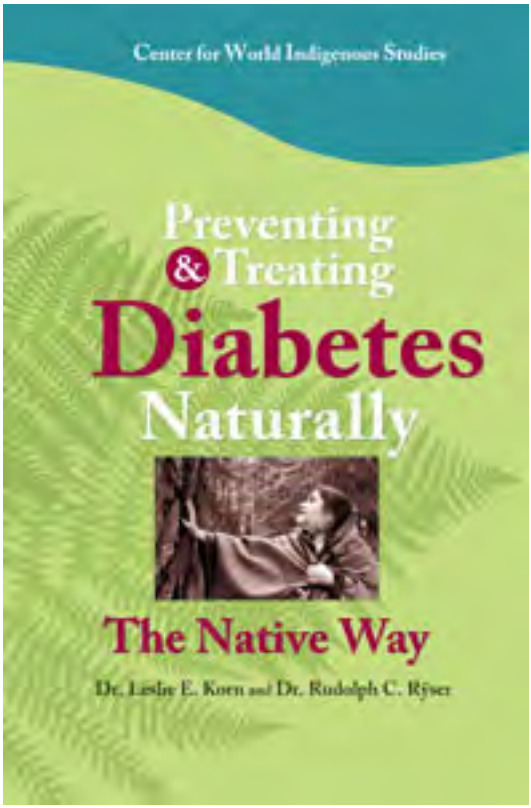

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Right, Duty and Obligation/ Responsibility

A Search for Ethical Fundamentals

By Dr. Ani Casimir

Introduction

Immanuel Kant gave philosophy four fundamental questions with which it is to be concerned and they are:

(1) *What can I know?*
(2) *What is man?*
(3) *What can I hope for, and,*
(4) *Finally, what ought I to do.*

The latter—'what ought I to do?' is the central subject of ethics, or what is variously called moral philosophy or philosophy of morality. With the concepts of 'right', 'duty,' obligation,' and responsibility, we move into the science of 'oughts' that define the moral foundation of human society and the stability of its social fabric. The Kantian challenge here is that before we can build a morally strong and ethically virile social order the citizens should know the fundamentals of 'righteousness' or the values that build a right and moral

citizenship who knows his rights, carries out his duties and compels the state, within the bounds of a good moral-legal order, to fulfill its obligations to the citizens. Before we can delve into the meaning of the terms—right, duty, obligation, and its allied responsibility, let us carry out a brief survey of what is meant by ethics or science of morality.

Ethics – A Brief View

Several ethical scholars fail to appreciate the fact that, under ancient philosophy, around 530 BC in Greece, ethics did not constitute an independent study as such, but was part of a a bigger course of study that was not called ethics. For it was simply known in classical antiquity as the science of 'worth' or 'value' so that what was popular was the study of '*axios'* and not 'ethos.' '*Axios'* translates to a meaningful expression 'to be worthy,' the root word for axiology—a more popular science than *ethos*, the root word for ethics. Ethics meant 'character or the custom' so that one can talk about individual character being good or bad and a society's custom could be worthy or not.

Axiology is the science that propels society and guides her as to what is valuable, worthy or honorable came from the Greek; it determines and properly classifies the subjects and disciplines that are worthy of being pursued, engaged in or discussed by citizens. From such discussions emerge values, which are worthy of emulation by citizens and the state and are classified and codified accordingly. Over time such classifications and codifications became a study and was called 'ethics' – or 'worthy of character or valued behaviour.'

Professor Egbeka Aja also threw light upon the origins of the ethical science when he did a supportive exposé in his book *Philosophy: An Introduction***:**

> 'Axiology is from the Greek: Axios meaning worthy, of philosophy and logos, meaning discourse. This is the branch that deals with values—both intrinsic and extrinsic values. Values are described as intrinsic when they are pursued for their own sake; while extrinsic values are pursued as a means to other ends. For instance, education can be said

> have intrinsic value when it is aimed at the improvement of man. It can be said to have extrinsic value when it seen as a means to attaining political power or to acquire material wealth. Axiology can be conveniently divided into the following sub-branches—ethics, aesthetics, social and political philosophy, philosophy of law and education…'[1]

One seminal distinction that has emerged from this classical history is that ethics was only part of a bigger discipline that included law, politics, education, and aesthetics. Except in Indian universities, Britain and some Middle Eastern schools, the study of axiology as the science of values (i.e. human values) have almost disappeared. In its place, ethics – its sub-branch-- is taking the centre stage as the 'worthy' discipline of value for the society. The word ethics comes from the Greek root word – *ethos*—'*meaning custom or character,'* defined by professor Aja as:

> 'that branch of axiology which is sometimes called moral philosophy. It deals with the values concomitant with human conduct and human character. Ethics should be distinguished from morals or morality. The morals or morality of a person or society are the sum total of all the moral judgements (or moral beliefs or moral beliefs implicit in certain acts or behaviour) of that person or society.'[2]

"Right"

In an ethical sense, a right is any action by man in society seen and interpreted to be in tune with the moral law of a people in such a society. At this juncture, we readily see that right makes us remember the idea of duty. The concepts of justice, right, and fairness, stand to each other as correlatives. But in a legal sense, a right translates into a claim, which a person can make against others with the backing of the law. The person pressing for a claim to secure his right does so with

explicit or implicit knowledge that the law recognizes that right and will justly rationalize his claim to award a compensation where necessary.[3]

An ethical right must conform to not only the moral law but also to the principles of natural rights embedded in natural law. On the other hand, legal rights must conform to the principles of positive rights whose validity derives from the positive law or the man-made law of the state. Currently there is an increasing movement for the establishment of an African legal system or jurisprudence, which will be based upon not only what the law is (positive law) but also what the law ought to be (African public moral values). A June 2008 international conference with the theme *The Law and Africa,* organized by the Department of Philosophy, University of Nigeria, centered upon exploring such possibility of harmonizing state law and African public morality in a new African jurisprudence.

Conceptually considered, a right is a moral power that a person possesses to do something, to keep something and to exact something from another so long as the action is not in violation of the law or any attendant obligation.[4] My right, as Dr. Ani Casimir, as a citizen of the Universe and Nigeria in particular could be used to illustrate the morphology of Somerville's conception of what is a right: Dr. Ani has a right to do something, to keep something, and exact something provided in so doing Dr. Ani does not disregard the rights of others or their interests. So in essence, Dr. Ani's rights and his enjoyment of them must end where the rights of other members of the society start.[5]

A right is judged by its impact upon the interests of mankind. When a right has a good effect upon others' interests it is called 'just rights.' Otherwise, it is called an 'unjust right,' when it does not promote the well being of man in the direction of life, liberty, health, and reputation. Just rights are interests recognized and protected in law for which people are accordingly punished when they are violated. Violating any of them both in ethics and the law constitutes what is defined as 'wrong.' In other words, when we violate a right we are 'wrong' and the law states punishment for those who have become wrong doers that threaten the stability of the social order. It becomes immediately clear from the discussion above that we

can categorize a right into that of the moral and the legal order. What determines whether a right is classified as moral or legal depends a lot upon its nature, the nature of its source and the importance with which the society inside of which it operates attaches to it.

A moral right invokes a correspondent duty whose violation by the moral agent is against the principles of natural justice. But a legal right is prescribed, recognized, known and protected by the law (positive law). Moral and legal rights are performable and enforceable only within human society and between persons since human beings are rational beings with intelligence to know them and guide their actions accordingly.

In what I have insistently decided to call the 'moral sphere'—*the stability of subsisting atmosphere of moral values in every society*—every right has a corresponding object to which it must perforce relate. This object makes it possible for the owner of the right to identify and claim his interest, protected and given recognition by the law of the state and the social conscience of the public. The object could either be material, immaterial or even services. In the context of human rights, this is what I define as a social, economic, political or even an environmental benefit, advantage, or a constitutional entitlement.

Rights can also be classified as either *perfect* or *imperfect*. A right is perfect if it corresponds to a duty that is in turn recognized and enforced by the law. A perfect right has both moral and legal correlatives in its source, recognition and execution. In other words, we are talking about a moral power that makes a law of society to be enforceable. For according to Nyasani:

> The enforceability here means that an action, and or criminal, will be taken against a person in breach of it, and if need be, judgement will be executed against him using physical force of the state. Where a right is recognizable by the law, the state using its machinery, will have an interest in making sure that the duty of respecting that right is enforced resorting to physical compulsion if necessary.[6]

A right can also be classified as either *positive* or *negative*. According to the positive right perspective, it enables an individual to receive something more than he already has, whereas under the negative right perspective, the individual goes on to retain what one already has, such as the right to money in his pockets.[7]

Another classification of rights is 'real rights' as against 'personal rights.' Real rights (*jus in rem*) entitle one "to require that a duty is imposed upon all other persons to respect that person's interest."[8] On the other hand, personal rights (*rights in personam*) "imposes a duty on a particular or determinate person or persons to respect the others legally protected interests[9] Professor Nyasani illustrates this new classification with a telling example:

> My right to the occupation of my house or vehicle is *in rem* in the sense that all other people… have to respect that right and the interest I have in the house or vehicle if on the other hand, I have my house to a tenant for occupation, the arrangement of its lease and use in between me and him exclusively and that arrangement does not directly interrupt other people… this kind of *jus in personam* which exclusively avails against no other persons but the tenant alone imposes a duty on the tenant to comply with the interest in the property leased to him. It is a person to person arrangement which creates an obligation on the party accepting the offer of lease hence personal and not real right with its attendant obligation; on the world at large…[10]

Rights can also be referred to as *proprietary* and *personal* if they relate to the person's estate, assets and property, or to his status or personal condition.[11] Property rights are convertible to monetary values while personal rights relate to status and cannot be converted into money or made an object of commercial exchange; the latter cannot be taken away by any body. This is why such personal rights relating to reputation and the integrity of the human person are described as inalienable

and not transferable. On the other hand, proprietary rights are transferable.

What is a "Wrong"?

As we can see from the foregoing discussion, a right—moral or legal—has several classifications and it is the heart and soul of justice as a virtue. At the opposite end of that pendulum where the first position is occupied by right is what is known as *wrong* or *injury*. Just as we did with right, a wrong could be moral or legal in its texture. A moral wrong is an act that is repugnant and contrary to the accepted morals of a community; it is a natural wrong which need not always be a legal wrong.[11]

On the other hand, a legal wrong is any act forbidden by law and therefore not contrary to rules governing the proper administration of justice by the state.[11] A legal wrong may not necessarily be a moral wrong. In Britain, for example, the law prohibits the killing of wild game as meat by citizens. But naturalized Nigerians who are living there in Britain are home to a common African delicacy we call 'bush meat' as a delicacy. By consuming bush meat, Nigerian—Britons who live have committed no moral wrong but they have violated a law prohibiting its consumption in Britain. ***A legal wrong: don't kill nor eat wild game; if you do so, it is legally wrong and punishable***.

Duty/Obligation

The complexity found in ethical discourses and subjects is fully consummated in the twin concepts of duty and obligation. But we shall attempt to dissemble the complexity through the simple process of marrying the concepts of duty with obligation and drawing out its meaning in bits followed with illustrations.

The word "duty" also comes variously as *devoir, il dovere, pflicht or obligation.* Duty has to do with the rightness of human actions regardless of whether it has happiness as its goal. Man is seen as having a duty, to live a life of virtue whether it conduces to his happiness or not. In other words, happiness is not that goal of duty but it is what we must do because we have to do it – either in accordance with personal conscience, public morality

or the demands of the law. Many ethical scientists see *duty* as a necessity in human moral conduct that helps to establish a moral society. For Immanuel Kant, duty is relegated to the higher order of the 'categorical' as against conditional or hypothetical imperative—that which we must do when and whenever we are called upon to do it:

> The categorical imperative makes it the supreme, absolute moral law of all rational, self-determining beings and in such a way that we (as human beings are able to act on maxims which can at the same time have for their object themselves as universal laws of nature… it posits the necessity of action at an end in itself and not as a possible action posing as a means to something else that might be willed…[12]

Kant insists that if there is something whose existence has in itself an absolute worth, that is, something which is an end in itself, that same thing, pursued for its own sake, must become a source of definite laws and that inversely will be the source of a possible categorical imperative.[13] Kant gave the concept of duty to a humanity that makes public morality a desirable ethical inevitable good for the state, and for its citizens a good worthy of being pursued. According to professor Nyasani:

> The objective principle is that the categorical imperative is between the supreme practical law and the source of all laws of the will. In this sense then the practical imperative will require everyone of us to act in such a way as to handle the rest of humanity in the most charitable manner possible so as to see them as an end in themselves and never as a means to an end. It is every one's duty as a rational being to treat others in the same way as he would like them to treat him. This is the community that Kant so elaborately preached and practised.[14]

We can glean the core idea of duty from the trend of our discussion – duty is a kind of obligation we owe to ourselves, to

others and to the society of which we are members. But duty is a special kind of obligation:

> Duty as an obligation entails some kind of necessity… not physical necessity by sheer implied command rolled up in the categorical must. It is a moral necessity imposed upon the human – will that ultimately derives its validity and force from the law of human nature which in term upon the eternal law of the author of creation.[15]

Duty as Obligation

Duty comes across as a kind of obligation, which is fundamental and basic to any other responsibility we owe to any one because of its divine and natural correlates. As an obligation it comes either as a natural (moral) or legal category. We have a moral duty to obey our parents and not to steal from our neighbor. A moral duty and a legal duty could coincide in the burden imposed upon the individual citizen. If I steal from my neighbor, for example, I could get legal positive measures as punishment. Also, my neglect of my parents could attract social sanctions. So it is the rules that govern particular duties given recognition by their generators (makers) that will make a particular duty either moral or legal.

Lacey gives an etymological conception to duty when he relates duty to "ought obligation, duty-connected to others; 'we ought' suggests a gap which ought to be filled. Obligations are primarily moral or legal. They are also always traced to some moral agent.[16] As against obligation; duty is primarily connected with roles, whether or not there are voluntarily undertaken. Duties tend to be of longer standing and not as ad-hoc as obligation: one meets one's obligations as one incurs them, but does one's duty or discharges as one incurs them in the normal course of things.[17]

According to Lacey they have similarities:

> "duties and obligations are therefore special kinds of things we always ought to perform them since they may be overridden, whether by other duties,

etc. or even by something non-moral**."**[18]

Kant, however, has distinguished perfect duties, which were absolute and could never be over ridden by other duties or even by inclinations. As against object of material duties, we have also subjective or putative duties,[19] which are "what we think we ought to do,"[20] while material duties are "what we really ought to do."[21]

Finally, we can say with regard to duty that it is an ontological impulse, which compels us (by the power of conscience) to act in a particular way, refraining from doing something which could harm or dismay another citizen from enjoying his or her own rights. The object and subject of duty is justice, doing right to oneself and to all. Professor Nyasani's own conception tallies with my dialectical linkage of duty and conscience:

It is a positive moral intuition that links in our subconscious conscience that drives an individual to make a crucial decision vis-à-vis the enhancement, protection and preservation of the self and by extension that of the community, which happens to be the object of any legal legislation and moral norms.[22] Duties arise from the relationship of parties—say between father and son, husband and wife; duties also arise from commands given to citizens under a statute—say tax return. Duties equally arise from contracts for which non-performance may lead to serious damage to public interest.

Responsibility

How does one's duty translate to one's responsibility? If I say that I have an obligation to perform a particular task or carry out an action, can we say it is the same thing as saying that I have a responsibility to perform the same task or carryout the action? These questions throw more light on the law segment of our discourse, seeking to know the relationship between a person's moral actions, duty and responsibility. What is the single element that holds the three moral concepts together?

The word is *accountability.*[23] According to Wallace 'responsibility designates a person's moral accountability for his actions. The same general idea is expressed by the related term

imputability—as a quality of actions, facts or consequences by which they are attributable to an agent, and responsibility is the quality of the agent to which they are attributed.[24]

Responsibility can be applied ethico-legally in the following three ways:

1) Descriptive Employment
2) Prescriptive usage
3) Ascriptive application

1) Descriptive Employment

This is the expression of a cause-effect relationship between an agent and an action or a consequence, without implying anything with regard to the ethical character of the act.

2) Prescriptive Usage

This is an expression of a moral obligation bidding one to do or to avoid doing something. For example, when Peter tells his friend Emeka, "Emeka it is your responsibility to take care of your parents in the village," it becomes an objective responsibility, which Emeka carries for his parents in the village.

3) Ascriptive Application

The term ascribes blame or credit to an agent who acts with or without due conformity to moral norms of conduct. This portrays a more personal and subjective sense of responsibility different from the prescriptive model above.

In all moral situations in which the sense of responsibility is questioned, ascertained, prescribed, ascribed or described, before and after the actions, there is a problem introduced when it is no longer a question of one moral agent but two or more agents committing a particular moral action. The name given to that problem is 'cooperation' – how to ascertain the degree of responsibility of the agents in carrying out the action. For example, a dead one can aid another living agent to commit evil, but is no longer living. A situation when an agent shares in the intention and modus of an action is defined as formal cooperation. While in a situation such an agent does not share in

the intention and refuses to participate on the modus of the action is known as material cooperation because he may unintentionally do something that will lead to the committing of the evil.

Conclusion

In dealing with the concept of right, duty, obligation and responsibility as ethical considerations, we have basically dealt, as briefly as we could, with the levers of morality, which is defined as the quality attributable to human action by reason of its conformity to rules according to which it should be regulated.[25] This means that there is, in every society, a subsisting standard to which every human action can be measured. It also means that man is responsible for his moral actions and the consequences. Hence every citizen has a right that the state and every other citizen owe a duty to protect, cherish and promote as an ethical and legal obligation. The moral principles exposed under this chapter become the ethical foundations for the global experience that we define as human rights – which will be treated under another heading in another project.

Notes

[1] Aja Egbeke, Philosophy: An Introduction, Eungu, Auto century ... *Ibid p. 13)*

[2] Publishing co Ltd, 1991, p. 12

[3] Nyasani; J.M. Nairobi, consolata institute of philosophy press, 1995, 255

[4] Ibid

[5] Nyasani, Ibid see also Somerville, Francis, Christ is king: A manual of catholic social Doctrine (catholic social Guild, oxford, 1962) p.12.

[6] *Ibid pp 29-31*

[7] Salomon, John jurisprudence ed. Brullians, London, sweet and maxawell Ltd, 1957, pp 265-266.

[8] Ibid

[9] Ibid

[10] Ibid

[11] Ibid p. 33

[12] Ibid p. 35.

[13] Ibid

[14] *See also Immanuel Kant, "fundamental principles of the metaphysics of morals" oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1954 pp 85-110*

[15] Nyasani, cit p 22).

[16] *Ibid p 23*

[17] Ibid

[18] Lacey, A.R. A dictionary of philosophy) London, rout ledge and Paul, 1976, pp. 148 – 151

[19] Ibid p 150.

[20] Ibid

[21] Ibid

[22] H.N. Castanenda Imperative, duties and moral ought, Australian Journal of philosophy, 1966 pp 50-120.

[23] Nyasani, Ibid p 24

[24] Wallace, W. the elements of philosophy, New York, Alba, House, 2008, p.53.

[25] Wallace, 162.

About the Author

Dr. Ani Casimir is the Senior Lecturer on human rights, indigenous intellectual property and good governance at the Institute of African studies, University of Nigeria.

Contact Information
cepperngo@yahoo.com

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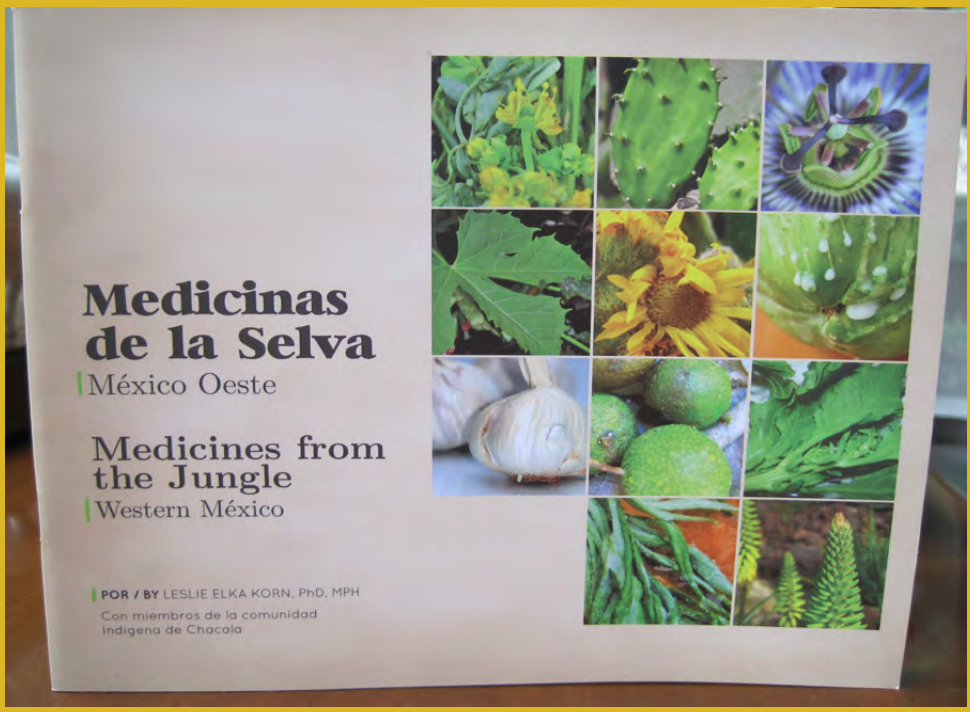

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Beyond the Weather

Advocating for women leading Emotional Climate Change through the marriage of culture, water, and consciousness to empower communities in health and education matter – from the Embera-Wounaan indigenous jungles in Panama to inner city neighbourhoods in New Orleans.

By Rosario Galvan

Introduction

In this paper I mostly share and slightly expand upon a case study, which I called "the water story" that I presented in my M.A. thesis. I wrote it in order to contribute a little experience of what it would be like to link new research from science and consciousness with the knowledge of traditional cultures, i.e. indigenous peoples, in the context of development projects, and what benefits might be expected from such an endeavor.

It came recently to my mind that this story and the learning gained were enticing for explaining an idea that I had been playing with since reflecting on the climate change crisis that has become a primal global concern. I had been thinking that perhaps part of the solution to the problem would be to shift the attention from climate change to a change of our emotional climate, if we consider at the core of climate change

an alteration of the water cycle and also of the dynamic equilibrium of the emotional waters of our shared humanity. Our failure to see this relation would derive from an ever growing disconnection from our sense of belonging to the natural world, and therefore from an excess of confidence in technology and detached abstractions that pretend that we can control nature as if we were not part of it and subject to its laws.

Perhaps a few years back the worry about the alteration of global weather patterns affected mostly small islands, concerned for their future survival, which do not have much influence to push for policy change in the international spheres of power that are seduced by monetary gain obtained from the plunder of natural resources worldwide. However, after the intense and overwhelming earth disasters associated with water that humanity suffered in 2004 and 2005—Tsunami in South East Asia, Hurricane Katrina in the USA, and Hurricane Stand in Central America—a forced shift in the perception and political will took place around those high spheres. Collectively, we were called to order by a nature in disorder that was menacing to keep out of control if the prevailing dominant model of development continues to favor unbridled greed, and we do not refrain from irresponsibly testing the patience of the Earth's homeostatic system.

It is my hope that with the sharing of the water story, I may transmit encouragement and a few ideas for how to address climate change through emotional climate change, not just to indigenous peoples, who are keepers and stewards of biological diversity worldwide, but also to citizens in urban areas that yearn for cultural reconnection and shared purpose within their neighborhoods and communities. The journey in this paper from the Embera jungles to the inner city neighborhoods in New Orleans, which were flooded by Hurricane Katrina, intends to provide an example of the control we can regain over health and education in our villages and cities when, rather than resisting, we partner with the transformational healing power of natural elements, in this case water. Instead of being pushed to learning about our place in nature in a traumatic fashion we could choose to develop a finer sensitivity to the moods of elements through

our individual and collective moods, anticipating natural disasters and avoiding them by course-correcting our direction and bringing common sense to our actions.

The Research Context

From September 2003 to July 2004 I worked as a consultant for a private firm coordinating a land use project in Panama, giving technical assistance to the Embera-Wounaan indigenous Congress to design and implement a land use plan in their territory legally recognized by Panamanian law, called *Comarca*, concretely in the Sambu District, located in the Darien Province, nearby the frontier with Columbia.

The project was an outcome from the Darien Sustainable Development Program, co-funded by the Panamanian Government and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and managed and administered by the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF).

I coordinated a team of eleven Panamanian people: an agricultural engineer, a sociologist, a botanist, an expert in forestry and fauna resources, an economist specializing in environmental economics, a lawyer, an expert in Geographical Information System (GIS) technology for mapping, and four assistants at the local level, three of them primary school teachers. A Kuna lawyer (another indigenous nation from Panama) and an international specialist in indigenous rights served as Indigenous representation in the team. He was involved in the creation of the *Comarca* Embera-Wounaan. And we had four Embera assistants. The team performance according to the expected results was supervised by the MEF and the National Environmental Authority (ANAM).

During the almost eleven-month implementation process (September 2003 to July 2004), we sustained a continuous collaboration with Congress authorities, mainly at regional and local levels, once the General Congress had authorized our presence in the area. Previous to that, there was a year of negotiations, conversations, and building agreements between the company and the Embera-Wounaan Congress, during which terms of collaboration, accountability, goals, and work

conditions were established. This long pre-negotiation phase helped to build credibility and trust among the parties. The collaboration was initiated actually at the time of making the project proposal, as this was planned, thought, and budgeted according to Embera advice and knowledge from the field.

I became enthused with the opportunity that coordinating this project gave me to undertake research on the impact of innovating with creative right-brain exercises within development projects.

On the one hand, given my interest in bridging opposite modes of thinking and acting, I wanted to test the effects on the project's participants and the results of including qualitative and sensory-oriented activities, which rely more on an intuitive approach to knowing, and not merely on reason. It is important to consider that the prevailing mode of thought and action in development projects are results rather than process oriented, that time frames are strict, and that quantitative measurement is the main source for data analysis and interpretation. I wanted to understand how participants in the project could make meaning of these experimental initiatives, how their intentions, understanding, and behavior could change afterwards, and whether this change might serve to propose a more integrated and holistic way to approach the understanding and the practices within the development field. Although my research was subject to a specific indigenous cultural context, it could generate credible results and theory of interest for similar socio-cultural and professional domains.

In addition, I wanted to use myself as a testing ground, for my privileged position as coordinator of the project gave me authority to make decisions, as well as certain freedom to explore unconventional activities as long as aspects in project implementation such as goals, time line, and budget limitations were respected. I was willing to explore within myself the creative tension I soon started to experience as a consequence of being naturally drawn to care for processes and building communication with people, whilst simultaneously confronted by my liability to the corporate role I represented. The latter aspect obliged me to deliver results, protect the company interests, and project an honorable and efficient image through

my performance. The former served to add another source of curiosity to my exploration, and I decided to examine how my feminine psychology and way of knowing might serve to enrich my contribution to the project, not only at the level of project performance, but at the understanding of the challenges and opportunities that it would bring in my managerial role and in the relationship with my superiors. Findings from this third aspect would come to be consistent enough to constitute a case study in itself. Frequent reports and memos I wrote to my thesis advisers on the tensions I felt in trying to harmonize different roles, responsibilities, ways of knowing and action, made clear for all that I was immersed in a narrative inquiry, creating a rich pool of written stories where words and meaning-making were definitely more important than numbers. My words were pointing to a persistent struggle between reason/intellect and intuition, between head and heart, process and result, or people and monetary profit. By holding the tension I grew in comprehension, adaptability, and non-judgment.

Out of my research I developed an integrative model for cross-cultural engagement to be applied when working with culturally distinct people in developmental projects that attempt positive social change, understanding as "positive" a change that dignifies people because it happens on their own terms and is respectful of their cultural identity. This model was also meant to contribute to the emerging field of Public Interest Anthropology (PIA), an initiative that fosters the support of social change among anthropologists and within the practice of anthropology, aiming to overcome a suspicious attitude to change. It is framed within a commitment to democracy, human rights, and social equity, and offers a collaborative platform for those practitioners of anthropology who do not find institutional support for this approach within academic settings (Sanday, 2002, 1998).

PIA tries to bridge theory and action, as, according to Sanday "anthropology needs an epistemology which combines theory development with engagement in the contemporary world" (2002). The call for engagement to activate social change resembles a call to take science back to the streets to turn it into a social experiment, as if it were in the initial steps of the

scientific movement, before the Church would succeed, exercising pressure through fear, in returning science to institutional and scholastic settings.

The Water Story

The weekend of June 14-15, 2004, I visited Puerto Indio, in Sambu District, for our last workshop in the project area. Its purpose was the cultural validation of the technical environmental zoning and mapping that had been produced through a participatory methodology. Representatives from all the twelve communities arrived for the event.

Having learned from Dr. Masaru Emoto's research on water and consciousness, I thought of a final educational activity at the end of our last workshop, additional to the scheduled program, aiming to share with the Embera people his research findings, and to link them to their own culture and practices.

Dr. Emoto, a Japanese researcher, initiated his interest in micro cluster water through the work of biochemist Dr. Lee H. Lorenzen, furthering his knowledge with magnetic resonance analysis technology than was being used to work with homeopathy. He thought he might use the Magnetic Resonance Analyzer (MRA) for measuring subtle energies in water (Emoto, 1999/2003). The subtle vibration that exists at the elementary particle level is called HADO in Japanese. This expression is comprised of two ideograms, which literally mean "wave" and "move," and it is pronounced to rhyme with shadow.[1] He then undertook extensive research around the world and visually documented the changes in the molecule structure of water that occurs when it is affected by different thoughts, ideas, words, music, and human vibrational energies. He would freeze water and take a photograph by using a dark field microscope, acquiring factual evidence of the very different crystalline shapes that formed under positive and negative influences. In the former, the crystals organized in beautiful geometrical designs, while in the latter, the crystalline molecular structure of water appeared distorted and randomly formed. Positive and negative influence referred not only to the quality of thoughts or music but to the physical and chemical quality of water. The

more pristine the water, the more beautiful the designs appeared, while the higher the pollution level of water from a tap or a river, the greatest the distortion of the molecular structure.[2]

The belief of the influence of thoughts on water and on water's ability to carry energetic information, which underlie many cultural rituals across the globe, has started to be addressed in recent scientific studies, opening lines of research for further exploration.

Some of these studies have shown how individuals in a state of internal heart coherence, with a quieted mind and a loving feeling focused in the heart area, provoke structural changes in water through their intention. They have proved how that treated water can influence biological systems, causing structural changes in human DNA. Water structured with bioenergy can also alter the growth of plants and mammalian cells in culture (Rein & McCraty, 1994).

In other studies, such as in those undertaken by the Institute of HeartMath, preliminary findings on research into the energetic properties of water from Marian sanctuaries, known for their healing quality, have shown measurable changes in the water that affect physical and chemical systems (Tomasino, 1997). They are similar to those obtained from sample water treated with healers' bioenergetic fields, which suggests that Marian waters hold an intrinsic energetic activation due to the storage of spiritual or higher dimensional information in their molecular structure, which is ultimately the popular belief about them. They have gathered scientific evidence of water's ability to not only store, but also amplify weak and subtle electromagnetic and energy fields, as well as its capacity to transfer the energy to other chemical systems and change their structure. There exists the potential to build a solid model from these early results, with still many aspects of living organisms and biological systems to be discovered. Indeed,

Studies designed to advance our understanding of water's role as a bridge between the worlds of energy and matter will provide a crucial link between the realms of science and spiritual phenomena, bear profound implications for the betterment of human and environmental health, and may well

help lay the foundations for a newly emerging scientific paradigm.

I was interested in the implications that research findings on the connection between water and consciousness might have for the maintenance of environmental health and for strengthening cultural identity. For people that constantly are referred to as poor in documents from international agencies, and who are continuously reminded of their poverty because of lack of financial wealth according to the dominant view of development, I thought that it would be important to hear another story. In this other story, they can see themselves in a new light, appreciating those cultural values that have made it possible for them to keep a harmonious and intimate relationship with the natural world for generations. Helping them to shift the perception of themselves so that they identify the richness of a life lived in a close interdependence with nature, as well as with strong collaborative bonds at community level, was part of my objective.

Dr. Emoto's accounts of his experiments with groups of peoples and monks gathered around a lake to purify its water by sustaining and projecting that intention inspired me to reinforce a sense of pride in a people who live in deep intimacy with water. As the twelve communities of the project are located within the Sambu river watershed, their livelihoods depend much on the health and sustainability of the river ecology. The river is used for transportation among the communities, for fishing, washing and cleansing, and also for fun and pleasure. Moreover, the strong presence of water in their daily life is not only associated with the Sambu river, but also with the humid rainforest they know so well and the heavy rains that every year bring renewal to the land, although also frequently accompanied by some loss.

Thus, once the scheduled agenda for the workshop was accomplished, I invited the participants to stay a while longer and to hear a story about scientists finding new things that indigenous peoples like them had known for ages. I showed them a power point I had prepared from Dr. Emoto's findings and experiments, including photographs of crystallized molecules of water, and the evolution of his research.

I relied on some of our assistants from the local Embera team to teach me a few Embera words so that I could transmit a mental image in which the water "feels" our emotions and captures the quality of our thoughts. I invited them to imagine that when people fish, women wash the clothes or the children splash and giggle in the Sambu River, the water carries all songs far away, but also deep down to the earth. I also expressed that

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I was interested in the implications that research findings on the connection between water and consciousness might have for the maintenance of environmental health and for strengthening cultural identity.

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their way of living is very fortunate for having such a close intimacy with water, and that their culture, as well as other indigenous cultures, have been very wise for ages, offering rituals and ceremonies to the land and certain sacred places. As Dr. Emoto was finding, such rituals and prayers might be cleansing the water from pollutants, so that, I advanced, maybe in the future environmental management programs might include rituals and ceremonies, and not just focus on engineering practices based on pure technological expertise.

Some of the challenges of the presentation were that the Embera people couldn't relate or understand the concept of crystal at molecular level, or even to the crystals formed in the iced water, as they live in the tropics. Therefore, I doubted that they could relate to the photographs presented. In my effort to communicate, however, I kept repeating and performing a story of the water singing and carrying the song of our thoughts and words, while flowing into the surrounding environment, and

traveling deep down and far away.

It had taken a long time to manage to get the Embera people involved in discussions during the previous workshops because they are naturally shy. Thus, once I concluded my story, and after asking several times for any comments without getting any reply, I decided not to insist, although their faces appeared somehow impressed. I invited them to come outside to enjoy a last surprise. I had planned with Dania, one of my assistants, schoolteacher and instructor of traditional dances to girls, to organize her little students to come and offer several dances. They charmed us with some of those dances I am so fond of, simple and repetitive in steps as they mimic movement of animals, and enhanced by the colorful clothing and flowers the children wear. At the end I gathered them round, and with the adults as witnesses, I explained to the girls that I would pour some water into their cupped hands. Then, holding the water for a moment, they would think of something beautiful that they loved, and finally, they would open their hands and offer the water to the land so that its message would travel far and wide. As I closely watched their little faces shifting from expressions of giggling and nervousness, to introspection and seriousness, and at the end back to playfulness and openness, I felt more than fulfilled with just being there with them, such were the tender feelings that they inspired in me with their grace and innocence. With that celebratory event we finished the day.

After the workshop, I checked with the representative from the supervising institution, the National Environmental Authority (ANAM), wanting to know his opinion on the final activity. With some reserve, and certainly politeness, he replied that he did not know that I was into metaphysics, to which I responded with humor: "Well, I never said that I was not into it." Our relationship with them had been very good all the time, and although that activity could have looked a little bit eccentric to him, it was a minor observation in the general context and evolution of the project. I continued on with the conversation telling him about new research in many scientific fields that definitely are convergent with traditional indigenous knowledge. I appealed to his scientific mind by providing extra information, as my presentation was obviously short on this

because that was not my main goal bearing in mind the majority of the audience.

It was after dinner that, unexpectedly, I received the response that really mattered to me. Mariela, a female leader from one of the communities, approached me, and with almost tears in her eyes, told me in her own way how strongly impressed she had left the workshop. She described how she had felt something entering her heart as I was telling the stories of water becoming happy or sad with the people. She repeatedly pointed to and touched her heart, speaking of something that had overwhelmed her and made her weep, but also that had arisen hope. She told me of remembering how, traditionally, elders and mothers with their children would wake up early in the morning to perform ceremonies for rain calling, and how they had stopped doing so when children began to attend public school. They started to loose contact with the elders and their wisdom.

As one possible idea for a project, Mariela had been thinking of opening a traditional clinic run by Embera midwives, aiming to provide pregnant women with adequate space and support before, during, and after delivery, following the Embera tradition and knowledge. She had noticed how Embera pregnant women were not acknowledged in their cultural beliefs and needs - which are very rooted in strong female support and specific herbal knowledge to help the process—by the Panamanian public health institutions. But, now, with this experience, she had felt inspired not only to make it happen, but to initiate other projects in her community, one of them involving elders and women to speak on how to recover their lost traditions that used to honor water. Mariela's enthusiasm and full commitment to her people made me feel I had not wasted my time or played the fool. Through her I learned that the most important factor for positive change is that the right people get motivated and ignited in their dreams and visions, people that carry strong leadership gifts, who can encourage others to mobilize themselves in taking action for the betterment of their communities. The ripple effect does not depend that much on the quantity of people we may target, but rather on trusting that we will be able to touch the people who

are ready to wake up to the invitation to unleash their leadership potential.

I also became very conscious at that moment of how women are very close to the language of nature and emotions; Of their special receptivity to images and metaphors that may speak to their heart, and to their deep sense of knowing about what favors health and wellbeing in their individual and community life.

Equally, I also learned that to empower a people is to validate and encourage its identity, values, and the creative multiple languages that its members may use to relate to the world. Such diversity of languages constitutes an enormous pool of resources to be applied in collaboration with modern languages and technologies, pointing to a path where development can be implemented in a dignifying way by highlighting the best practices from both the modern and traditional worlds.

Similarly to Mariela, who caught Dr. Emoto's ideas through her heart, my heart led me when I took the decision to arrange this last activity. I trusted, although without seeing the clear results at the beginning that the outcome might be constructive, as it proved to be . . . at the right time and with the right people.

Comprehending the Whole of the Water Story

To discuss the effects of the water story on the participants I will rely upon two sources of analysis: a) Very briefly, I will expose the responses that my Embera assistants gave me when I asked them about the exercise; b) In greater measure, I will discuss Mariela's reaction to the water story.

As for the former, after the workshop I interviewed my assistants, asking them what they had learned after the water exercise, what did they think the attendants took with them as a lesson.

For Marquela there had been great learning: "*Aprendimos mucho. Algo nuevo del agua. Aprendimos mucho*" ("we learned a lot, something new about water, we learned a lot"). She shared her thoughts as she mused about how strange it was to think about water in those terms. "When one has a bad thought, water

feels it, it's angry. It also feels when the thought is positive. It reacts differently", exclaiming finally, " . . . and it takes it everywhere! Something strange." I explained myself better to her, trying to make sense of my intent in bringing this activity to the participants. So, I revealed that there was a connection with the Embera culture that I wanted to highlight, such as the singing of healers or ceremonies on the river. I explained that if one sings to a patient, and we are mostly water in our bodies, then the sound is transmitted through all that water we contain within. Therefore, my idea was to reinforce a sense of meaning for cultural practices, bringing information from science. And she reflected, "Yes, if I have a good thought, the patient heals, but if not, it gets more complicated. Yes, I understood something."

If Marquela paid attention to the ability of water to carry the energy of feelings, either positive or negative, so that her reflection was applicable to the importance of the quality of our thoughts in strengthening or weakening human and environmental health, Arquinio learned something else. He commented that "it is like when one stirs water with something, because, otherwise, the water is still. But if you come with a stick and use it, *todo se mueve* (everything moves)." He applied his observation to inspiring people for action, as he further added that "the same is with society." He then made a passing timid remark showing certain skepticism towards the suggestion that water carries the energy of thoughts, "*en realidad, eso de que lleva pensamientos . . .*" ("really, as for the water carrying thoughts . . ."), and came back to his main interest, how to mobilize people. "If nobody leads, then the rest does nothing. But if someone arrives to tell them, it's like the water wakes up and moves all around. Then, everybody does and moves. We all live from water, animals."

The most interesting thing for me here is the choice of interpretation that Marquela and Arquinio made of the water exercise, which appears connected to their personal interests and challenges. In Marquela's case, she had been suffering some health problems for a while, and had been taking herbal remedies that her father, a traditional botanist and retired school teacher, had been preparing for her. Therefore, her attention and concerns were focused on health matters, and

perhaps, she discovered the body-mind connection, and the importance of positive thinking for good health maintenance.

Arquinio, however, as well as working as assistant in our project, at that time held the position of President of the Local *Embera-Wounaan* Congress of *Puerto Indio*, the community where our workshops were run. He had shared with me at different times the tricks he had to invent and the patience he had to unfold in order to bring people to the sessions, as there was high level of absenteeism. Thus, obviously for him, for his common challenges, a good lesson could be learned from water. He seemed really certain about the role of leaders in creating this effect of "stirring water with a stick" so that people would get active and participate in collective activities. He was probably identifying himself with one of these sticks and thinking that, truly, he would have to keep inventing ways to generate higher participation. Probably, for Marquela, the water lesson was more internal, more intimate, while for Arquinio it was more external, an instruction or reinforcement on the behavior required to get the expected results.

As for Mariela's response to the water story, I will discuss it from the perspective of Goethean participatory science, exploring its connection to women's and indigenous' ways of being, and also to the information coming from heart science. In addition, I will discuss about what we can learn from the teachings of the nature of water, and from the application of a science of qualities in social studies. An important aspect is to learn how this knowledge can contribute to a better understanding of the consideration of culture in the development field, telling us that, ultimately, this understanding and the methods that we may employ should be conscious and sensitive of the intrinsic link existing between culture and nature.

1) From the Participatory Approach of Goethean Science

Although far better known as an eminent German poet and playwright, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) built during his life an abundant body of scientific work that dealt with plants, color, clouds, weather, and geology. His highly unusual scientific method has become increasingly recognized

for bringing together "the intuitive awareness of art with the rigorous observation and thinking of science" (Seamon, & Zajonc, 1998, p. xi).

Goethean science is rooted in a phenomenological approach to the natural world, as it studies nature from its own perspective if it had the ability to speak, following the core principle that the father of phenomenology, Edmund Husserl, established for this philosophical branch. Phenomenology, thus, is "the exploration and description of phenomena, where *phenomena* are the things or experiences as human beings experience them" (Seamon, 1998, p. 2).

In this process, description of the thing constitutes the initial step to learning more about the deeper patterns of meaning that exist embedded within a phenomenon. However, Goethe went beyond mere descriptions made by a passive observer, advocating for an active cognition that he defended through a scientific method characterized for its "systematic rigor and internal consistency" (Hensel, 1998, p. 74).

Modern science has assigned value to primary qualities, those that can be expressed mathematically in a direct way, among them, number, magnitude, or position. Those that cannot be quantified are called secondary qualities, and have been traditionally dismissed in science (Bortoft, 1998). This dismissal has created the basis for dualism, with secondary qualities assigned to the realm of subjective experience, whereas primary qualities have stood as the faithful indicators of objective reality. Given that Goethean science upgraded the value of secondary qualities, Hensel has noticed the "quintessentially mathematical" (1998, p. 76) scientific procedure that Goethe followed in his rigorous and sequential progression from the multiplicity of phenomena to "what he called 'pure phenomena' or, later, 'archetypal phenomena' (*Urphänomen*)," or "the highest level of experience attainable" (Zajonc, 1998, p. 25). Goethe thought that usually people do not find satisfaction in experiencing the pure phenomena and therefore, require further proof for something they insist lies behind.

The grasping of this higher insight occurs for Goethe by a sudden "apperçu" or "illuminating intention" (Brady, 1998, p. 98) that emerges from the interaction of our intentional idea

with the phenomena itself, revealing to our consciousness a new perception of it. In the phenomenological discipline, the importance of "intentionality" or the "directional quality of attention" in determining our perceptions, had been already presented by Husserl (p. 86).

Infusing with an intentional quality the mere fact of looking at something is what makes seeing an act of cognition in Goethean terms, and also what differentiates his empirical approach to the study of nature from the German idealistic philosophy of his contemporary nature philosophers, who approached it "from the pole of pure thought" (Zajonc, 1998, p. 18). As professor of philosophy and Goethean scholar Ronald H. Brady puts it, cognition for Goethe is not passive but active, "not a proposition about what is perceived but an activity that actualizes the perception. *Each act of seeing is necessarily an act of understanding*" (Brady, 1998, p. 88). In obvious contrast to nature philosophers, Goethe is eager to shift from the realm of abstraction to the involvement of body, turning to a visual science that highlights the symbolic quality of the eye as the organ that allows the perception of both unity and diversity in nature (Zajonc, 1998).

For Goethe, revelation facilitated by a penetrating eye does not occur by paying attention to an isolated event, but to coexisting universal patterns and relationships. This is the contribution of having an "insight" or "*aperçu* that weds together subsequent experiences" (Zajonc, 1998, p. 26).

A Goethean phenomenological approach, which uses reason and intuition in the study of sciences, so far mostly in the natural sciences, can be applied to the search for patterns and relationships within an organism or system, or between them. An example is the connection between humans and nature.

My interest in analyzing Mariela's reaction from a Goethean phenomenological approach was to present a view of patterns of human response that may spontaneously arise in a form directly related to the type of pedagogical tools that have been used.

For instance, by evoking the fluid qualities of water through the telling of the water story, a fluid or watery mode of consciousness can be called upon. The cognitive aspect of the

mind that resonates with it responds, so that the mind as *Nous,* as was named by Aristotle and Thales, is the faculty that is able to contain or resonate with the water ability to "run through and take on the form of all things" (Hoffmann, 1998, p. 170). The motion aspect of water inspires people to use it as a metaphor for promoting change, very much exemplified in the expression that Arquinio used when he spoke of "stirring with a stick the water" to symbolize water's ability to remove stagnation, or apathy. Consequently, motivating for mobilization can start by bringing fluidity to our thoughts.

But beyond that, it could be that Mariela's mood in response to the story, her feelings, can be explained through Heidegger's ontological definition of moods as articulation of "humanity's openness for the being of entities" (p. 170). In this sense, knowing nature is not only about precise description of facts as a separate objective observer, although this is another step acknowledged by Goethe in the process of coming to know a phenomenon. The whole process is rather organic: it unfolds from the very first sensorial impressions received (sight, smell, sound, etc.), and includes moods experienced not out of projected subjectivity, but by remaining receptive and letting nature speak "on its own terms and in its own time" (p. 131). Under this consideration, it could be argued that Mariela's response was not an arbitrary personal projection to bring meaning, but a tuning into the qualities of water as a being or entity, acting as a mirror by reflecting them through her own emotional sensitivity. She would have been open to the story told by the "being" of the water entity, receptive to its mood we could say, her reaction flowing from that connection. A Goethean approach can also be applied to develop the modes of consciousness related to other natural elements, such as fire, air, or earth. In each case, Heidegger's influence might invite us to consider the possibility of the "beings" of these entities finding a mirror in the mood or emotional response of people receptive to them.

When applying this process of knowing to a culture we encounter for the first time—either by meeting its people, experiencing a landscape, a type of food, hearing its language or

its music—we might consider that we are gathering impressions from "the being of that cultural identity." Ways to know that culture would involve the observation of the spontaneous moods we experience, and the degree of receptivity invested in the process. We could find that there are cultures we are more open to—because we resonate more with them for some reason—and therefore we can get to know better. Failing to value a culture might relate to an inability to get to know it, just because there is a blockage to feel "its being," a lack of resonance to it. Wrong interpretations might define, however, a culture as "lacking," when actually it is the person's receptivity to it that is "lacking."

A receptive interaction with the phenomenon depends on a developed imaginative faculty, which when considered from the perspective of Goethean science, is not merely "vague reverie" that floats in abstract thinking rooted in dualism. It is rather an "exact imagination" that is anchored in "participatory consciousness" (Cottrell, 1998, p. 261), which facilitates an empathic feeling with the being or entity of the encountered phenomenon.

But does this engagement refer only to the "feeling" dimension, one might ask? Or is it associated with an impulse to act, to generate change, according to what is felt? Mariela's explanation about the inspiration she felt to initiate the projects she had been thinking and dreaming of for a while, points to an affirmative response to the latter question. Her activated participatory consciousness did not only facilitate her empathic feeling with the water entity. It also activated a grounded awareness in her of her community's problems and potentials, and of her role in bringing transformation. As a consequence, she shifted her perspective so that she felt empowered and motivated to take action and move forward where before she had felt perhaps hesitant.

The evaluation from a Goethean perspective of the effectiveness of the water story in its capacity to bring positive change for a community would have a positive result. For, according to Goethe, the ultimate test of truth "-the truth of sense-experience and of thinking- is that it shall be 'fruitful' and

further life and health" (Cotrell, 1998, p. 272). Mariela's decision to foster women's health care projects in her community through an integration of both cultural and allopathic clinical practices appears indeed a victory in this "ultimate test of truth:" It shows how "fruitful" the effects of her experience was, how supportive of "life and health."

An activated imaginative cognition in the attendants may be a consequence of using storytelling as a pedagogical tool, as Mariela's response indicates. It is reasonable to predict that other artistic tools would also spark the creative/artistic cognition in participants, enhancing social engagement levels; for instance, the use of ritual for enhancing the imagination of a shared vision, which I discussed in another case study. This reflection suggests that a more thorough application in a development project would derive larger numbers of participants benefiting from positive decision-making and action-undertaking. Although the impact of the water story is not impressive when considering numbers, a focus on the quality and depth of the impact that certain change agents can create for their communities is of utmost relevance. The proposal here is definitely about quality, not quantity, and the invitation to consider a paradoxical approach to social change. One that considers that long-term sustainable positive changes can be catalyzed by subtle means, and equally initiated in a subtle and non-visible manner. As stated earlier, the most important factor would be an inner shift in the awareness of key agents, who have great influence in inspiring and mobilizing others to take action.

This view may pose a challenge to the frequent need for quick visibility of results in development projects. While seeing that results are necessary not only for the client and funding institution, but more importantly, for the beneficiaries, ignoring the sustainability of changes generated from within to without can frustrate all parties involved. At the very end, continuous failures in development projects equal a huge waste of human and financial resources, and attract the bad press that, rightly so, has surrounded the dominant approach to international development. While I have not been able to monitor Mariela's subsequent steps after making her decision, my impression is

that she was fueled for radical action, and that the stronger the emotional engagement of people in initiatives for social change, the greater their commitment to sustained action will be.

2) From a Gender Perspective

Are the results of this experiment gender related? Has Mariela's female condition influenced the way she responded to the water story? Three or four women were attending that workshop out of more than forty attendants. Are women more susceptible to these types of pedagogical tools?

It could be argued that women, according to Mariela's experience and example, are deeper tuned to their *culture's soul psychology*, or in other words, to the practices and traditions by which a nation, or a people, can keep on course with their cultural identity—the core that gives them meaning and a sense of collective belonging. Stories and artistic practices that are culturally isomorphic, meaning that they somehow resonate with the local tradition, can also impact through resonance the information encoded in humans' hearts. Women may be more easily tuned to this heart code inside them that holds the memory of ancestral legacy. This is related to the production of a hormone by the heart, called Atrial Naturetic Factor (ANF), which apart from regulating immune function, emotional states, sleep cycle, aging processes, and general energy levels, it affects the limbic brain, associated with memory, learning, and emotions. Considering women's psychological orientation towards connection and care, it could be expected in them a more intimate relationship with their hearts and therefore easier access to cultural memories encoded in them. Easier engagement to the resonant response of their hearts might explain why, in energy cardiology it has been found that "women, more easily than most men organ recipients, are more comfortable dealing with the new connection established with a new heart and express more interest in their donor" (Pearsall, 1998, p. 95).

I have derived the concept of culture's soul psychology from the understanding of a person's soul psychology that is used in The International Institute of Hand Analysis (IIHA),

funded in 1985 by Richard Unger.[3] If hand analysis shows a person's life purpose as encoded in her/his fingerprints, the purpose of a people whose identity is deeply dependent on a given territory, their unique gift and quality, may be coded in their natural landscape, that which has provided for them since ancestral times the physical ground for their collective soul manifestation, their cultural expressions either tangible or intangible.

Women might be the keepers of a culture's soul psychology through their facility to retrieve collective memories that relate to the way their people preserve its connection with the ancestral land, knowledge that relates to the essential practices for maintaining their culture's soul psychology in a healthy state. For, if there is a connection between environmental health and human health in pure physical terms, and if the human body is connected to a specific purpose or soul, would it not be reasonable to think that also the body of land that sustains a people is connected to its cultural collective soul, which in turn influences each of its members' individual soul? Actually, identical wave patterns, although differing in size, appear in human fingerprints and in nature, either in zebra stripes, rippled sand at the beach, or the ridges of sand dunes in the desert. Why then not consider that energy waves that constitute an individual's psychology follow a similar pattern to those that conform to the collective psychology of the people she/he culturally belongs to?

Women, because of their high cardio-sensitivity, seem to be especially receptive to pedagogical interventions based in the use of artistic cognition. The facilitator can use them to evoke and awake women's inner or artistic sense, which in turn heighten their awareness about their leading role in taking control of the cultural practices that strengthen individual and community health. Equality and empowerment for women appear to be enhanced when the intuitive ways by which they communicate and relate among themselves, with their communities and with the land, are encouraged and acknowledged in their power to generate social change.

Drawing from this strength, center women can act as “social artists” within their cultural group and for their

communities, helping a collective transition towards a new story, which balances being able to remain open to the best of modern science and technology while at the same time protective of a people's cultural soul identity. They can function as keepers of the genius[4] that characterizes their collective identity, needed to counterbalance the sudden and destabilizing change that economic globalization forces are imposing over many indigenous nations nowadays. As a matter of example, by helping Mariela to remember, to retrieve forgotten traditional rituals that can help the Embera-Wounaan to recall their intimate connection to nature, her people can move to a new story of relationship with the outside world without weakening their core essence. New healthy stories can then develop through both their interaction with the Panamanian dominant Latin culture, and also with the international trends that bring new potential activities to their territory, such as tourism, sustainable forestry management, and trade, among others.

Women—as I have discussed in other part of the thesis that compares traditional healing arts among center women in different traditions like the Sephardim and Aztec—know and interpret the world drawing from their receptivity to the sensory information conveyed through secondary qualities, such as taste, smell, flavor, or sound. Perhaps, women, through the application of their receptive mode of consciousness would be more suited to also perceive the "active absence" of the "wholeness" of this still latent new story, as it could be expressed through the lens of physicist and Goethean scholar Henri Bortoft. The ability of center women to be active workers for their communities, together with their heart receptivity to sense emotional connections to the evolving natural and cultural worlds, offer a model for a new way of being, encouraging us to keep ourselves open and receptive "to be moved by the whole" (Bortoft, 1998, p. 286).

Venturing to describe how the possible new story might look, I would say that in it, wholeness would be inclusive, respectful, and proud of diversity. Opposite worlds would cultivate an attitude conducive to building common ground while honoring their differences. Through the willingness to

encounter the "whole" that embraces partial differences, a new wisdom might emerge, more capable of successfully facing the essential complexity that social sciences have to deal with, and that economist Von Hayek (1974) talked about thirty years ago.

Seeing the whole would be possible, as we would have learned to develop the inner organ of vision that Goethe cultivated, susceptible to perceiving continuity and connection in the midst of discontinuity and disconnection. When external vision may align with the internal vision encouraged by the beats of the resonant heart, we will be able to integrate the opposite virtues of the eye that the Irish culture has voiced through the late philosopher and poet John O'Donohue (1997): the eye as both mother of distance, and of intimacy and closeness. This harmonizing function of the eye would offer contrast to the mere interpretation of the eye's ability to perceive light as a tool to dissect knowledge, which has been favored by the dominant science of quantities since the Age of Enlightenment. It might be expected that diminishing the scientific addiction to dissect and classify would also diminish the prevailing influence of financial assets when defining wealth, which has caused so far the classification of societies and cultures into superior or inferior, developed or underdeveloped.

Scholars and practitioners that attempt to build common ground with others from fields traditionally in opposition, such as economists and anthropologists, might acknowledge the receptive mode of consciousness that center women display in traditional cultures, and agree to promote them to take a more central stage in public life by acknowledging their role as teachers. In the case that they decide to work together to foster mutual understanding and unity beyond their different views, Goethean science suggests that unity cannot be perceived in an abstract, theoretical, or detached way. Being open to its revelation requires engagement of the senses, and the awakening and development of appropriate organs of perception, or put it in other words, "our thinking needs to assume the character of a *doing*" (Hoffmann, 1998, p. 168). It needs creative participation and an enhanced intuition, which comes more naturally for women, making them potential guides in the journey to perceive wholeness within the parts. For, this is

another important remark in the approach to unity from the Goethean's conception. The persistence to reach unity through the unification of parts just reflects the confusion generated from a discursive way of thinking. Merging into totality or trying to integrate parts or different types of knowledge into a whole that makes sense is not the Goethean's recipe for working towards unity. This is precisely the correction that L.L. Whyte received when he was pursuing that interpretation. He recalls the very whispering of Goethe's spirit in his ear reminding him that "the unity is there to discover, and always has been" (as cited in Hoffmann, 1998, p. 169).

Therefore, if Mariela was responsive to the being or entity of the water element speaking to her of ancestral rain calling ceremonies that unified her people, I suggest that teaching others how to engage sensuously and emotionally with nature's elements would help them to also retrieve knowledge favorable to unity and cohesion, rather than opposition and confrontation.

3) From an Indigenous Perspective

Beyond her greater cardio-sensitivity as a woman, could Mariela's condition as an indigenous person have added an extra facility to retrieve cultural memories of her people after listening to the water story? Was she conditioned to be more susceptible to it as an indigenous person than another person who is not?

From a Goethean approach, the response suggested is affirmative. By applying the Goethean phenomenological method to the study of native plants in the Sydney region of Australia, it has been found how a landscape "speaks" through different species as if they were different organs of such landscape. For instance, through some plants the landscape communicates "*outwardness,*" delicate radiance or sweetness, while through others the message is of "*inwardness*" or a commanding concentration (Hoffmann, 1998, p. 165). These qualities would be expressions of the generative idea or "inner necessity" of that landscape, acting like "*creative actions or impulses*" rather than abstract qualities, and constituting organs of the landscape's "organized being" (p. 166).

Goethean phenomenology contemplates the possibility of human manifestations being other types of organs in a landscape expressing its inner necessity, as in the case of organic architecture or agriculture. Truly belonging to a landscape is what may determine whether an artistic work may be considered an organ of it.

Concomitantly, a people native to a place may be also an expression of the inner necessity of the landscapes that they inhabit, expressing through their art the creative impulses that the land generates. For instance, Embera dances are traditionally performed by women, their movements mimicking those of different animal species (like in the *pari-pari* dance, a type of bird's dance), and even imitating the movement of culturally significant objects, such as the case of the hammock dance. From this point of view, would other indigenous people native to places without water as a relevant element of their landscape, for instance a desert, have responded similarly to the water's message? Are the Embera people more tuned to the inner necessity of its cultural landscape and the water element in it than those who do not relate to their land as an organ? And what about a non-indigenous person, who may be further away from being able to sense the inner necessity of a landscape, either desert or rainforest, when her/his cultural landscape has been reduced to metropolitan areas dominated by concrete?

Musing over those questions is conducive to reflecting on how destroying indigenous nations may indicate that humanity is losing with them its ability to know the creative pulses of the places these people inhabit. As larger amounts of population migrate to urban areas, away from nature, the capacity of humans to tune to the "beings" of their native landscapes diminishes as they "forget" that they were at one time organs of those landscapes, like the animal and plant species native to them. Training people to be able to again sense nature can help them to facilitate not only the retrieval of memories fundamental to their sense of belonging to a cohesive group, as I stated before, but also to cultivate a spontaneous care for nature, and with it, greater enthusiasm for designing organic technologies that may in turn become healthy organs of a landscape, not poisonous appendices. The heightened sensitivity

implicit in the Navajo saying "The Great Spirit breathes in the breath of life, and the tracks of that breath becomes our fingerprints,"[5] serves for inspiration. Indicating that their nation already knew about the subject of study in hand analysis, their saying suggests that there are traces of the connection between the visible and invisible worlds, which are observable in the human body, as are in the body of the land, and learning to identify them may change our relationship to one another, to nature and to the unseen world.

Results from this on-going discussion suggest that perhaps simple stories, or inviting children to dance and send loving thoughts to the ground with a fully engaged heart may be the type of practices to spark a motivating impulse for positive change. In telling these stories, a fundamental aspect would be to be able *to enter* the story as we tell it, modeling what the Zuñi Indian do according to Highwater (1981) in his book on the characteristics of the primal mind. Mariela's enthusiastic response informs me that it is possible to enter the story, to live and to feel it so as to become contagious to others. Acting like the poets *fili* or women and men of arts as known in the Irish tradition (Dames, 1992), heart confident and imaginative in the range of artistic tools from which to draw to engage people and teaching others how to do so, could soon become dangerously infectious so as to threaten to turn the terminology used to define the Least-Developed Countries (LDCs) into the Unleashed-Developed Countries (UDCs).[6]

The bridge-building mission of intrepid women and men of arts is what may be sorely needed for the healing of a twenty-first century with many environmental, social, and political scars. These women and men would be required to travel freely, just like the *filí* did "through tribal areas and across politico-social boundaries" (Dames, 1992, p. 69). Operating at the threshold of categories, at the frontiers of knowledge, they should have a capacity to enter the stories of the people they are encountering. They should draw from their heart intelligence to respectfully accommodate to different cultural situations, using the charm of the performative arts to bring about common understanding.

Envisioning the Scaling-Up of a Bridge-Building Mission

Across Cultures

How to reach a greater audience? How to institutionalize and give wings on a larger scale to a style of work that integrates different ways of thinking and practice, more subtle and perhaps less visible although with potential great impact? How to make its benefit available to more people through an extended circle of influence?

When I explored these creative activities during the project, both with the water story and the creative ritual, I could not name what I was doing and I thought that I was alone. Later, at the end of the project, I found a new field of practice that has been named Social Artistry by its proponent, Jean Houston, PhD., a philosopher, cultural historian, and pioneer in the human development movement, with the purpose to apply its principles and methods in leadership development. The Social Artistry method is rooted in approaching the development of leadership qualities in oneself and others through the enhancement of four domains of the human psyche: the *sensory* or *physical*, the *psychological* or *historical*, the *mythic* or *symbolic*, and the *integral* or *unitive* (Houston, 2003). Each level builds upon the previous one in an expanding-like kind of motion.[7]

During 2002-05 the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) partnered with the International Institute of Social Artistry (IISA) to take social artistry leadership skills to the international development agenda, launching programs in Albania, Kenya, Eastern Caribbean, the Philippines, and Nepal.[8] The global initiative called *Decentralizing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) through Innovative Leadership (DMIL)* was framed within the Decentralized Governance Programme (DGP), and supported by Democratic Governance Group (DGG) and the Bureau for Development Policy (BDP). In the words of Robertson Work, Principal Adviser in the DGP,

> As a complement to the technical dimensions of development, DMIL weaves together in a highly experiential manner the MDGs, decentralized governance, culture and leadership thus increasing creativity, innovation, passion and commitment for localizing the MDGs.[9]

Implementation of the program was planned to take place through workshops and a follow-up phase of several years, ranging from five years, in the case of The Philippines, up to a 10-year-long plan of action in the case of Nepal. The response obtained by attendants to the workshop phase indicates that the approach is seen to bring the promise of a new perspective in the understanding and practice of development, one that assigns value to cultural diversity as a core aspect in the attempt to improve the quality of life of societies and countries in need. As an example, in the words of two of attendants to the Nepali workshop: the Minister of Education and Sports, Mr. Radha Krishna Mainali stated, "the training in Social Artistry helps in opening doors to new approaches of thinking in the human lives and society"; and Dr. Yogi Bikasananda's opinion, a Nepali renowned spiritual leader, highlighted the importance of Social Artistry in exploring the internal domain, and the contribution of the training program in linking West and the East.[10]

Similarly, policy recommendations that emanated from the workshops point to the need to shift perception, and to open ways to learn from those that have lacked recognition in the development agenda, in the understanding that they may be the principal agents of change for their communities. Some of the questions raised about how to learn from and integrate indigenous peoples' systems of governance and children's and women's views intersect with the contributions I bring through my research findings.

After hearing about Social Artistry, I decided to take some training, aiming to explore how it is related to what I had done. I realized that I had acted very intuitively both in my personal and professional learning journeys during my M.A. studies, very much resembling the description of what a Social Artist is supposed to spark in those places where she/he enters the scene. A capacity to perceive new patterns, new stories emerging from the confluence of past and present stories, and a persistent search for balancing inner and outer dimensions in the approach to solve complex problems are some of the qualities that a Social Artist embodies. As Jean Houston puts it:

The Social Artist is one who brings the focus, perspective, skill training, tireless dedication and fresh vision of the artist to

the social arena. Thus the Social Artist's medium is the human community. She or he seeks innovative solutions to troubling conditions, is a lifelong learner ever hungry for insights, skills, imaginative ideas and deeper understanding of present-day issues (Houston, 2003, p. 5).

Although I did not operate under the umbrella of the Social Artistry methodology, I found myself profiled by the description above. This tells me that, in most cases, having an innovative spirit, a passion for inner and outer exploration, a creative and artistic mind, and a social vocation can be the engine for acting in a way that generates positive change. There must be many people acting at local, national and international levels as Social Artists, without naming themselves or being identified by others as such. Nevertheless, it cannot be underestimated that a group effort organized around the Social Artistry concept could build momentum, and in the process of gradually attracting attention being able to deeply affect decision making in matters of policy development, resource allocation, and advocacy direction.[11]

Envisioning the Organic Development of a Culture's Soul Psychology

I believe that an increasing number of creative proposals will come out of the shadows, and that although they may originate in different parts of the world or in different disciplines, they will converge in similar areas of interest and/or approaches, as it has happened in my case with Social Artistry. The reason for that may lie in the existence of what biologist Rupert Sheldrake has termed *morphic fields* of resonance, or said in a simple way, "the influence of like upon like through space and time" (Sheldrake, 1991/1994, p. 111). He has been developing in a series of successive books his *hypothesis of formative causation*, which can be applied to either natural organisms -from the micro to the macro—or social organisms, also independently of the levels of complexity (Sheldrake, 1981/1995, 1988/1995, 1991/1994). This hypothesis suggests that self-organization occurs because of morphic fields, which are called morphogenetic fields when referring to embryonic processes of development and maintenance in the body of

natural organisms.[12]

We could extrapolate this idea to consider the system comprised of a nation-land as a basic field that conditions how the resulting expression of this association will develop—which will be known as a specific culture with a specific character. Morphic fields would act as fields of possibilities or probability structures for a culture's future path of development. There would be an end goal or morphic *attractor* to which it would head, meaning its best possibility for a given path of development, which is named *chreode* in the formative causation hypothesis. Similarly to the way an egg has several possible development paths ahead, each of them conducing to the different attractors that developing different organs would require (like becoming a liver, becoming a heart, or becoming a brain), I suggest *it would be of benefit to think in similar organic ways when evaluating possible development pathways for different nations.*

As the analysis of the water story and Mariela's reaction suggests, landscape and the culture of a nation are intimately related, a relationship that is mostly registered in traditional stories, rituals and other customs. The cultural expressions of a given nation become an organ of its native landscape, as different plant species of that landscape are too. This is the approach emanating from a Goethean participatory science. When including the hypothesis of formative causation, a reinforcement of such an approach is added. The part of the egg that intends to become a heart would fail in achieving its goal by following the development pathway of, for instance, a lung. In parallel, nations that are organs of a desert-like landscape, rainforest landscape, mountain landscape, valley landscape, and so on, will have to pursue their own different development pathways to succeed in their meaning as organs of their corresponding landscapes. Therefore, *the lesson is that development has to be organic and adapted to the best possible development goal according to the peculiarities of a nation or culture.* The pull towards evolutionary change in a given nation follows then this formative cause, as called by Sheldrake, or generative movement, as called by Goethe, with a best adaptive goal corresponding with the essence of the nation—and one

could also say its life purpose, taking the term from hand analysis.

A culture's soul psychology then, would be determined by its purpose, which in Aristotelian terms would be known as its "*entelechy* (from *en*, meaning 'in', and *telos*, meaning 'end'" (Sheldrake, 1991/1994, p. 99), referring to what has meaning in itself, also named as the *psyche*, the soul. This dynamic purpose, this sense of destiny that propels human beings towards transformation and change, should also be considered when working with peoples that state that they have a very concrete self-identity, the indigenous nations. Summing up the idea in one single phrase: *If indigenous peoples are supported in pursuing the best expression of their collective cultural selves, development aid will definitely prove that it is able to work anchored in the basis of true democracy, respect to human rights, and social justice.*

Inviting water consciousness to broaden limited perceptions among those who go to foreign places "to help" and those indigenous nations who, because historic cultural oppression and economic dominance, have doubted their own wisdom and know-how, might bring rebalancing of the relationship into more reciprocal terms. An emotional climate change of those implied into the task would preclude life-affirming planning and action-taking for development that is accountable to the survival right of children at least seven generations ahead. It would be expected that this opening of the eyes, which could be facilitated by pedagogical experiences engaging artistic cognition and women's leadership, would help those involved in the reciprocal relationship of mutual collaboration to develop proposals for social change that only support the manifestation of a people's entelechy, and not divergence from it.

The Implications of Emotional Climate Change for the Empowerment of Culturally Diverse Inner City Neighborhoods

I have examined so far how the water story inspired a female indigenous leader to remember ancient practices that would help her people reconnect to nature and one another. She felt empowered to design better culturally suited health care

programs for her community and raised her awareness about the negative impact of the state public education system on her people, which caused the disappearance of community practices meant for partnering with nature elements and for intergenerational connection through the transfer of knowledge from the elders to the younger.

Could it be far-sighted to predict that similar experiences would be of benefit in urban settings and among culturally and racially diverse neighbourhoods? If so, what part would water and consciousness play in it?

In order to show that culture and partnership rituals with the water element are still deeply engrained in countries considered "developed" and industrialized, I will firstly share the discovery I made about some that take place nowadays in the Western Hemisphere, concretely in Northern Spain. I came across the information synchronically during the days that I was reflecting about rain-calling ceremonies among indigenous peoples, after learning of the Embera tradition that Mariela had recalled while listening to the water story. As part of my research path I was engaged in a cultural connection journey with my country and land of origin. I was born in Badajoz, a town located three kilometres away from the border with Portugal and belonging to the Extremadura Region, Southwest of Spain. The majority of my extended family is still based there.[13]

I was looking for similar dances to those performed in my father's village in other regions of Spain when I came to know about rain calling ceremonies in the country. I heard on TV news about the dances honoring Saint Orosia in the towns of Jaca and Yebra de Basa, located in the Aragon Region, far to the North, close to Catalonia. They are conducted also only by men, showing similar ceremonial dresses, dances and musical instruments to those from my father's village, Fregenal de la Sierra, located in the Southern area of Badajoz Province, very close to Seville Province. Although the latter, performed in honor *of la Virgen de la Salud*–Virgin of Health, are seen by many as having Celtic origins—according to archeological records the surroundings of my father's village are known for the remains of the Southernmost Celtic settlement in the Iberian Peninsula—

another interpretation exists. This would highlight their connection to similar dances performed in Northern Castilia, which would have been brought down to other areas of the Peninsula through the activity of *trashumancia*—seasonal movement of cattle and sheep shepherds in search of fresh pastures.

The traditional festivity of Sta. Orosia is celebrated on June 25 in the mentioned two towns of Aragon Region, which both preserve relics from the saint that is revered. This saint, who for many years was worshiped as the *patrona de los endemoniados*—patroness of those possessed by evil—because of the famed healings including regions of France, was requested for help at this time concerning more worldly matters. The TV news referred to a couple of *procesiones*—religious parades—that had taken place in Yebra de Basa in August 2005 to call for rain, after a long period of drought. The last *rogativa de lluvia*—petition or prayer for rain, performed by locals by bringing the image of the saint out from the church into the streets in a walking prayer had succeeded, as when the people were gathering to return home rain started to fall. As I heard about it, I could not avoid the comparison with cultural practices by indigenous peoples that reflect their deep connection with nature. It was clear that up to present times, rural areas in Europe still maintain oral knowledge and rituals deeply rooted in the connection with nature, and that the more geographically isolated the area, the better preserved are its cultural traditions.

It is understandable therefore that if nature has become accustomed for ages to be in partnership with human societies through cultural and religious practices, that when we forget nature in urban settings nature may respond in rage, despondent for the offense. And this brings us to the raged waters of Hurricane Katrina that flooded New Orleans in 2005.

We own very much to the power that catastrophe has to deeply shake the human heart and imagination. This is represented by one of the aspects of the trickster character in many indigenous cultures, mainly known by its better-humored side. Paul Pearsall, a psychoneuroimmunologist with extensive clinical practice with heart transplant patients and heart attack victims in cardiac rehabilitation, and who has initiated the new

field of *cardio-energetics,* helps us to see how the ability to endure the pain and shock originated by catastrophes may lie in our capacity to have a laughing heart.

He reminds us that a great sense of humor is a very intrinsic heart quality, in balance with the other somber side of the coin, as "cardio-energetics teaches that by letting our heart 'break open' with full immersion in and receptiveness to the catastrophes of life, and laughing freely and openly with others, we can regain an energetic balance" (Pearsall, 1998, p. 202). Drawing from the teachings of Maui, the demigod version of the trickster from his Hawaiian culture, who is "like all of us, part buffoon and part philosopher, partly human and partly divine" (p. 204), he strongly recommends a willing receptivity to the good medicine of the trickster effect in our life any time our expectations are not met, we feel inadequate according to our brain standards or interpret life's catastrophes as disaster. Quite the opposite, Pearsall has learned, both from his clinical experience and his own personal challenge on the edge of life and death during his stay at the hospital intensive care unit after a bone marrow transplant, that catastrophe may be the threshold to a joyous epiphany and liberation from the absurdity of trying to control life. With this understanding, Pearsall comes to support Dr. Kabat-Zinn's posture on catastrophe when the latter invites to interpret it as "awareness of the 'poignant enormity' of the full experience of the energy that constitutes life" (p. 202).

It could be that the Katrina-provoked catastrophe may have arrived to test the capacity of residents to endure the local trickster's paradoxical sense of humor, forcing them to awake their creative water consciousness and to break open their hearts to a new story, healthier for children and adults alike.

This is what I thought when I read about the innovation taking place in the public education system in New Orleans.

Harvard Business School (HBS) lecturer and senior researcher Stacey M. Childress is tracking the entrepreneurial vision and action that is putting New Orleans as a leader in transforming U.S. public education. She wrote a context case for her MBA students for an elective course called Entrepreneurship in Education Reform, featuring the pre and post-storm

conditions of the public school system and chronicling the changes that the city, state, and federal governments have initiated after Katrina (Gilbert, 2008). The New Orleans public school district was the lowest performing in the state and one of the worst in the country, with approximately a fifty per cent of the schools failing to progress in 2004 according to the federal No Child Left Behind Act. After Katrina, 80 of the total 125 previous schools have reopened, just that this time about half of the 80 are charter schools, being the remaining traditional as before. Although charter schools are public schools they differ from the conventional ones in that they are not subject to the governance and policies of their local schools districts, so they enjoy more autonomy in hiring teachers or developing programs for the identified needs of the students. Their authorizers are usually the state department of education or a university, having their performance evaluated on a five-year contract basis. This implies more pressure for accountability, depending on the willingness of the state department to shut down the school if it falls short of targeted benchmarks. In November 2005, the majority of the schools were taken over by the state, setting the stage for innovation in the educational system, as some teachers and principals responded to the invitation to reopen schools as charters.

Childress became interested in a start-up called New Schools for New Orleans (NSNO), an organization facilitating network of collaboration and mutual support among the new schools, given that their performance depends very much on overcoming isolation and engaging with others in the sharing of resources. This entrepreneurial aspect is what Childress saw that could inspire her students in finding audacious answers for the thought experiment she challenged them with in her elective course–what kind of education system would we build if we had the opportunity to start from scratch?

It would seem that the trickster effect has influenced New Orleans since Katrina, as the paradox of destruction and renewal, or pain and new hope, reflected in the questioning by school leaders on the new educational system they would want to create in the storm's aftermath of destruction. Although it could be argued that innovative thinking and acting needed for

entrepreneurship flourish with the challenges posed by uncertain times and living conditions, and that these were obvious in the post-storm environment, the global environment is more of the same at many levels.

Therefore, why we don't consider initiating other thought experiments in communities, neighborhoods, towns, and cities, around health, education, participation, economy, arts, ecology, or any other subject of concern/interest, without waiting to be swept off in our certainties by a big wave, wind, or fire–as it has happened at the beginning of 2009 in Australia?

Applying disruptive innovation—a concept that was developed by HBS professor Clayton M. Christensen initially for the technology and health care industries (Lagace, 2008) may help, as he and other colleagues are now proving it is happening in the educational field, which expands the understanding of the shifts in the public system affecting the New Orleans district. Disruption as a positive force that brings changes to a highly regulated industry or market that offer complicated services or products is affecting also public education, turning unattractive conditions into opportunities. There are people who would like to have access to what is available but find themselves restricted. Flexibility in curricula design, program development, or teachers' style is what may open doors and rise hope for population segments that so far have felt discriminated against because of understated institutionalized blackmail.

Mostly, it seems to have an impact on students' performance, related to raising their self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-pride, often damaged through a history of discrimination in the case of ethnic or cultural difference. Scaling-up does not have to be a goal or a priority initially, but perhaps a natural consequence of a small experiment. The impact of subtle and simple initiatives is showing to improve test performance of children and teens, as Richard E. Nisbett (2009), professor of psychology at the University of Michigan and author of the book *Intelligence and How to Get It: Why Schools and Cultures Count*, explains. He writes about the findings of diverse psychologists when studying gaps in performance among black and/or Hispanic students as opposed to white ones' scores. They explore concepts related to social

acceptance, stereotype threat, or assessment methods, coming to interesting conclusions that point to needed changes, without requiring big investment. Students proved that they could fill in those performance gaps when they were told that their intelligence is under their control through classes on brain research, when they were consulted on the future they would like to have and the resources they would like to gather to face anticipated obstacles, when invited to write on their most important values, or when they could show knowledge through a puzzle instead of a test of academic achievement. Also, he states that what is coming to be known as the "Obama effect" is based on similar considerations, as a still unpublished study has found out how African-American adults performed worse than the whites when tested on verbal comprehension questions of the Graduate Record Examination before the presidential election, while the scores of those tested immediately afterward were almost as high as the scores of the white students.

Creative solutions to problems may lie in turning from a discursive way of thinking, that categorizes and judges through the notions of "either or" or "black" and "white," to a disruptive way of thinking, similar to the disruptive power of water that came to alter the limited perceptions of New Orleans' school leaders, promoting educational reform through their entrepreneurial thinking.

Conclusion

The greatest innovation we could wish from the local to the global would be perceptual. As exposed so far, water and consciousness would have much to say in the shift. Women's way of knowing and communicating, more emotionally receptive and supportive of relationship building and caring should be given more institutional support to lead the way toward innovation. Relational empowerment, nevertheless, is something available to men alike, given proper nurturance and vocational calling to service-oriented leadership. Men—either teachers, psychologists, or business academics, who take time to explore imaginative innovation that enhances life and the well being of people, and especially of children and youth, deserve all

the support in their contribution to the emotional climate change revolution. I foresee that this can happen from the green to the concrete jungles that we inhabit, if we build upon the present momentum that natural and man-made challenging circumstances have created.

Ultimately, no categorization as indigenous, black, Hispanic, woman, or man, must distract us from our responsibility to be active co-creators of the kind of life and services we would like to have in our societies. We are all indigenous to this planet and trusting in our heart as the keeper of our universal indigenous roots may open the door to a more organic approach to deal with global environmental and social problems. As an Apache elder once told to Dr. Pearsall concerning the ancient energy carried by the heart's code:

Those in the Western world often forget that they too are indigenous peoples with roots to their original land and ties to their ancient ancestors' wisdom. The modern rational brain can also learn to think with its indigenous spiritual heart (Pearsall, 1998, p. 10).

The new story that we may want to choose to transmit to the next generations depends on our ability to identify, focus, and foster those approaches in science and indigenous knowledge that are based in partnership with nature. The UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD),[14] adopted in December 2002 for 2005-2014, provides institutional and political support at the international level for innovation in education. Its founding value is respect and its challenge to find new behaviors and practices that secure our future in a sustainable way. It embraces terms dismissed by traditional education, such as interdisciplinary, holistic, creative, participatory, and value-based learning, which offer the opportunity for curricula and program development that integrate cultural differences in ways of knowing and learning.

On the other hand, the Goethean approach, as a participatory science of qualities, does not clash with native science, but rather can provide an opportunity for mutual support in negotiating summits around the world that deal with climate, food, water, and economic crisis. As Goethe would say, the ultimate test of truth that decisions at those round tables

must pass is that they are fruitful, that is, that they support life and health of humanity as a whole.

Notes

[1] More information can be found in one of Masaru Emoto's web sites. Retrieved May 13, 2006, from http://www.hado.net/hado_introduction.html

[2] Photographs of the water crystals can be seen in this website. Retrieved May 13, 2006, from http://www.hado.net/gallery.html

[3] Hand analysis, as approached in The International Institute of Hand Analysis (IIHA), draws from the ancient palmistry tradition of many cultures plus scientific knowledge derived from dermatoglyphics (dermato=skin, glyphics=carvings), or the science of fingerprint analysis as was named by Harold Cummins, M.D. in 1926 in the field of medicine, after having added the study of embryology to the knowledge that had been already applied in anthropology and genetics. At the IIH they interpret the changeable aspects of the personality through the study of the line formations and comparative shapes of the hands. These features are alterable, but not the fingerprints, which are marked five months prior to birth and remain the same during a person's life. A person's soul purpose would be encoded in the topographic map of the fingerprints, as they reveal a connection to something larger than the conscious self. It would reveal, according to the hand analysis system of the IIHA, a person's life purpose or highest self-actualizing possibility, which goes beyond personality, character or temperament, and perhaps is not as obvious as a strength or attribute, but nevertheless essential for a person' fulfillment. Retrieved December 10, 2005, from http://www.handanalysis.net/

[4] Idea taken from the concept of a Social Artist as the preserver of the genius of a culture as she/he helps it to move into a new story. Retrieved December 19, 2005, from http://www.socialartistry.com/dearfriends.html

[5] Retrieved December 5, 2005, from http://www.handanalysis.net/about/about_handanalysis.htm#lp

[6] The Least-Developed Countries (LDCs) constitute a well-defined target group

in the United Nations system. From twenty-four countries in the original list in 1971 they passed to be forty-nine by 1998. They account for about just over 10 percent of the world population, and just over 13 percent in developing countries. Further criteria to determine the inclusion of a country on the list have been added over the years, but in the beginning, three were required: per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of $ 100 or less per annum, in 1968 dollars; 10 percent or less of manufacturing in the GDP; and 20 percent or less of adult literacy. (Jolly, Emmerij, Ghai, & Lapeyre, 2004).

[7] The sensory level honors information gathered through enhanced senses, and looks to increase the awareness of the body, of energy levels, and of the relationship between surroundings and physical needs for wellbeing. The second level attends to psychological behavior built upon personal and cultural history, and pays attention to new scientific breakthroughs in mind research, evolutionary biology and other fields that may expand the knowledge of human psychological development. The mythic domain goes still to a deeper layer of the psyche, to the pool of stories, myths, religions, and symbols that inform the belief system of a person or a collective. And finally, the diversity of influences that inform previous levels are conducted through the unitive level to a sense of interconnectedness with different aspects of oneself and others, cultivating a sense of identity that feels integrated in the reality of a larger frame of reference.

[8] http://www.jeanhoustonfoundation.org/partners.aspx

[9] Work, R. (personal communication, August 12, 2005). Philippines mission report on *Decentralizing the MDGs through Innovative Leadership (DMIL).* July 6-21, 2005, The Philippines.

[10] Personal communication from Tatwa Timsina, representative from the Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA) in Nepal, and trainee in Social Artistry, reporting on the results from the workshop in Nepal.

[11] From 2008 the concept and practice of Social Artistry is being promoted through the Jean Houston Foundation (http://www.jeanhoustonfoundation.org/)

[12] There are some fields, or "non-material regions of influence" (Sheldrake, 1988/1995, p. 97) that we are more familiar with, i.e., the gravitational, the electro-magnetic, or the microscopic force between particles (quantum

matter). Although we are less familiar with morphogenetic fields, all of them are real. In living systems, the field is a condition that determines its self-organizing abilities and how the formation that will result out of it will be.

[13] My region, Extremadura (extrema=extreme, dura=harsh), emerged under Muslim rule as a frontier with the Christian society at *al tagr al-yawfi*, or the Northern frontier of al-Andalus (Andalusia nowadays). Its size would be reduced in favor of the kingdoms of Portugal, Leon and Castilia, the people unfolding their lives, customs, and economy, in the middle of constant war. Thus, the people of Extremadura are the people from the frontier, resilient through the ages, without an awareness of nation, as are the Basque, the Catalonian, or the Gallician. However, in Pliny and Estrabon's chronicles, the original settlers of what would later become Extremadura appear as fierce and proud. Shepherds and cattlemen who resisted the Roman domination for a long time were deeply attuned to the rhythm of the seasons as they moved with their flocks and herds between mountaintops and valleys searching for fresh pastures. At that time, their basic diet was composed of grilled meat, a pancake from *bellota* flour—the fruit from the *encina*, the oak tree, a beer-like drink, *zythos,* and the blood of their horses. Thus, I would say that without a traditional political identity in Extremadura, its people have been rather marked by a strong connection to the land and its natural resources. Nowadays it remains very rural, its people quite resilient, tranquil, patient, probably still holding the sense of being at the frontier, because "important" things happen outside its limits.

[14] Retrieved March 10, 2009, from http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=23279&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

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About the Author

Rosario Galvan Torres holds a Master's Degree and is a graduate of the Center for World Indigenous Studies Certificate/Masters program. Ms. Torres is originally from the province of Extra-Madura, Spain where she maintains close contact with her family. She has conducted her work in environmental assessment primarily in the Republic of Panama. She graduated in 2006 with a MA degree in Independent Study upon the presentation of a thesis titled: *Bridging the City and the Jungle: A Narrative of a Personal and Professional Journey Toward the Twining of Culture and Development Using an Integrative Approach that Draws from Indigenous and Women's perspectives.* She undertook a cross-disciplinary literature review including, among others, the following fields: development, environmental science, economics and anthropology, cross-cultural communication in international relations, participatory science, indigenous epistemologies, energy cardiology, Fourth World studies, women's psychology, and international business. From ethnographic research among the Embera-Wounaan indigenous people of Panama and narrative analysis she developed three case studies out of which she presented an integrative model for cross-cultural engagement that may be of interest not just to the development field but to others such as conflict resolution and peace building, cultural diplomacy, corporate citizenship, environmental education/health, international negotiation, global security, organizational leadership, and holistic management. This paper was built upon one of her thesis' case studies, focused in a jungle setting, expanding its application to culturally diverse urban contexts.

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Book Review

Conservation Refugees

The Hundred-Year Conflict Between Global Conservation and Native Peoples

Emerson Peek

Mark Dowie
The MIT Press, 2009. 295 Pages.
ISBN 978-0-262-01261-4

Conservation Refugees is an illustrative review of contemporary conservation biology, indigenous land tenure, and cross-cultural methods of *biotic* and *abiotic* resource management. Author Mark Dowie recounts numerous case studies, which bear two fundamental purposes within the debate of bio-cultural diversity preservation. First, his examples reveal how international conservation organizations have negatively impacted indigenous communities through displacement and restricted resource use. Second, and perhaps more importantly, Dowie shows creative, situation-specific ways in which native communities are currently fighting to protect their land rights and life-ways, which drive the survival of indigenous livelihoods and, consequently, maintain biodiversity.

At the root of Mark Dowie's argument lies the fact that

about half the protected land in the world was either occupied or regularly used by indigenous people prior to becoming protected. From the forceful evictions of the Miwok in California to the prohibition of rotational farming imposed on the Karen of Thailand, transnational conservation organizations have used whatever tricks necessary to pursue their versions of "fortress conservation" – an exclusionary model of conservation that ignores indigenous rights to habitat. What began with good intentions for wildlife protection and wilderness preservation has morphed into a long, brutal history of conflict between conservationists and Native Peoples. The result is that many conservation efforts, despite their noble attempts to save endangered animal and plants species, have threatened the habitat of endemic human cultures. International conservation organizations may not be inherently against indigenous self-determination, but their track record for cooperative and respectful interaction with Native Peoples raises serious questions.

Through this messy conflict between "BINGOs" (Big International NGOs) and indigenous peoples, one can easily see the "clash of romantic tendencies" that Dowie refers to in his second chapter, "Nature." At extreme ends, some anthropologists and wildlife biologists approach their fields in a narrow and exclusive manner – either preferring to see 'pristine' wilderness or intrinsic ethnological knowledge as the single highest priority. Ironically, these two fields compliment each other very well in the context of conservation: "…both disciplines believe that an accelerating loss of animal or plant species is a sign of imminent ecological crisis" (p. 110).

The book's journalistic approach details recent cases in which the forces of wildlife conservation and cultural preservation are exchanging ideas and collaboratively designing joint responses to bio-cultural diversity loss. One inspiring example can be found in the mapping projects described in the chapter "The Science of Princes." By 'tenure mapping,' indigenous communities like the Maya and Garifuna of southern Belize can combine their hand-drawn maps with the expertise of Western techno-scientists to articulate traditional knowledge and ancient patterns of occupancy. This, in turn, increases

Native Peoples' creditability in the eyes of governments, conservationists, and development-hungry foreigners.

Another indication of emerging cooperation between these groups is the recently conceived idea of Community Conservation Areas (CCA). Taking a number of names (Indigenous Stewardship Area, Biocultural Heritage Site, etc.), these co-participatory management areas vary in structure and organization, but their underlying principle places indigenous peoples at the helm of the conservation project. Lakota Chief Iktomi Lila Sica, in 1930, proposed America's first CCA, which was supposed to be an "Indian University" for ecological knowledge and culture. The National Park Service rejected the idea until the 1970s, when the Blackfoot, Ogala Sioux, and Havasupi peoples established parks on or around their reservations. The Australian Homelands Movement, for another example, has been working to resettle Aboriginal peoples on lands that have been theirs for millennia. Academics working within this movement, as well as those working in movements like it, help native peoples map their lands and set up rules that the indigenous communities can enforce. The guiding principle behind a CCA is to support indigenous autonomy and self-governance in a way that blends both traditional knowledge and land management with contemporary scientific inquiry.

Although Dowie relies heavily on anthropological findings and reams the frequently narrow foci of conservation BINGOs, his pro-indigenous credo essentially seeks to bridge the traditional expertise and innate rights of indigenous peoples with the ecologically based mindset of conservationists. Dowie very effectively calls attention to a broad range of examples that prove how easy it is to oversimplify in a debate like this. His basic opinion, shared by others in the bio-cultural diversity realm, is that the interests of indigenous peoples and environmental activists share a common goal: to sustain life on this planet through the maintenance of bio-diverse ecosystems.

By challenging the boundaries between disciplines like wildlife biology and anthropology, Dowie provokes activists and researchers to reflect on their core intentions in this "good guy vs. good guy" story. Substantiated by compelling evidence, his arguments demonstrate how incorporation of humans into an

ecological perspective not only protects native cultures, lands, languages, and life ways, but also holds great potential for genuine stewardship and conservation via time-tested methodologies. Through cooperation and acknowledgement of native autonomy, researchers and activists alike can enter indigenous communities respectfully and exchange traditional and nontraditional knowledge for the mutual benefit and continued existence of all ecosystem participants and their cultures.

About the Author

Emerson Peek joined the CWIS team in 2009 as a work-study employee through the Evergreen State College. As a sophomore-level transfer student with previous travel experiences and a hunger to learn about new cultures, Emerson registered for a yearlong program called Andean Roots. Between two quarters in the classroom and one quarter abroad in Cusco, Peru, the program's academic themes focused on contemporary issues such as food sovereignty, loss of bio-cultural diversity, and the economic, environmental and cultural consequences of globalization. Using the indigenous people and geography of the Andes Mountains as a case study, students in Andean Roots utilized an interdisciplinary perspective to examine how traditional ecological knowledge is either maintained or lost in relation to the external pressures of standardization, international commerce and climate change.

Contact Information

emerson@cwis.org

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