

By Alexandra Hughes

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PRSPs, Minorities and Indigenous Peoples

An Issues Paper

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Minority Rights Group International

Minority Rights Group International (MRG) is a non-governmental organization (NGO) working to secure the rights of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities and indigenous peoples worldwide, and to promote cooperation and understanding between communities. Our activities are focused on international advocacy, training, publishing and outreach. We are guided by the needs expressed by our worldwide partner network of organizations, which represent minority and indigenous peoples.

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Abbreviations

CBO	Community-based organization
CSO	Civil society organization
GEF	Global Environment Fund
HIPC	Highly-Indebted Poor Country Initiative
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
IDP	Internally displaced person
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IFI	International financial institution
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International non-governmental organization
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MRDP	Vietnam–Sweden Mountain Rural Development Programme
MRG	Minority Rights Group International
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PASC	Pastoralist Affairs Standing Committee
PCDP	Pastoral Community Development Project
PDR	People's Democratic Republic
PER	Public expenditure review
PET	Public expenditure tracking
PFE	Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RAE	Roma, Ashkaelia and Egyptian
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
UN	United Nations
UNDM	UN Declaration on Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
WGM	UN Working Group on Minorities

Summary

This publication discusses minority and indigenous peoples' participation in the formulation of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs).¹ It uses case studies to examine the experiences of minorities and indigenous peoples in these development policy processes. It also reviews existing PRSPs for evidence of these groups' participation, and for the inclusion of issues relevant to the realization of their rights. The paper highlights challenges facing these groups, and examples of good practice. It is hoped that the lessons learnt can strengthen the participation of minorities, indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups in their efforts to influence PRSPs, particularly with respect to the monitoring and evaluation of Poverty Reduction Strategies.

It is also hoped that the paper will serve as a base for further research into this important area.

Findings

Case studies show that, despite international human rights designed to protect minorities' and indigenous peoples' rights, and the emerging relationship between the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and PRSPs, neither Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) processes nor their results successfully fulfil these rights. While some governments are collecting disaggregated data regarding minority and indigenous peoples, these groups are seldom invited to participate, nor are they consulted over the design of policies or programmes meant to alleviate poverty. Therefore programmes designed through the PRS process are likely to be culturally inappropriate at best, and, at worst, detrimental to minority and indigenous peoples' rights.

When consulted, minority and indigenous peoples' views are often misinterpreted or manipulated so as to fit in with the government's (or international financial institutions' [IFIs]) development plans.

Minorities and indigenous peoples are frequently economically, politically, culturally and linguistically marginalized. They lack access to information, networks, alliances and capacity-building opportunities. Hurried processes, with a lack of open communication between those carrying out the PRS consultations, makes the involvement of minorities and indigenous peoples' – and especially women from these communities – in these processes particularly challenging.

Overcoming such hurdles does not necessarily guarantee an effective or representative translation of their issues or concerns into the final PRSPs. Case studies show how their voices have been silenced, often through a negation of links

between these peoples' economic production systems or livelihoods, and their cultural rights.

Part of the problem is that governments know little about minorities and indigenous peoples. Further, discrimination, a lack of understanding of their rights and historical tensions compound their marginalization in the PRS process.

There is evidence that minorities and indigenous peoples are finding ways forward. However, they need relationships with development actors that are based on trust, and the latter need to use culturally sensitive and appropriate participatory methods. Supporting the building and strengthening of networks and alliances between minorities and indigenous peoples is also important.

Strengthening minority and indigenous peoples' ability to participate in PRS processes is being given increasing attention. This includes efforts to strengthen their skills in: advocacy, fundraising, legal action, negotiation, networking, participatory research and analysis, and rights awareness. Civil society is also working to encourage government officials to see the importance of their participation in PRS processes, and to recognize minority and indigenous peoples' rights.

Minority rights, participation and PRSPs

Approximately one-fifth of the world's population is said to live on an income of less than US \$1 a day, and is defined as being extremely poor. Although minorities and indigenous peoples do not necessarily constitute the largest identifiable group among the poor, evidence from numerous countries shows that minorities are more likely to be among the poorest of the poor, with less access to health, education, land and adequate housing.²

Further, poverty can go beyond income shortages. Non-material social and psychological factors may be of particular relevance for minorities and indigenous peoples, 'for whom issues of participation, autonomy, identity and dignity may be as or more relevant than achieving a certain level of consumption, expenditure or income'.³

Minorities, indigenous peoples and their rights

Minorities' and indigenous peoples' rights have been acknowledged through international treaties as distinct rights that are part of these groups' human rights. Their distinct identities require special protection from discrimination as well as special action to promote the preservation of their cultures, religions and languages. Their equal participation in the public sphere needs to be supported. This is part of the human rights obligations of states towards persons belonging to minorities.

Minority rights

Minority groups are formed according to shared ethnic, religious, linguistic or cultural characteristics, and the members of the group acknowledge a common identity on this basis. Some minorities have distinct territorial concentrations while others are widely dispersed within and across borders.

The United Nations (UN) has legally binding treaty Articles that focus on minorities. Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) asserts:

In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with

the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.'

The logic behind this Article is that, in addition to protection against discrimination, members of minority groups require particular rights to enable them to preserve and develop their ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics.⁴ There are 154 state parties to the ICCPR, and two states – France and Turkey – have issued reservations to Article 27.⁵

The 1992 UN Declaration on Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (UNDM) (see Box 1) is inspired by Article 27. The UNDM is reviewed annually by an expert UN Working Group on Minorities (WGM).

Box 1: The UNDM⁶

The UNDM's Article 1(1) affirms that:

'states shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories, and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity'.

Article 1(2) obliges states to adopt appropriate legislative and other measures to achieve those ends. Article 2(1) states that:

'persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities ... have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination.'

Article 2(2) states that persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively, *inter alia*, in economic and public life. Article 2(3) reflects the right of persons belonging to minorities to participate effectively in decisions that 'concern the minority to which they belong or the regions in which they live'.

Article 4 lays the foundation for specific requirements necessary to protect minority rights in the realization of the right to development. Article 4(2), for instance, obliges states to 'take measures to create favourable conditions to enable ... minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions and customs ...'. And Article 4(3) refers to the opportunity for mother-tongue (first-language) tuition. Article 4(4) refers to the need for states to consider measures in the field of education that encourage knowledge of minorities' and indigenous peoples' history and traditions.

Article 4(5) reflects recognition of the need for states to consider taking measures 'so

that persons belonging to minorities may participate fully in the economic progress of and development of their country'. Article 5(1) implies the need for their participation by recognizing that 'national policies and programmes shall be planned and implemented with due regard for the legitimate interests of persons belonging to minorities'.

Article 5 refers to international responsibility to support these programmes, recognizing the significance of international cooperation among states in the promotion and protection of minority rights. Article 9 specifically refers to the role of 'specialized agencies and other organizations of the UN ... [in] the full realization of the rights and principles set forth in this Declaration, within their respective fields of competence'; this is a provision with direct relevance to, for example, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD),⁷ is another key instrument that impacts on minorities and indigenous peoples. Article 2.2 of the ICERD allows states to take special measures in the 'social, economic, cultural and other fields' to ensure that marginalized groups can enjoy their human rights fully and equally. Such special measures can and should be reflected in PRSPs. ICERD also requires states to pay particular attention to indirect discrimination, which occurs where government policies unintentionally cause disproportionate and/or unjustifiable harm in the form of human rights violations against minorities. Disaggregated data can help reveal the possible indirect discrimination effects of PRSP policies, particularly if the data is further broken down by sex.

Indigenous peoples' rights

Indigenous peoples also share common ethnic, religious, linguistic or cultural characteristics. However, in many cases they can claim to have been settled in their territory continuously and prior to any other groups. They have maintained a culture that is strongly linked to their ways of using land and natural resources. This distinction is reflected in separate international standards for indigenous peoples.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (Convention No. 169) came into force in September 1991 and has been ratified by 17 countries.⁸

Box 2: ILO Convention No. 169⁹

Convention No. 169 articulates the right of indigenous peoples to participate in the development process. Article 2 refers to the responsibility of governments:

'for developing, with the participation of the peoples concerned, co-ordinated and

systematic action to protect the rights of these peoples and to guarantee respect for their integrity ... [this] shall include measures ... promoting the full realization of the social, economic, and cultural rights of these peoples'.

Article 6 insists that governments, when applying the provisions of the Convention, shall:

'(a) consult the peoples concerned, through appropriate procedures ... (b) establish means by which these peoples can freely participate ... at all levels of decision-making [in all bodies] responsible for policies and programmes which concern them'.

Article 7 refers specifically to the rights of indigenous peoples in the process of development, stating in Article 7(1) that indigenous peoples shall:

'have the right to decide their own priorities for development ... and to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development. In addition, they shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of plans and programmes for national and regional development which may affect them directly'.

Regarding the conditions of life and work and levels of health and education, Article 7(2) states that 'their participation and co-operation, shall be a matter of priority in plans for overall economic development of the areas they inhabit'.

While Article 7 does not provide for a right of veto by indigenous peoples over development plans, there must be:

'actual consultation in which [indigenous and tribal] ... peoples have a right to express their point of view and a right to influence the decision. This means that governments have to supply the enabling environment and conditions to permit indigenous and tribal peoples to make a meaningful contribution'.

Article 14 provides that:

'measures shall be taken in appropriate cases to safeguard the right of [indigenous] peoples to use lands not exclusively occupied by them, but to which they have traditional access for their subsistence and traditional activities'.

Article 15 recognizes the rights of indigenous peoples to have such land specially safeguarded, including through the right 'to participate in the use, management and conservation of these resources', and by ensuring that if the state retains ownership of these resources:

'governments shall establish or maintain procedures through which they shall consult [indigenous] peoples, with a view to ascertaining whether and to what degree their interests would be prejudiced, before undertaking or permitting any programmes for the exploration or exploitation of such resources pertaining to their lands. The peoples concerned shall wherever possible participate in the benefits of such activities, and shall receive ... compensation ...'

Although many indigenous peoples are not satisfied with Convention No. 169, it does provide a minimum standard. It is the only legally binding international instrument dedicated to the rights of indigenous peoples that is still open for ratification, and its impact on development is significant.¹⁰ Beyond Convention No. 169, there are universal laws and mechanisms that apply equally to indigenous peoples.¹¹

Among these is the ICERD, which has extensively considered state obligations with regard to minorities and indigenous peoples. The Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CERD) has produced a number of General Recommendations to aid both states and peoples to interpret the ICERD. For example, the General Recommendation on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples recommends state parties:

'allow for sustainable economic and social development compatible with their [indigenous peoples'] cultural characteristics ... [ensuring] equal rights in respect of effective participation in public life and that no decisions directly relating to their rights and interests are taken without their informed consent ... [recognizing and protecting] the rights of indigenous peoples to own, develop, control and use their communally owned lands and territories and resources traditionally owned or otherwise inhabited or used without their free and informed consent'

It also refers to 'the right to just, fair and prompt compensation [which] should as far as possible take the form of lands and territories'.¹²

Article 30 of the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples explicitly states that:

'indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands, territories and other resources, including the right to require that States obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands, territories and other resources'

In meetings of, for example, the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, the denial of indigenous peoples' access to and control over their own resources is noted as one of the most important causes of their poverty. Several international

standards recognize the rights of indigenous peoples over their lands, territories and natural resources: Articles 14 and 15 of ILO Convention No. 169, Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 and the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

A right to participate in development?

Despite these formal acknowledgements, commitments to minority or indigenous peoples' rights are rare in development initiatives. However, the strong international rights framework aimed at protecting minorities and promoting their development, combined with their vulnerability to poverty, makes them key target groups for development interventions. This is especially true in a context where development policy is increasingly focusing on poverty reduction and the realization of human rights – a trend well illustrated by the nature and orientation of the MDGs and of PRSPs.

In general, governments are not taking sufficient action to ensure that minorities and indigenous peoples can overcome barriers such as discrimination and exclusion to participate in public life on an equal basis with other social groups. In some cases, governments have taken explicit measures to prevent minority political participation and/or to erode their distinct identities through forced assimilation.¹³ Minorities' and indigenous peoples' marginalization and politically weak position means they have less power to realize their rights, and to demand accountability from those who are meant to represent them.

MDGs and PRSPs

What are MDGs?

The MDGs were born out of the UN Millennium Declaration adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2000. The MDGs are eight basic poverty reduction goals and targets that are meant to guide development cooperation, and should be realized by 2015. They have been adopted by the World Bank, the IMF, the members of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and many other agencies. MDGs are also directly linked to human rights. However, the MDGs do not provide plans of action to realize these goals. In poorer countries, some see the implementation of PRSPs as a practical means of attaining the MDGs.

What are PRSPs?

PRSPs are generally understood as central to the World Bank and the IMF's anti-poverty framework, introduced in 1999. Initially, PRSPs, which outlined national poverty reduction goals and plans for attaining them, were required so that countries could obtain creditors' approval for debt relief. They originally aimed to

ensure that debt relief provided under the enhanced Highly Indebted Poor Country Initiative (HIPC),¹⁴ and concessional lending from the World Bank and the IMF, was used to reduce poverty in the poorest, most indebted countries. Some middle-income countries are also beginning to adopt the PRSP approach to their own country development strategies.

According to the World Bank, the focus of PRSPs is on ‘identifying in a participatory manner the poverty reduction outcomes a country wishes to achieve and the key public actions – policy changes, institutional reforms, programs and projects ... which are needed to achieve the desired outcomes’.¹⁵ They are built on six core principles:

1. *results-oriented*, focusing on outcomes that would benefit the poor;
2. *comprehensive* in recognizing the multi-dimensional nature of poverty and the scope of actions needed to effectively reduce poverty;
3. *country-driven*, representing the consensus in a country on what steps should be taken;
4. *participatory*, in that all stakeholders should participate in each country’s formulation and implementation;
5. *partnership-oriented*, involving coordinated participation of development partners (bilateral, multilateral and non-governmental);
6. based on a *long-term perspective* for poverty reduction.

These principles and the fact that PRSPs should be tailored to national circumstances, could make PRSPs potentially effective in the achievement of the MDGs. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) sees PRSPs as ‘the most important instrument for integrating the MDGs fully within priorities, policies and resource allocation decisions taken by governments’.¹⁶ Where MDGs are considered an end, PRSPs are considered the means of getting to this end.¹⁷

However some criticize PRSPs on the grounds that their underlying principles are rhetorical and apolitical. Many civil society organizations (CSOs)¹⁸ are not satisfied with the degree and nature of their participation in PRS processes, their influence on PRS content, and their involvement in monitoring and evaluating PRS implementation.

PRSPs, politics and citizenship participation

Looking at some PRS principles through a political lens

An optimistic view of PRSPs sees them as having a ‘potentially transformative agenda of pro-poor reform’, providing an opportunity for governments to become more committed to poverty reduction, and for donors to work in line with

country-owned priorities and processes.¹⁹ They are also considered a triumph for those who have campaigned for debt relief, and an opportunity for CSOs to influence anti-poverty policy in poor countries.

Others believe that PRSPs risk ‘overriding or derailing domestic political and policymaking processes by imposing international priorities and undermining local level political accountability’.²⁰

Among other factors, the directions PRSPs take in relation to these two visions will be influenced by politics. How will country politics influence the possibilities that emerge from the PRSP initiative? And how will PRSP processes influence in-country political change and the development of political institutions?

It is necessary to examine the political ambiguities that surround some of the core PRSP principles. What, for instance, does ‘country ownership’ refer to? And how does this ‘shared ownership’ represent the needs and rights of minorities and indigenous peoples?

The same can be said of the international financial institutions (IFIs) use of the term ‘participation’.

‘Participation can mean a number of things and leaving the concept open begs the questions of who should participate, in what processes, with what power and with what legitimacy? To institutionalize participation in policymaking would require that political processes become more open and participatory – a process that goes beyond the remit of the PRSP exercise and enters into the terrain of governance.’²¹

A political view of participation: ‘citizenship participation’

‘Citizenship participation’ or ‘direct ways in which citizens influence and exercise control in governance’²² is a more political understanding of participation. It incorporates the right to participation as a basic human right. It merges participation and ‘good governance’ agendas. Seeing participation as a citizenship right also recognizes the significance of power differentials and dynamics within participation.

Challenges to minorities’ and indigenous peoples’ right to participation

Traditionally rights have been regarded solely as the entitlement of citizens. Some citizens, however, have less access to their rights as citizens than others. For minorities and indigenous peoples, this is usually caused by discrimination and other forms of social, political and economic marginalization. Many minorities and indigenous peoples are denied citizenship, usually as an intentional form of exclusion. The resulting political exclusion is one of the many obstacles to their

participation in policy processes. The denial of citizenship is not consistent with international instruments, nor with most national constitutions; recently rights have been extended to non-citizen residents in several countries.²³

Participatory processes face severe limitations when citizens' rights to basic resources are denied; a hungry, homeless or illiterate person is unlikely to be able to demand their rights to participate, and to develop their citizenship rights.²⁴ Poor peoples' ability to realize their right to participate presupposes a knowledge of this political right, and access to basic economic and social rights to meet their survival needs.

Although participatory methods may have potential, unequal power relations and unequal capacities to participate are significant barriers to pro-poor results in such processes.

For minorities and indigenous peoples, participatory processes will only be successful if they take account of linguistic and cultural differences, gender inequalities, the impact of direct and indirect discrimination, as well as geographic remoteness and dispersion:

*In the case of minorities, unless special programmes such as educational facilities, access to the public service, or sometimes special financial loans, are established to enable them to catch up with other citizens, the disparities between them and others increase. Participation assumes security and self-confidence. The importance of minimum levels of education and other social and economic facilities to the exercise of the right to participate is increasingly recognized in studies on poverty and social development.*²⁵

These groups face increasing political exclusion. Being dispersed throughout a country, minorities generally lack political representatives to influence policies that reflect their interests. Therefore, to ensure effective participation, 'special procedures, institutions and arrangements' through which minorities are able to effectively influence policy and politics must be established.²⁶

However, some minorities or indigenous peoples may consider participation – on the terms of the state and in its institutions – as placing them in a compromising situation. This might be particularly true in cases where they have had unsatisfactory relationships with national institutions and/or have a goal of self-determination.

In some cases, struggles for self-determination are a response to paternalistic approaches taken by governments, based on the erroneous assumption that minorities and indigenous peoples are economically and socially 'backward'. This false perception, combined with discrimination, is used to justify governments' top-down 'modernizing' approaches to development for these groups. It results in

minorities and indigenous peoples feeling a threat to their identity and autonomy – a threat that may be compounded through any involvement with national politics and institutions, where their influence may be marginal.

There are, however, many forms of participation – not all involve the surrender to a state's claims or to assimilation. Does the effective participation of minorities and indigenous peoples in development policy processes lead to alternative development strategies that are sensitive to these groups' rights? The degree to which PRSPs open a space for such alternatives remains to be seen.

Minorities' and indigenous peoples' participation in policy processes

A major challenge faced by CSOs engaging in PRS processes results from varied understandings of what participation should be. Christian Aid observes that 'participating groups frequently claim their involvement has been used to legitimize processes but that they have not been permitted to influence policy'.²⁷ Many factors contribute to this. Effective participation in meetings is challenging for CSOs because of factors such as the language in which a document is published, or the way a meeting is run, or the simple lack of information about what a PRSP is.

Documents are rarely produced in local languages. In Bolivia, for instance, Spanish versions of PRSP documents were never translated into indigenous languages.²⁸ This was also the case in Kenya (see p. 37–46).

Invitations to meetings and background papers are frequently sent to participating CSOs at the last minute and meeting agendas are rarely participatory. The Lumah Ma Dilaut Center for Living Traditions²⁹ in the Philippines cites cases where its members participated in certain consultations and where none of their recommendations reached the national-level agenda. They observed:

*“manipulations” by groups from the mainstream NGOs [non-governmental organizations] who dominated most of the discussions and whose agenda was approved and carried over in most of the [votes]; suggestions and agenda by minority blocs were just swept aside or reduced to watered-down versions ... There was a general feeling among us minorities ... that our presence there was just for counting heads and not really for any genuine representation or participation.*³⁰

Such gatherings are often treated as information-giving sessions, where the government presents its plans for the PRSPs, allocating little or no time to hear the participants' views. Further, governments rarely respond to CSOs' contributions at the meetings:

*'CSOs often do not get feedback on which of their recommendations will and will not be included in PRSP documents ... leaving them feeling that their contributions have not been taken seriously.'*³¹

Many CSOs argue that they were invited without sufficient time to prepare effectively for consultative meetings and that information-sharing prior to and after consultations has been inadequate.³²

Also, as PRSPs are key for accessing debt relief, many governments are hurried in their development of these policies, 'placing many lobbying groups in difficult positions, as they have had to weigh up the danger of delaying debt relief against the importance of genuine participation'.³³ Many timelines have been too rushed for grassroots organizations and CSOs that are not based in capital cities to be effectively involved.

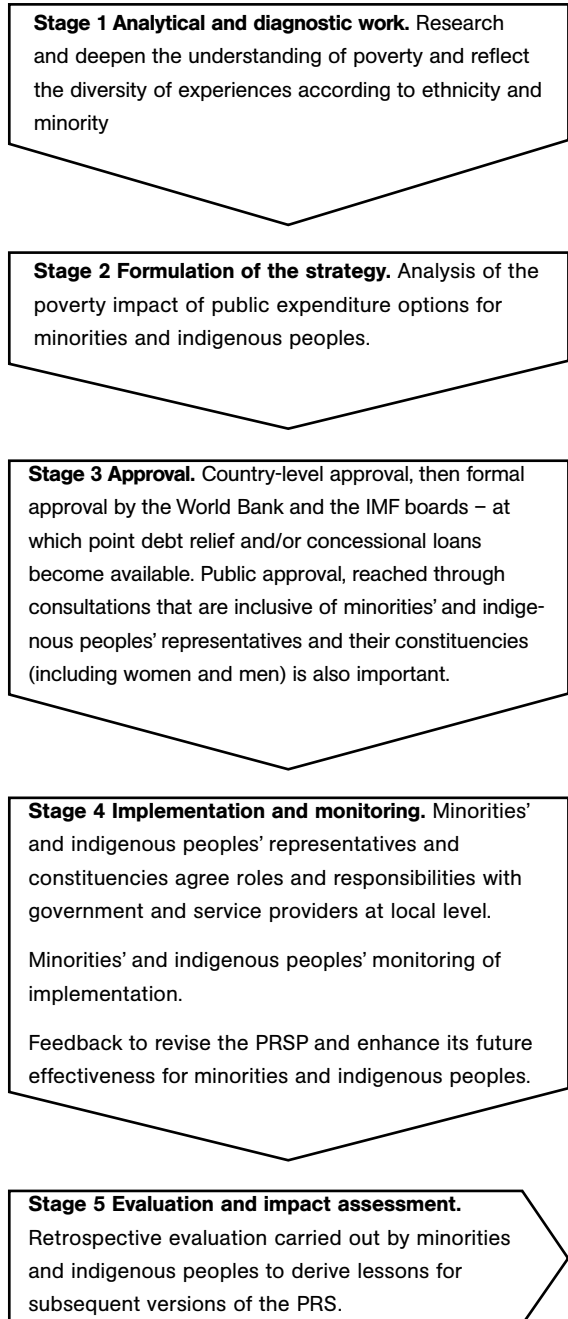
CSOs' participation has been confined to a few selected organizations that have either been invited to participate or have lobbied to be involved. Usually these are leading national NGOs. Even the World Bank observes 'formal solicitation of participation has ignored non-traditional NGOs, and community-based organizations (CBOs) located outside the metropolis or those engaged in niche issues'.³⁴ Christian Aid observed that organizations more critical of current policies are less likely to be chosen.³⁵ Whether those NGOs that do participate represent the poor is also questionable and, with few exceptions, participatory processes have not been built on local traditions and cultural norms.³⁶

These factors mean that many civil society groups remain ill-informed and unaware of their 'right' to participate in the policy process. Lumah Ma Dilaut cites two reasons for not having participated in their country's anti-poverty programme as a civil society group: a lack of information among their constituents about the possibility of participating in this policy's development process, and that they were not invited.

*'Invitations were extended only to major civil society networks and especially those strategically based in major cities ... the selection of participants was also based on familiarity with major linkages and membership in networks with whom the organizers had already established [a] relationship ... Minority ethnics will have lesser chances of being chosen and invited because they do not have the proper connections with government and mainstream civil society groups.'*³⁷

These challenges are further compounded for minority and indigenous peoples, who often live in remote areas, speak local languages, and suffer from poverty and lack of resources – and even more so for women in these communities. The groups that aim to represent them are unlikely to have good access to government or national NGO networks, and thus have little capacity to engage effectively in such processes.

Figure 1 – Opportunities for participation



Minority and indigenous peoples' participation in PRSPs

It is helpful to think of PRS processes as having five basic stages when identifying opportunities for participation. These are identified by the flowchart (Figure 1 on p. 17), which focuses on how minorities and indigenous peoples might exploit opportunities to participate in them.³⁸

Ways of doing this are either through a more 'collaborative relationship between government and civil society, with these parties working towards a common goal' or through a 'more adversarial approach of campaigning and lobbying of government'.³⁹ This section draws on both approaches. It is important that both women's and men's voices are heard.

Analytical and diagnostic work

Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) can be defined as an instrument for including poor people's views in the analysis of poverty, and the formulation of strategies to reduce it through public policy.⁴⁰ They have been employed in the analytic and diagnostic stage, and in some cases in the monitoring and evaluation phases of various PRSPs.

Vietnam's PPA process provides an insight into minority participation and influence (see Box 3).

Box 3: Minorities and PPAs in Vietnam⁴¹

In 1998, the World Bank identified the need for a new poverty assessment in Vietnam. This was to be done in partnership with, and through collaboration between, central and local government, and NGOs and donors; and was to incorporate qualitative/ participatory approaches.

The international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) and other selected partners in the PPA process had a history of poverty reduction work in Vietnam and were keen to use their links with poor communities to inform national-level poverty analysis. The Vietnam–Sweden Mountain Rural Development Programme (MRDP) had been working with the Department of Agriculture and Rural Development in four districts since 1992, in the areas of extension, land use planning, savings and credit, business development and human resources development.

Lao Cai province PPA

Lao Cai province lies on the border with China in the extreme north-west of Vietnam. It is a mountainous area with ridges and secluded valleys where rural communities are situated. Lao Cai is home to 33 ethnic groups. This results in very complex patterns of locally adapted land use systems and socio-cultural characteristics.

In Lao Cai, the MRDP carried out a PPA in six villages in two districts: Bao Thang and Muong Khuong. Both are ethnically diverse. Bao Thang has a population of 91,516 (1997) and is made up of 16 ethnic groups.

In selecting the communes and study villages, MRDP used the following criteria:

- *Environment and location.* An attempt was made to cover a range of geographical features, including degree of remoteness and accessibility, proximity to urban centres and markets, and both upland and midland topography and land use systems.
- *Ethnicity.* An explicit attempt was made to cover a range of larger and smaller ethnic groups in the province, as well as different ethnic compositions, including villages consisting of a single ethnic group, and mixed communities in both midland and upland areas.
- *Existing infrastructure.* An attempt was made to cover villages close to and far from the commune centres.

In addition, in its PPA report MRDP communicates its awareness of varying policy impacts on different communities.

PPAs were carried out in the poorest villages. In each study village, local people identified households whom they consider to be the poorest.

MRDP used the concept of 'well-being', because the term 'poverty' tends to have negative associations for many people:

'It is ... a better starting point to discuss local people's life situation because it encompasses a wider range of factors that contribute to their comparative health, material prosperity, social security and personal happiness.'

Commune- and village-level assessments included: well-being ranking of households; socio-economic mapping of households; interviews with households in the poorest category; institutional analysis of strengths and weaknesses of government services; specific exercises on land and water issues, family health, cash income needs and market opportunities; specific exercises to assess priorities and needs of women and young people.

The process of designing the studies was facilitated by MRDP's institutional knowledge and experience of participatory techniques, which it had used in programme planning and monitoring for many years. MRDP's familiarity with the area meant that study teams were able to double-check the findings.

The process with communities was an iterative one, of three phases: grounding, facilitating and validating. It involved feedback workshops with province, district and commune staff to discuss findings and make adjustments to the report. During province-level workshops, many issues were debated that pertained to links between PPA findings and appropriate policy responses. Relevant to ethnic minorities were the constant concerns expressed by poor households that lacked information on their entitlements, rights and

the activities of local government; and the multiple, interlocking disadvantages – economic and non-economic – which confront poor ethnic minority households.

The PPAs served to prove the marginalization of ethnic minorities in upland areas. This led to a UNDP-funded study that aimed to feed into an ethnic minority development plan.⁴²

Some valuable lessons for minority groups and those who work to represent them emerged from Vietnam's PPA experience. It was important that there was an established relationship between MRDP and poor communities, and government representatives. This helped in the identification of poorer ethnic minority communities, and poorer families within these.

MRDP's history in this region also led to an awareness of factors influencing poverty issues for minorities. This was applied in their selection criteria for study villages. The programme's use of the concept of 'well-being' as opposed to that of poverty demonstrates a high degree of sensitivity towards the communities. Also contributing to MRDP's success was the use of participatory techniques and an iterative approach to the work.

The government bodies belonging to the province-wide group took part in the feedback workshops, and in debates around issues of rights, entitlements, local government, and the challenges facing poor ethnic minority households. This was a critical factor in ensuring the incorporation of these issues into national-level policy.

The analysis cannot end here, however. The way in which PPA data has been translated into policy leads to questions as to the perception and attitude of the PRSP authors towards minorities. We need to look at the broader experience of ethnic minorities in Vietnam to put the PPA experience in context. In Vietnam, the Kinh ethnic majority typically see ethnic minorities as 'backward' and have a paternalistic, if not discriminatory, attitude towards them. National-level policies may appear to be pro-minority, however they are always top-down and based on a 'modernizing' approach to development. The Vietnam government believes that minorities should 'modernize' but retain some remnants of their culture to give 'colour and diversity' to Vietnam's national identity, without enabling political diversity however.⁴³ This is reflected in the output of the PPA as elaborated in the country's PRSP (see Box 7, pp. 35–6).

PPAs are often focused on acquiring poverty data, rather than on the process. Their primary objective is not necessarily to 'own and use information to develop action plans at the community level'.⁴⁴ In Vietnam, at the local level, minorities are rarely represented in local government structures and thus their interests are rarely reflected in decision-making. Further, there is virtually no ethnic minority civil society representation in Vietnam and the Commission for Ethnic Minorities cannot be considered as a representative body for minorities. Often, governments establish ostensibly representative minority bodies that are comprised of academics

and co-opted minority leaders who are not accountable to minority communities. Therefore, in Vietnam, their potential to voice minorities' concerns and their interest in policy processes is limited. This severely questions the assertion⁴⁵ that PPA-type instruments have evolved into methodologies that go beyond qualitative poverty assessment and monitoring and are being used for community consultation and action planning, as well as for impact monitoring and evaluation of government policies, strategies and services. A more in-depth look at whether minority and indigenous peoples have felt this shift would be telling.

Consultations and working groups are another means by which civil society representatives can feed into the analysis and diagnosis of poverty. Examples here might include activities carried out by common-interest groups that seek to influence government from within its PRSP formulation mechanisms. In many cases, these activities are not initiated by a government invitation to participate, but rather through pressure from outside, and as we will see, some elements within the government.

A fascinating experience is that of pastoralist groups in Ethiopia (Box 4).

Box 4: Pastoralist participation in Ethiopia's PRSP⁴⁶

The process

The interim PRSP came out in Ethiopia in November 2000 and faced serious criticism from CSOs on the grounds of lack of consultation and inclusiveness. This document did not include pastoralists' issues, apart from mentioning pastoralism as a complex phenomenon that is difficult to understand. It was at that time that the Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE) began to advocate for the inclusion of pastoralists' voices in the country's final PRSP. The PFE carried out a number of activities, including:

- organizing a national conference on Pastoral Development and the Poverty Reduction Strategy in May 2001. This widened debate and dialogue on the issues among wider stakeholders and the recommendations were documented and circulated;
- facilitating and coordinating the Fourth Ethiopian Pastoralist Day, paying special attention to the Pastoral Poverty Reduction Strategy in January 2002;
- organizing consultation workshops for the pastoralists and stakeholders;
- translating concerns and strategies from these consultations into 'A Chapter on Pastoralism (Pastoral Poverty Reduction Strategy)', which was submitted to the government for inclusion in the PRSP.

The PFE's advocacy strategy included alliance-building with the government (Ministry of Agriculture) and NGOs (CRDA, PRSP Task Force), and participating in all levels of the government's PRSP consultation processes.

In September 2002, the final PRSP came out. It includes a six-page chapter on pastoral-

ism and pastoral poverty reduction strategy, partly incorporating the PFE's proposals.

Pastoralism in the national development arena

The main policy changes made by the government include:

- recognition of the constitutional right of pastoralists not to be displaced from their own land;
- power decentralization to the regions;
- formation and reformulation of pastoral institutions. The government set up the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee in Parliament, which oversees pastoral issues in the country, and established the Pastoralist Area Development Department (PADD) under the Ministry of Federal Affairs.

In addition, the pastoral regional states have reformulated many of their institutions to incorporate pastoralist issues. Oromiya regional state has established the Pastoral Development Commission, while other regions have Pastoral Coordination Offices under the Regional Bureau of Rural Development. A conference on Pastoral Area Development was held for the first time in April 2002.

The major development programmes currently being implemented in pastoral regions are those of the Rural Development Strategy. The development priorities of the government are linked with supporting voluntary sedentarization. The programmes include food security, capacity-building, range development and infrastructure development. Programmes are also being implemented in collaboration with bilateral and multilateral organizations.

Major policy challenges

Inadequate recognition of viability of pastoralism. Ethiopia's two traditional livelihood systems are traditional peasant/crop farming and pastoralism. Pastoralism is a dynamic interrelationship of particular lifestyles with particular forms of ownership and use of key resources, such as livestock, rangelands, water, etc. Traditional livestock production is governed by complex social laws that use the available resources to maximize their subsistence livelihood. As such, it can significantly contribute to the national economy. Pastoralism is a means of livelihood and an employment opportunity for millions of Ethiopians, and can coexist with the crop farming system. Pastoralism needs the same recognition as the crop farming system in order to facilitate its contribution to national development.

Lack of land use policy. The Federal Government of Ethiopia Constitution has declared that 'Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands without their will' (Article 40:5). Pastoralists are concerned that there are no by-laws to implement this

provision.

Inadequate economic and social services. Mobility is an integral part of the pastoral system, and a key element in the continued existence of pastoral livelihoods. Pastoralists in Ethiopia are the subject of many myths and misconceptions which contribute to inadequate, often hostile, development policies and interventions. These create major barriers for sustainable pastoral development. These myths include: mobility is inherently 'backward' and outdated; the provision of services for mobile pastoral communities is impossible; pastoralists cannot be trusted and so cannot be provided with financial services.

The effect of these myths has been to deprive pastoralists of social and economic development. There are no financial institutions in the pastoral regions of Ethiopia, while the rest of the country has 25 micro-finance institutions.⁴⁷ Education coverage for the country is about 62 per cent, but only 10 per cent in the pastoral regions.⁴⁸

Opportunity for pastoralism. In Ethiopia, the federal and regional governments, and non-governmental sectors are giving more attention to pastoralists. New fora such as the Eastern Africa Interparliamentary Group will help raise the profile of pastoralists at the regional level, and deal with cross-boundary issues.

In Ethiopia lessons emerge as to the importance of forging alliances with the governmental and non-governmental actors, and combining this with awareness-raising, and debate.

The process of incorporating PFE's proposals into the PRSP is particularly interesting. Although the government has recognized pastoralists' constitutional right to their land, and the need to decentralize power, it did not design by-laws to ensure the realization of this right, and to define land use in pastoralist areas.

As in the case of Vietnam, minority issues were voiced, but did not appear in the final document in a representative or accurate way. Nor were the implications of the impact of broader policies (PRSP and others) on minority livelihoods, territories and identities included.

The government does not seem to recognize the economic importance of pastoralism, and its potential contribution to the country's development. This points to a serious difference between the government and pastoralists as to pastoralists' role in the country's development and the nature of development. The final interpretation of the PFE's recommendation raises some fundamental questions: why is pastoralists' economic contribution ignored? Is this because it does not fit into the government's (or IFIs') broader modernization strategies? What role does discrimination play in the assumptions of decision-makers and their disregard for pastoralists' contribution to economic development? Discriminatory misconceptions about pastoralists continue to create barriers to their access to economic and social services.

The Pastoralist Affairs Standing Committee (PASC)⁴⁹ is considered an indication that the Ethiopian government is paying attention to pastoralism, however it is difficult to consider it a truly representative body.⁵⁰ The PASC has a 'lack of transport facilities, knowledge gaps on pastoral development and information gaps on the situation of various pastoralist communities'.⁵¹ The challenge of the truly legitimate representation of groups is raised again here, as in Vietnam.

PASC needs to undergo capacity-building, including training on representation, participation and pastoralism; it should be provided with regularly updated information on pastoralism in Ethiopia and in the region, and with transport to facilitate visits to communities.⁵²

Finally, we cannot assume that the representation of one minority group such as pastoralists will result in gains for other minority groups that may share common problems, in the same country. This issue will be discussed in the section on Kenya's experience.

Advocacy, campaigning and lobbying

The Vietnam and Ethiopia case studies provide insight into the way pro-minority measures were introduced and incorporated into each of these PRSs. Grupo 484 in Serbia and Montenegro also highlights important lessons on strategic approaches to campaigning and lobbying around minority issues. There, the absence of reference to refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the country's interim PRSP was responded to actively and assertively.

Box 5: Refugee and IDP involvement in Serbia and Montenegro's PRSP⁵³

Grupo 484 is an NGO working to empower 'forced migrants' (refugees, IDPs, asylum seekers) to actively participate in the realization of their rights. In 2002–3 it participated in Serbia and Montenegro's PRSP formulation process through campaigning and lobbying.

Grupo 484 has expertise working with refugees and IDPs, and in facilitating the gathering of information. The group collected material on the problems of refugees and IDPs, and possible solutions, through focus group discussions among refugees, IDPs and others (NGOs and government), as well as gathering data from other sources. Grupo 484 lobbied for a wider concept of poverty that includes lack of enjoyment of basic rights, such as access to personal documents and basic services. It drew heavily upon the United Nations High Commission on Human Rights' (UNHCHR) human rights-based approach to PRSPs.⁵⁴

The group's research work was widely circulated to government actors, other NGOs and international organizations. They worked closely with counterparts in the government. During the process, Grupo 484 saw a more positive attitude develop among government actors who began to respond to their campaign.

The shift in government towards a more open response to Grupo 484's campaign can be attributed to a number of factors, including:

- During the campaign, data on refugee and IDP issues were widely circulated and publicized. This brought these issues onto the negotiation table between other non-state actors and government. The government was 'pressured' and reminded of the issue by different bodies.
- Grupo 484 is a well-known and well-respected organization that is recognized by government for carrying out quality research, advocacy and other work for refugees and IDPs in the area.
- The government was not necessarily unwilling to include refugee and IDP issues but was uncertain of how to do so. The government lacked the necessary expertise to incorporate refugees' and IDPs' rights into the document. Therefore, it was pleased to have Grupo 484's expertise and input.
- The relationship and communication between the relevant decision-makers on the government's PRSP team was a good one. They recognized and appreciated the work of Grupo 484.

Serbia and Montenegro's PRSP addresses refugee and IDP issues, reflecting Grupo 484's lobbying efforts. Unfortunately, implementation of the PRSP was delayed when the government of Serbia and Montenegro resigned one day after its official adoption in October 2003.

Monitoring and evaluation

CSOs are only now beginning to confront the challenge of PRS monitoring and evaluation, and experiences in this area – particularly among minorities and indigenous peoples – is sparse. For this reason we will look at the methods employed by CSOs and government actors that aspire to be participatory.

There are three ways that PRSs need to address accountability to the poor:

- ensuring at the formulation stage that the PRS reflects the needs and priorities of the poor;
- ensuring during implementation that mechanisms are developed and enforced whereby the poor can contain corruption, and hold governments and service providers accountable for delivery of policies and goods;
- building into the design the continuous monitoring by poor people of the fulfilment of PRS commitments.

Enabling the poor to demand accountability should be considered an objective in itself. Monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes for them

*'delivers important intangible benefits, in terms of assertiveness and empowerment, which ensue from ... calling a government, service delivery NGO or firm to account for its performance.'*⁵⁵

While this assertion argues for the value of participatory monitoring and evaluation, it also highlights how particularly challenging this would be for poor and marginalized people who feel 'social inferiority in the face of officialdom'.⁵⁶

Mundo Afro, an organization working to represent African descendants in Uruguay, discusses the challenges it faces at this level:

*'There is still a lot of work to do in order for the [Afro-descendant] community not to feel the historical burden of 500 years of marginalization – a factor that is apparent through low self-esteem which results in little upward socio-economic mobility.'*⁵⁷

Disaggregating data

The lack of upward socio-economic mobility among Afro-descendants, like the status of any minority or indigenous group, requires substantiation in order to justify targeted policies and programmes. Collecting disaggregated data based on social and economic poverty indicators for these groups is key. In many countries poverty indicators do not take ethnic or minority criteria into account, burying these groups among the broader population.

In countries where poverty indicators do consider ethnic identity, PRSPs often make mention of these minorities' or indigenous peoples' vulnerability to poverty. Honduras' poverty profile is disaggregated according to factors such as the incidence of poverty among ethnic groups (among others). Studies indicate their level of poverty, and allow the government to identify the major factors involved: lack of secure land tenure; poor coverage of basic services such as health, education, potable water, sanitation, electricity and roads; high levels of contagious diseases; and little support for productive employment programmes and for preserving these groups' cultural heritage.

As a result, the ethnic dimension of poverty in Honduras has been identified as a subject of major importance in the development of the PRSP. Members of various ethnic groups in the country are expected to receive special attention, and ethnicity is considered a cross-cutting element in the programmatic areas of the PRSP.⁵⁸

The fact that disaggregated data in Honduras and other countries point to higher poverty levels among minorities and indigenous peoples, and form the basis for mainstreaming minority and indigenous peoples' needs in their PRSPs, does

not necessarily guarantee appropriate policies or programmes for minorities or indigenous peoples. The case of Vietnam (Boxes 3 and 7) demonstrates this.

Budget monitoring

Various mechanisms are used by civil society and local government structures to monitor poverty, and for the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of PRS implementation.⁵⁹ These include: budget analysis, participatory budgeting, citizen monitoring or social auditing, report cards and community monitoring. An in-depth analysis of these and their role in PRSs is available elsewhere.⁶⁰ It is useful, however, to draw upon existing analysis of what works.

Table 1: Monitoring and evaluation, and prerequisites for success⁶¹

Method of M&E	Prerequisites for success
<p><i>Budget analysis.</i> CSOs monitor poverty-related budget allocations. This is also a standard entry point for parliaments in PRSP monitoring, since budget approval is a parliamentary responsibility.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitors need to understand budgets; • monitors need to have sufficient and appropriate information about budgets; • mobilized citizens' groups/CSOs; • collaborative relationship between government and monitoring actors; • allies within government are helpful, as is the government's political openness.
<p><i>Participatory budgeting.</i> This is a process in which citizens engage in debate and consultation to contribute to defining the balance of expenditures, investments, priorities and uses for state resources.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitors need to understand budgets; • monitors need to have sufficient and appropriate information about budgets; • mobilized citizens' groups/CSOs; • collaborative relationship between government and monitoring actors; • decentralized political system; • allies within government are helpful as is the government's political openness.

<p><i>Public expenditure reviews (PERs) and public expenditure tracking (PETs).</i></p> <p>Conventional PERs and PETs are technical exercises, based on official documents and accounts, carried out by experts. Participatory PETs involve citizens in the collection of data on inputs and expenditures, and in the dissemination of the results to the public. A participatory dimension can be added to PETs by involving CSOs in them. In this way, public awareness and pressure can be increased, as well as the responsiveness and accountability of public institutions and officials.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitors need to understand budgets; • monitors need to have sufficient and appropriate information about budgets; • mobilized citizens' groups/CSOs; • responsive forum for placing complaints.
<p><i>Citizen monitoring or social audits.</i></p> <p>Participatory PETs can also be carried out at a local level through involving local communities, CBOs, CSOs in checking whether funds disbursed from the centre actually reached the point of service delivery. This is often referred to as social audits. The first and best-known initiative of this kind is the Social Control Mechanism in Bolivia (see Box 6).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitors need to understand budgets; • monitors need to have sufficient and appropriate information about budgets; • mobilized citizens' groups/CSOs; • collaborative relationship between government and monitoring actors; • decentralized political system.
<p><i>Citizen report cards.</i> These are participatory service delivery surveys used to assess the use and quality of public services. They are designed to include poor peoples' views through questionnaires and focus group discussions. They allow poor people to evaluate the service and to decide on the criteria they deem important. The other participatory dimension to this approach is the dissemination of the results, which acts as a catalyst for public action and government responsiveness.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A qualified institution or independent CSO with experience of this approach; • monitors need to have sufficient and appropriate access to information; • can be confrontational and therefore is not possible in contexts of political repression or insecurity for civil activists; • NGO service deliverers may not want to expose themselves and may be unwilling to participate in such initiatives.

Common prerequisites for all of these participatory M&E methods are mobilized citizens' groups, CBOs or CSOs, and access to information. Many factors contribute to success. For minority and indigenous peoples' groups that engage in PRSs, these are the starting points. In many cases they have representative bodies; but the scale at which they function, and the responsibilities and influence they have vary, often according to these organizations' capacities.

To carry out effective budget analysis, participatory budgeting, PERs or PETs and citizen monitoring, minority and indigenous groups need to understand budgets, and to be able to access information about budgets. For the first two M&E methods listed, such groups also require collaborative relationships with government and monitoring bodies. This is a new area for most CSOs. Capacity-building efforts here generally take place among national-level, urban-based CSOs. The development of this area of expertise is largely reliant on networks and relationships, or training resources. Many isolated and poor groups, who may also face severe discrimination, have problems accessing such resources.

Decentralization and local governance

Participatory budgeting and citizens' monitoring require decentralized politics. This raises questions about how representative local governance structures are for minorities and indigenous peoples. As the case of Bolivia makes clear, many local governance structures do not consider cultural differences in their design, nor do they necessarily level out long-standing power differences. Often, even where there has been decentralization, little effort has been made to ensure that this process results in increased participation of minorities and indigenous peoples.

Box 6: Decentralized discrimination in Bolivia⁶²

In 2001, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) commissioned Bolivia's Grupo Nacional de Trabajo para la Participación (GNTP) to carry out participatory assessments to evaluate how decentralization affects the lives of local people, and to gather their perspectives on decentralization. Assessments took place in four municipalities: Caripuyo (N. Potosi), Concepción/Lomiero (Santa Cruz), O'Conner (Tarija) and Tiraque (Cochabamba). These were chosen to provide a cross-section of highland and lowland communities in diverse areas of the country, and on other factors such as their poverty index, presence of indigenous peoples and municipal dynamics.

Findings identified discrimination as a significant factor that negatively impacts on indigenous peoples' experience and perceptions regarding the country's decentralization process.

Although legal and constitutional reforms implemented in the 1990s led to the recognition of indigenous cultural, territorial and political rights, widespread discrimination persists. Political elites at all levels continue to view indigenous peoples as 'incapable' of

being political representatives, 'uncivilized, inferior and lazy'. This seriously impedes increased indigenous participation in government. Discrimination also prevents elected indigenous leaders from having access to the media and raising awareness of indigenous peoples' concerns. In the political, education and health systems, discrimination results from an inadequate knowledge of and respect for indigenous cultural practices and ways of life.

Such discrimination is not limited to non-indigenous elites and elected officials. It is also present within the indigenous population. Indigenous municipal council members told one female council member in the municipality of Ayata in northern La Paz, who is Aymara and wears traditional clothing, that she should dress like a non-indigenous woman when she travels to La Paz. This reflects how indigenous clothing and practices are not accepted or respected.

Both in the highlands and lowlands, indigenous municipal council members and representatives of *Comités de Vigilancia* (Vigilance Committees) have so far maintained only sporadic contact with communities. This leads to a significant level of distancing between these political leaders and the grassroots. Council members also tend to prioritize projects in their communities and, as a result, marginalize the needs of other communities.

On the issue of decentralization and its impact on indigenous peoples in Bolivia, it has been observed:

*'...while changes in the legal framework are positive and substantive steps forward, there is no doubt that on the ground [they] have not allowed for sufficient changes in power relations and structures, nor in the practice of democracy. The indigenous identity, culture and rights have not really been recognized in daily life or in the political system ... The Guarani of the Eastern Lowlands, for instance, understand how the municipal government works and have control over certain of its facets. At the same time, they are aware that the decision-making mechanisms and problem solving within this structures are substantially different from their own. As a result, in various ways, the work of the political municipal structures are foreign to the Guarani, making it difficult for them to take advantage of these political spaces.'*⁶³

Legal rights and frameworks in PRSPs

The rights-based approach to development aims to ensure that the process and its outcomes are implemented in a manner consistent with human rights standards. The essential elements of this approach are that it should be equitable in decision-making and sharing of benefits; non-discriminatory, participatory and transparent;

and aimed at the realization of international human rights standards. The right to development approach goes one step further by treating all rights as an integrated whole, and the right to development as a comprehensive process for their achievement. Minority and indigenous peoples' rights as human rights and as constituent elements of the right to development must be understood as a part of this process. Therefore the process and outcomes must respect this.

Of the 37 PRSPs studied,⁶⁴ seven suggest that countries seem to be reconciling minority or indigenous peoples' rights issues (at least partially) through a focus on strengthening existing, or building new, legislative frameworks.

Guyana's PRSP portrays the country as a multi-ethnic society with six ethnic groups. It notes the passing of a law in 2000 to establish an Ethnic Relations Commission to promote racial harmony. In 2001, Guyana's Constitution was amended 'to promote the enhancement of fundamental rights and the law' and four Commissions were named, including one focusing on human rights and another on indigenous peoples. In its PRSP, the government plans to provide resources to strengthen these Commissions' ability to perform their functions, which in the case of the Indigenous Peoples Commission, includes the promotion and protection of the rights of indigenous peoples; the raising of awareness of the contributions of, and problems faced by, indigenous peoples; the promotion of the empowerment of indigenous peoples, especially with regard to the village council in the local government system; and the making of recommendations for the protection, preservation and promulgation of the cultural heritage and language of indigenous peoples.

Similarly, Serbia and Montenegro's PRSP draws upon its Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities; a law that grants the National Council of the Roma National Minority representation of the Roma minority in the areas of information, education, culture and official use of language. And, through the PRSP, the Council will gain certain competences and financial resources in order to better perform its task.

In the Kyrgyz Republic's PRSP, part of its governance strategy is to implement the 'national idea, "Kyrgyzstan – a country of human rights"'. The document highlights the special role of the judiciary, of advocacy, and of the law enforcement bodies that must provide legal support and a means of public control over observance of laws and human rights. Within this context, community-based human rights organizations must be adequately supported, and protection of the rights of ethnic minorities should be made a priority. Mechanisms are needed to support ethnic development, regulate inter-ethnic relations, and expand opportunities for the participation of ethnic groups in state administration. In its Action Matrix, it lists 'Developing the concept of ethnic policy and the National Program of Ethnic Development' as an activity with the expected outcome of 'international

norms on observance of minorities' rights complied with, and state and non-state systems of guarantees of ethnic development established'.

Nepal's PRSP talks of strengthening the Human Rights Commission and its Dalit Development Commission. In collaboration with the Ministry of Local Development and the National Academy for the Upliftment of Indigenous Peoples, this Commission will monitor ministries to ensure they give equal attention to minority Dalits in non-targeted and targeted programmes.

One of the policy measures from Honduras' PRSP 'Development of Ethnic Groups', is to bring national legislation into line with the ILO Convention No. 169 so that its provisions can be enforced.

Nicaragua's PRSP aspires to strengthen the Attorney General's Office for Human Rights and the Special Attorney's Office for the Protection of Indigenous Communities. Its indigenous-focused promotion of equal access to services and opportunities, and the combating of social exclusion, also involves strengthening the regulatory framework legislation protecting the rights of indigenous peoples. With regard to land issues, approval of a law demarcating indigenous lands for indigenous peoples is also listed as a policy action item.

The Lao PDR's PRSP is the only one to raise the issues of rights awareness among its marginalized citizens. This is through its governance objective to 'promote awareness of legal rights and remedies (e.g. relating to land, employment and personal security) among women, especially rural and ethnic minority women'.

These legislative frameworks merit in-depth analysis with respect to their implementation processes and their impact on those whose rights they aim to protect.

A look at PRSP content

Of the 37 PRSPs examined, only 21 mention minority groups. In Senegal's PRSP, although refugees and IDPs are referred to as minorities, there is no specific mention of the Diola, an indigenous group living in the Casamance province, or of their struggle for independence. And, despite Uganda's reputation for having taken civil society participation seriously in the formulation of its PRSP, through its extensive PPA process, there is no mention of the country's 56 ethnic groups⁶⁵ in the document.

In PRSPs, the term 'minority' is presented in different ways. In the case of Albania, reference to minority group representation is only made in the list of members of its Social Affairs Advisory Group. In Tajikistan's PRSP, the country's three ethnic groups are described, however none of the groups are referred to as a minority or as underprivileged. Despite discrimination against the Uzbeks, no programmes or policies targeting them are outlined. Georgia's PRSP is similar in that the government assumes responsibility to safeguard all minorities against

violence from the majority, yet no policies or programmes are outlined to ensure that this happens. Similarly, in Senegal's PRSP, the only mention of a minority is in the statement that 'the cultivation of peace, tolerance and solidarity must remain a cardinal value ... in order to prevent the exclusion and marginalization of minorities'; no practical measures to ensure this are mentioned.

Minority services and rights

Many PRSPs refer to the need to improve services to minority groups; to ensure access to basic services such as water, health and education. Again, practical measures to realize these goals vary significantly.

Education. In 12 PRSPs studied, education strategies and programmes explicitly attempt to address minority and indigenous peoples' needs and rights. Education programmes and policies for these groups include the provision of special measures for minority groups and indigenous peoples.

Ethiopia's PRSP mentions non-formal education programmes for pastoral communities and/or areas, the provision of mobile education services and the construction of boarding schools in minority group areas. In Honduras' PRSP, alternative form adult education programmes, alongside bilingual and intercultural training, seek to expand literacy and strengthen social protection of ethnic groups.

Sri Lanka's 'Relief, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation' framework, upon which its PRS is built, aims to promote multiculturalism in schools. This includes reviewing textbooks for bias; teaching in minority languages in minority group areas; culturally sensitive teacher training, university teaching and research; and social harmony programmes in the secondary and tertiary curricula.

Lao PDR's PRSP aspires to attain universal quality primary education by 2015, with a special focus on ethnic minority communities. It includes improving the quality of the teaching and learning process, with teacher training for ethnic minorities. It also includes measures to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the teaching and learning processes. Teaching and learning aids for Lao language teaching to ethnic minorities, and Lao language teacher guides are being developed. The government has recently approved an Ethnic Group Development Plan as part of its response to the education needs of the country's multi-ethnic population.

Similarly, Nepal's PRSP aims at improving access to and the quality of primary education. It aims to expand literacy programmes to improve the livelihoods of deprived groups, including Dalits, and to expand secondary and higher education scholarships for them and other indigenous groups.

Serbia and Montenegro's PRSP pays specific attention to expanding and improving the education of Roma children by enrolling children in pre-school institutions, introducing compulsory programmes in primary schools, training

teachers to work with Roma children, providing a snack and free transport for poorer children, and encouraging older Roma children who have dropped out of school to take craft and vocational courses. The need to analyse the causes and consequences of enrolment and (non-)attendance by Roma children was also identified, as was the teaching of Roma adults, especially women, to read and write. Education reforms include giving special attention to preparing teachers and others to work with minority groups in their first language in pre-school education, and the provision of free school materials. The PRSP also mentions the building of pre-schools near to Roma, Ashkaelia and Egyptian (RAE) populations.

Health. In Ethiopia, the PRSP espouses providing mobile health services for pastoralists. In Lao PDR's PRSP, one strategic programme involves upgrading the skills of ethnic minority health workers and attracting new health workers from these communities. It will also attempt to strengthen district health systems by providing incentives for health staff to occupy posts in remote areas. The document also proposes establishing primary health care training centres in areas accessible to ethnic minority groups, and recognizes the need to expand reproductive health services for minority women.

Housing. In Georgia, the PRSP aspires to repatriate refugees and IDPs, to return their property, and restore their houses and the infrastructure. Central to the PRSP strategy of Serbia and Montenegro is 'Roma Settlements and Housing', with a focus on resolving the legal status of Roma settlements and improving their infrastructure.

Land. In Ethiopia, the strategy for pastoral development is based on the sedentarization of pastoralists. This is to be on a voluntary basis.

Honduras' PRSP identifies the lack of secure land tenure as a major factor in the incidence of poverty among ethnic groups. Its first objective is to guarantee access to land and secure land tenure for organized and independent small farmers and ethnic populations. The related policy measure outlined in its PRSP involves strengthening programmes for 'adjudicating, titling and clearing of land tenure ... through actions [such as] strengthening and enlarging massive land titling programs ...'. The document also outlines the need to title rural properties recovered and expropriated by the state, as well as those cases being legally processed by the National Agrarian Institute.

Nicaragua's PRSP also includes land-related policy actions impacting on ethnic groups, such as modernizing the property registry system; and regularizing property titles through titling, conflict resolution, documentation, legitimization and land demarcation. These policies will be piloted in three departments. In 12 indigenous communities of the Atlantic Coast and Bosawas, efforts will be made to approve and apply the Law for Demarcating Indigenous Lands. However, Afro-Nicaraguans have not been involved in the design of these policies and programmes.

This observation indicates that mention of minority and indigenous peoples' issues in PRSPs is not enough. It is necessary to critically examine the wording around these groups' issues in the final documents, and the ways in which these programmes are planned and implemented. For example, the section of Vietnam's PRSP on raising the living standards of ethnic minorities, raises questions about the government's attitude towards minorities and their development (see Box 7).

Box 7: Vietnam's PRSP commitment to ethnic minorities⁶⁶

Stabilizing and raising the living standards of ethnic minorities

Continue to implement the socio-economic development programme for extremely disadvantaged communes (programme 135), ensure that communes have essential infrastructure. Develop infrastructure and commune clusters, plan residential areas, promote agricultural, forestry and fishery production, train commune staff. Gradually narrow the gap between ethnic groups in terms of their material and spiritual lives.

Allocate land and forests to individuals, households, and organizations in ethnic, mountainous areas. Ensure the entitlement of individual and collective land use rights to ethnic minorities and mountain people.

Implement fixed-cultivation and fixed-residence policies, restrict free migration, stabilize production, and improve the living standards of mountain and ethnic peoples in a way that respects their customs and practices, and is based on a master-plan for population distribution which aims to establish concentrated population clusters, commune clusters and townships. Infrastructure – transport facilities, water and electricity supply, communications, markets, etc. – should be taken into consideration.

Effectively exploit the potential of the land and labour of these areas, intensify the development of forestry, cash crops, fruit trees and traditional handicrafts in ethnic minority and mountain areas.

Provide guidance on how to do business, transfer technology and provide information in order to develop a strongly market-oriented commodity-producing economy, rapidly increase the share of industry and services in the economy, and gradually move towards eliminating 'autarchic economy' in ethnic minority and mountainous areas. Develop agricultural and forest production farms. Combine agro-processing industry development with product distribution for different economic sectors in mountainous areas.

Raise the intellectual level of the people, preserve and build on the traditional cultural values of ethnic peoples.

Give priority to training and using ethnic cadres at the local level, and gradually increase the percentage of ethnic cadres. Provide preferential treatment to and effectively use village elders and village leaders, and effectively implement the policy of maintaining strong solidarity among ethnic groups in ethnic minorities and mountainous areas.

Continue to consolidate and expand the education, health care, culture and information activities of ethnic minority peoples. Preserve and develop reading and writing in ethnic

languages. Provide access to kindergarten education to children from ethnic minority groups and opportunities for children from ethnic minority groups to complete primary education in Vietnamese. Teach in ethnic languages at school for those ethnic groups that have written languages.

Provide information on poverty reduction programmes in an accessible manner and in places where ethnic peoples can have easy access to them.

In Box 7, there is no evidence of bottom-up or participatory planning or implementation. The language and tone suggest a top-down approach. The absence of any mention of minority groups' involvement in the programme suggests that the actions are to be carried out by government and its partners.

Of particular concern is the fact that land and forests will be allocated for fixed-cultivation and fixed-residence, and that free migration will be restricted, based on a 'master-plan' for population distribution. The programme discusses the effective exploitation of these areas through intensification of economic activities and says that guidance will be provided in the areas of business and technology transfer in order to develop a market-oriented commodity-producing economy and eliminate the autarchic economy in these areas. There is little evidence of cultural sensitivity towards minority groups' way of life here.

Reference to preserving and building upon traditional cultural values is coupled with 'raising their intellectual level', which explicitly implies minorities' lower intellectual level.

Implementation involves providing preferential treatment to and using village elders and village leaders. This could be interpreted as co-option and manipulation of internal political structures and institutions to ensure success of the 'master-plan'.

The text suggests the government may be pursuing assimilationist, modernizing and discriminatory policies towards Vietnam's ethnic minorities. This points to a need to carefully examine not only the nature of such relationships in different PRSP countries, but also the broader political and historical context in which PRS processes, and minorities' and indigenous peoples' struggles, are embedded. The following section on Kenya's experience does just that.

Minorities' and indigenous peoples' experience in Kenya's PRS process

by Nyang'ori Ohenjo

With more than half of its population of 32.2 million people living in absolute poverty, Kenya is the twenty-second poorest country in the world with a *per capita* income of US \$239 a year.⁶⁷

The concept of minorities in the Kenyan context, and with regard to the PRSP process, refers to communities that are non-dominant, economically, politically and socially. Indigenous peoples are also economically, socially and politically marginalized.⁶⁸ These communities are in this position because of exclusionary socio-economic and political policies – both inadvertent and deliberate – starting with Sessional Paper no. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism.⁶⁹ Many African states, including Kenya, have found it hard to recognize and accept the existence of minorities and indigenous peoples. This has led to systematic discrimination against members of these communities, leading to their almost total exclusion from socio-economic and political processes.

The Kenyan economy has been largely based on commercial agricultural and industrial production, as opposed to sustaining and developing minorities and indigenous peoples' traditional economies.⁷⁰ For a long time, minorities were unrecognized and no attempt was made to include their rights in the development agenda.⁷¹ This greatly affected minority communities whose traditional economies largely depended on community ownership of resources.

Indigenous peoples have also been denied recognition because their struggle is for their ancestral lands and ownership of these lands' natural resources. This pitted them against the government, which now owns these lands and resources.

These communities have become impoverished, with poor education levels, high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, poor health, and high child and maternal mortality rates. The communities are mainly comprised of: fisher peoples from Lake Victoria, Lake Turkana and the Coastal Region; agro-pastoralists in western Kenya, especially around Lake Victoria, as well as the coastal region; nomadic pastoralists around the Rift Valley; and hunter gatherer communities in forested areas such as

the Aberdare Escarpment and Mount Elgon Region.⁷² Minorities and indigenous peoples make up the biggest percentage of poor people in Kenya, possibly more than 60 per cent.⁷³

The Kenyan PRSP was linked to the long-term vision outlined in the Kenyan National Poverty Eradication Plan (NPEP), which was developed using the MDG benchmarks as a 15-year plan to fight poverty.⁷⁴ Given that minorities and indigenous peoples bear the brunt of poverty they should have been central to this work.

The NPEP was prepared by the Poverty Eradication Commission in the Office of the President in 1998 and launched in 1999. The PRSP was thus prepared to implement the NPEP in three-year rolling plan via the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF).

Socio-economic and political context

The Kenyan PRSP process came during a period when it was virtually impossible for Kenyans to engage in any activities that were seen as anti-establishment. This affected civil society and politicians; there was hardly any space for meaningful civil society participation in government-initiated processes.

Moreover, while there was some civil society activity, minorities and indigenous peoples were at a disadvantage, as the CSOs that sprang up in the 1980s and 1990s were identified with the dominant Kenyan communities. While there were some minority NGOs, CBOs and indigenous peoples' organizations (IPOs), these were almost irrelevant because of their lack of resources and their lack of knowledge of human rights, and because of government interference with their activities. Until very recently, the government denied the existence of minorities.⁷⁵

Economic conditions also worsened at this time, because of corruption and political repression. The economy declined from 6.6 per cent average annual growth rate in 1964–72, to 2.4 per cent in the period 1990–2000. The Welfare Monitoring Survey conducted in 1997 revealed that the overall incidence of poverty in Kenya stood at 52 per cent. The official government figure stood at 52 per cent by 2002.⁷⁶

The genesis of the Kenyan PRSP

Contrary to the government's stated objective of developing a poverty reduction strategy, it can be argued that the Kenyan PRSP process was launched mainly in order to trigger the resumption of donor funding, which had been suspended in 1991 because of the government's human rights record. Some argue that the government was only interested in satisfying the World Bank and the IMF so that Kenya could get access to credit facilities. There is a lack of a genuinely broad-based ownership of the process and of the final document. A major problem was the speed of the process:

'the pace of engagement reflected less the needs of various constituencies rather than a preoccupation with accessing budgetary support from the World Bank before the conclusion of the budget 2000/1'.⁷⁷

This undermines government assertions that the PRSP process in Kenya was comprehensively consultative and participatory.

In Kenya, PRSP development, consensus-building and participatory techniques were cosmetic and tailored to create a picture of the government reaching a national consensus. Those who participated in consultations at grassroots level found themselves surrounded by government officials from the provincial administration. Thus they became mere spectators, as only government employees gave their views, while the 'community representatives' remained silent for fear of saying anything that could be construed to be anti-establishment.⁷⁸ The members of the provincial administration represented the power of the state, and they would not tolerate anything that they considered a threat to the government – in particular, the empowerment of the poor. This is clearly illustrated by the way the former government treated issues of civic education in the run-up to the constitutional review.⁷⁹ Those who tried to raise their voices in the name of representing the marginalized were detained without trial or jailed on trumped-up charges.⁸⁰ Fear was thus instilled in many people, effectively ensuring that there was little or no opposition or criticism to the government-initiated processes.

Therefore the policies emerging from the PRS process do not have clear poverty-reducing consequences. This is because the issues, needs, aspirations and priorities of those most affected by the poverty have not been included in the process. There is a lack of ownership of these processes by the poor, and lopsided priorities on the part of the government. The focus is still on economic growth. The question of how this growth is to be redistributed to the poor is not addressed.⁸¹ The annual government estimates (budgets) put forward poverty reduction policies with very little focus on the real marginalized communities and groups.

Consultation and participation of minorities and indigenous peoples in PRSP

The Kenyan government, while embarking on the PRSP preparation process, admitted that the war against poverty could not be won without active and committed participation of the poor. This consultative process, according to the government, took about 10 months, between 2000 and 2001.

The government undertook to ensure a consultative process aimed at ensuring that the development of the PRSP would represent a shift from top-down to bottom-up planning. Did it succeed in this?

Kenya launched the PRSP consultations process on 6 November 2000, with the PRSP Secretariat in Ministry of Finance and Planning as the lead agency. The process was 'broad-based' with consultations at the national, regional, district and divisional level.

Nine Sector Working Groups were formed for production of the full PRSP. These included Agriculture and Rural Development; Human Resource Development; Information and Technology; Law and Order; National Security; Physical Infrastructure; Public Administration; Public Safety; Tourism, Trade and Industry; and a Macroeconomic Working Group. In addition, eight Thematic Groups were formed: Disability, Finance, Gender, Governance, HIV/AIDS, Media, Pastoralists and Youth. It is important to note that among Kenya's indigenous peoples (i.e. among the pastoralists, hunter gatherers and fishing communities), only the pastoralists had a Thematic Working Group.

The district consultations, district PRSP and Participatory Poverty Assessment reports were submitted to the Sector and Thematic Working Groups which included these groups' inputs and priorities in their reports. It was expected that outputs from the PRSP process – PRSP priorities – which are linked to the district and community inputs, would be used to determine budgeting priorities.

Pastoralist participation

Box 8: Pastoralist participation in Kenya's PRSP⁸²

The process

In late 2000, pastoralist groups from different countries in east Africa came together in Kenya for a *shirka* (gathering), along with development workers and agencies working in pastoralist areas. Pastoralists learned at the *shirka* that PRSPs are important instruments for getting development agendas on the table, and that the rushed Kenya document did not include their perceptions, needs or concerns.

At the *shirka*, some Kenyan pastoralists and development workers formed a group aimed at including pastoralist issues in Kenya's final PRSP. The group comprised pastoralists, CSOs and people from government departments working in pastoralist areas. The group had support from DfID and the Participation Group at the Institute of Development Studies, UK. Government ministries later joined the group, which soon came to include many researchers and people interested in pastoralist issues, including businesspeople and religious leaders. This gave birth to the Pastoral Thematic Group (PTG).

The PTG first had to submit a document to the PRSP secretariat in Nairobi explaining why Kenya should take care of its pastoralist population. The document was readily accepted. The PTG was then invited to a workshop run by the Participation Group where they explored how they might influence the writing of the PRSP in Kenya. They spent two weeks gathering information on the PRSP process, and designed their own consultation

and advocacy initiative around it.

The PTG then met with the Kenyan PRSP secretariat who agreed that it could form a thematic group – an official team which is allowed to submit a document on cross-cutting issues for consideration in the PRSP. The PTG was enlarged to include the Permanent Secretary in charge of Ministry of Livestock and Agricultural Development, and the Economic Secretary. Thus it was accepted into the official system that runs the PRSP process for the country.

From that point, the PTG had to develop a strategy to get pastoralists to participate in the process, to allow them to identify their priorities and to talk over issues.

Despite the logistical problems associated with meeting pastoralists in a country as vast as Kenya, workshops did take place, and pastoralists identified priorities in specific regions. After meeting with pastoralists, the PTG held a national-level consultation process. This led to a pastoralist PRS document that was developed with the help of specialist groups who assembled what came from the pastoralists into a strategy for inclusion in the PRSP.

The challenges

The process of compiling information from pastoralists into a policy document was a challenge, as was structuring the findings into the appropriate PRSP World Bank format. There were experts to help with this process, some of them PTG members, other outsiders who were well-versed in writing documents.

The document had to be presented to the PRSP secretariat, and accepted by the Sector Working Group (SWG). The SWG included input from technocrats in government with ministry priorities, while the PTG contributed pastoralist priorities. It was difficult and entailed a great deal of engagement with permanent secretaries and their ministries on a one-to-one basis.

The PTG then faced the challenge of how to present the pastoralist issue in the PRSP document. It decided that the pastoralist issue was cross-cutting, and it was included in almost all of the ministries. But much of the PTG's contribution came under the Ministry of Livestock and Agricultural Development, as the government assumed that they had greater expertise.

The PRSP itself was to be written by a small group of people.

The outcome

Although the World Bank approved the Kenyan PRSP, this did not elicit or trigger any flow of funding. This was due to difficult relations between donors and the government, something that was beyond the PTG's control.

The PTG does not despair and continues with a monitoring plan to push for the implementation phase of promises made in the document. As a result of these efforts, the government has included some pastoralist priorities in the budget; but much has been left out.

Lessons learned

Despite setbacks, the PTG has achieved a lot. Pastoralists have succeeded in changing the thinking of senior policy-makers in government and worked closely with the government's high-level civil service reform team. The PTG discovered that opportunities do exist when marginalized people realize they have rights, organize themselves, and are dedicated to addressing their own issues.

PTG learned that to complain you are marginalized is one thing, but to come up with proposals of how to help yourself is something else. The PTG did not achieve everything, but succeeded in building links with many people who were ignorant of pastoralists' issues – ministers and powerful people who are now working with pastoralists as allies. At the same time, there were many officials with a pastoralist background who did not respond. It seems that when people reach a certain level of power, they no longer belong to the people and the place they came from.

The process of participation also demystified the World Bank and the IMF, and top-level government decision-making processes, and how these work together. The PTG realized that the process was like any other, and so went to meetings with greater confidence. It realized that people on the ground can be a part of things.

There were also some negative things about the PRSP process. The PTG was responding to a process, which had been designed elsewhere. The PTG had no options to change anything. Schedules were set, and each week and day was programmed. If the group had had no capacity to fit into that programme then it would have had no voice at all. It was a rushed, top-down, straitjacket programme.

In spite of this the PTG did well in encouraging pastoralists to participate. It already had networks among pastoralists, and all the people from PTG are from pastoralist areas. This allowed the group to mobilize the people to participate at short notice. The PTG would have liked more time to participate, and to really digest and develop all the issues.

There are a number of lessons from the Kenyan pastoralist experience. The influence of the *shirka* on pastoralist groups demonstrates the importance of learning gatherings, and of creating networks and alliances with common interests and goals. Support from the Participation Group at the Institute of Development Studies and from DfID made it possible for the PTG to participate in the two-week capacity-strengthening workshop. This provided space, time and resources to learn about PRSPs and to plan their strategy.

Government officials' participation at the *shirka* also facilitated the government's acceptance of the PTG and its participation in the PRSP process. Relationships between pastoralist PTG members and pastoralists in the field were important.

A process that was not designed or tailored to meet pastoralists' needs was one of many challenges. In the end, even though the pastoralists had a Thematic

Group, no more than a paragraph from the thematic paper that they submitted, recognizing pastoralism as an important livelihood, was incorporated in the final PRSP. However the PRSP fails to appreciate that pastoralism, more than being a production system, is a culture – a way of life. The focus on livestock production without the corresponding focus on the development of the cultural organization of the people, which indeed sustains this production, demonstrates that nobody is truly committed to their development as peoples, and of their way of life.

However, the incorporation of pastoralists into the PRSP process forms a strong precedent for participation for other minorities and indigenous peoples in Kenya. Further, the process the PTG engaged in has created a sense of competency and confidence among pastoralist representatives. The complexities of the IFIs and the Kenyan government's workings have been demystified. These are intangible outputs of the process that work towards guaranteeing the PTG's sustainability.

These outputs are particularly impressive given what the PTG learned about discrimination, power and identity. Alliances are important, but creating them has its limitations in a context of significant power differentials and deep-rooted discrimination in Kenya: 'when people reach a certain level of power, they no longer belong to the people and the place they came from'.

That said, the overall PTG experience, and particularly the way in which their voice was incorporated into the final document, lends credence to the argument that the government was not really interested in the effective participation of all stakeholders, especially the poor. It only needed something that would pass as 'participation', to attract donor money. Further, no other poor minority or indigenous community was focused on as a Thematic Group to ensure that such a community's issues were adequately covered in the PRSP.

Other minority and indigenous peoples' recognition

In Kenya, minorities and indigenous peoples were not officially recognized until 2003. Because minorities and indigenous peoples did not officially 'exist' at the time, the PRSP process did not include them. Further, they have not benefited from any special measures designed to tackle underdevelopment and poverty.

Of about 100 people interviewed from the Nyala community⁸³ none said they were aware of the PRSP process. Many interviewees said that they were used to government officials calling them to meetings to give them orders, and that normally they are not consulted. Peter Musakhi, a teacher in the area, said: 'I actually came to learn of this process in the media long after it was completed.' This contrasts with Kenya's Constitution review process. More than 90 per cent of Kenyans are not only aware of the Constitution review process but have actively participated in the process in various ways and are keenly monitoring its progress.⁸⁴

The Kenyan PRSP

Having discussed some of the shortcomings in the preparations of the PRSP in Kenya, we will look at the final product.

The PPRSP clustered the poor in Kenya into social categories: the landless; people with disabilities; female-headed households; households headed by people without formal education; pastoralists in drought-prone arid and semi-arid land (ASAL) districts; unskilled and semi-skilled casual labourers; AIDS orphans; street children and beggars; subsistence farmers; urban slum dwellers; and unemployed youth. Apart from pastoralists, no other minority or indigenous community was considered as forming a group of the poor.

Some areas were not well covered, particularly North Eastern province, a nomadic pastoral area with one of the highest poverty rates. No comprehensive analysis of the extent of poverty in the region was done. The PRSP notes that, 'efforts will be made to establish the extent of poverty in the North Eastern Province of Kenya'.⁸⁵

The macro-economic framework in the PRSP allowed for a pro-poor strategy that puts emphasis on a growth process that directly addresses poverty and leads to sustainable poverty reduction. According to the PRSP, the government of Kenya policy focus was to be on: (a) promoting access to markets and market opportunities for the poor through infrastructure provision, access to credit and employment; (b) improving the overall effectiveness of public resources geared towards poverty reduction; (c) protecting and enhancing the security of the poor and vulnerable groups⁸⁶ by addressing development challenges in marginal areas;⁸⁷ (d) allocating increased resources to human capital development; and (e) generating employment, improving productivity and improving conditions in the labour market.

However, the 'consultations' in this area regarding minorities or indigenous peoples were limited to the Macroeconomic Working Group, consisting mainly of civil servants and excluding other stakeholders.

While HIV/AIDS affects minorities and indigenous peoples, the focus that it is given in the PRSP is very general. The reasons for HIV prevalence among minorities and indigenous peoples were not deeply explored.

Low incomes and educational attainment for women, women's low level of participation, discriminatory policies and regulatory frameworks, and outdated and retrogressive attitudes and practices were issues identified by the Gender Thematic Group. However, there were no efforts to look at these issues from a minority and indigenous peoples' perspective. Women from these communities have a double hurdle to surmount, as women and as members of marginalized minority and/or indigenous communities.⁸⁸

Targets were set in the PRSP with two key objectives: to draw up priorities and to foster a culture of accountability among the different policy-making constituents/actors.

The Kenyan PRSP ranked agriculture and rural development as the highest priority sector with strong synergies with poverty alleviation. This sector is followed by human resource development; physical infrastructure; trade, tourism and industry; public safety, law and order; and national security and public administration.

In the agriculture and rural development sector, the sub-sectors identified for intervention are: crop development; rural water; livestock development; food security; lands and settlement; environmental management; and forestry and fisheries. While forestry and fisheries are identified as targets, forest peoples (hunter gatherers) and fishing communities were not among the groups identified as poor. The long-term target for the sector is an annual growth rate of up to 6 per cent. For human resource development, lack of access to basic social services, particularly education and health, were identified as major causes of poverty. Shelter and housing, unemployment, social security, capacity-building and a high population growth rate were identified as priority areas for intervention. But proposed interventions exclude forest dwellers and hunter gatherers, while encouraging the exploitation of natural resources found in the areas they inhabit, which means that their poverty is likely to increase. It is difficult to see how the growth rate envisaged can be realized without tackling poverty levels in these communities.

Finally, the Kenyan PRSP embraces the principles of participatory monitoring and evaluation by a wide range of stakeholders in the public sector, civil society, the private sector and the public.

Implementation of the PRSP

The Kenyan PRSP was designed to be implemented through three-year plans. The Kenyan 2000–3 budget was prepared using this three-year plan, usually referred to as the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF).

Implementation of the PRSP never went through a full cycle. Immediately after the elections in 2002, the new government scrapped the process, and replaced it with its own Economic Recovery Strategy Paper for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003–2007.

The national budget is the key statement of economic intent. Minorities and indigenous peoples often do not benefit. In Kenya, there has been suspicion that the allocation of resources has been distorted and the lack of transparency in the budgetary system has been criticized. Currently, there is a degree of openness in the Kenyan government, which replaced the Moi regime at the end of 2002. While the Ministry of Lands and Settlements and the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries

have both displayed willingness to open up to minority and indigenous community representatives, to date the Ministry of Finance's budgetary staff has not convened meetings with stakeholders. Since 2002, however, the Institute of Economic Affairs (Kenya) has organized an annual meeting to facilitate participation in the budgetary decision-making process, but government ministers have not attended. There is a need for greater civil society advocacy efforts to develop a fully coherent culture of democratic governance.

Learning from experience and stepping forward

Government obligations: rights and participation

Bridging MDGs and PRSPs provides an opportunity for a rights-based approach to poverty reduction and development. The fact that the MDGs have been adopted by the IFIs and are linked to human rights, supports the adoption of such an approach by CSOs working to influence PRS processes and their resulting policies.

Minorities and indigenous peoples' vulnerability to poverty, coupled with their right to development, means that they should participate in, and be potential beneficiaries of, PRS processes. Complementing this right to development is their right to cultural integrity, and for indigenous peoples, self-determination in the use of their lands.

The case studies demonstrate, however, that despite this rights framework and international bodies' recognition of them (Article 5.2 and Article 9 of the UNDM refer to the responsibilities of international actors to help fulfil the rights set forth in the Declaration, through international cooperation and the work of UN specialized agencies, including the IFIs),⁸⁹ neither PRS processes nor their outputs live up to these responsibilities. While some governments are beginning to collect disaggregated data supporting particular minority and indigenous peoples' needs, these groups do not participate in the development of policies, and are not usually invited to participate, nor are they consulted in the design of policies or programmes meant to alleviate their poverty. Therefore any mention of minority and indigenous issues is superfluous, and programmes that are designed are likely to be inappropriate or a menace to their cultural, livelihood and other rights.

When consulted, minorities and indigenous peoples' concerns are misinterpreted or manipulated to fit in with the government or IFI's development plans. Alternative developments that are more respectful of these groups' cultural and livelihood rights have yet to be translated into final PRSPs.

With respect to government obligations to ensure effective CSO participation in PRS processes, McGee and Norton state that:

'... in policy consultation processes where institutions and decision-makers invite scrutiny, consultation and/or participation by civil society, it is their duty to create a climate conducive to informed and critical public debate, provide those

invited with both the information they need to comprehend and analyse the process and be able to contribute to it; and give feedback to the participants after the event, sharing the resulting documents, explaining the grounds on which contributions were incorporated or left out, and outlining follow-up plans.’⁹⁰

For minorities and indigenous peoples, such efforts must be specifically tailored to them, considering cultural and language differences. Gender considerations must be taken into account, as well as geographic remoteness, time and transport costs to ensure effective communication. It will require special efforts towards:

‘ensuring that information supplied by decision-makers and institutions can actually be used by prospective participants [and] involves spelling out terms and acronyms which will be unfamiliar to the uninitiated ... [explaining] details of the structure and functioning of target institutions and processes, and providing guidance as to where further information may be obtained or who is responsible ... for a given issue. Demystification will be needed. This is an area in which NGOs have considerably greater experience than formal institutions.’⁹¹

Good publications in local languages that demystify PRSP processes, the World Bank, the IMF and government workings are key to effective lobbying and campaigning. Other processes that can lead to expanding minorities and indigenous peoples’ abilities to participate in policy processes might include capacity-building efforts such as the Institute for Development Studies pastoralist workshop (see Box 8).

Ongoing challenges

Minorities and indigenous peoples generally lack access to information, networks and alliances, and thus to capacity-strengthening opportunities. Cultural, linguistic and other differences broaden the divide between these groups and those in government who are supposed to represent them. Many minorities and indigenous peoples are subjected to direct and indirect discrimination by society and the state.

Minority and indigenous peoples’ experience reinforces critiques made by other civil society actors with respect to less than satisfactory participation in PRS processes. Hurried processes and a lack of iterative or open communication between those carrying out PRS processes makes minorities’ and indigenous peoples’ involvement even more difficult.

The Lumah Ma Dilaut Center for Living Traditions representing nomadic seafarers in the Philippines, and Kenyan minority and indigenous peoples’ representatives experienced first-hand how PRSP participation manifests itself, in the form of consultations whereby only a selected group of national-level NGOs were invited

to the table. They saw how their effective participation was challenged by either a lack of preparation time, non-participative agenda-setting, or – as was the case in Kenya – fear. These groups sensed that their presence was ‘just for counting heads’ and that their governments were not interested in quality participation.

Overcoming such hurdles does not necessarily mean that these groups’ issues or concerns will appear in the final documents. Too often, minority and indigenous peoples’ voices are silenced by the manipulation or rejection of their input, as was the case for Ethiopian pastoralists, the Lumah Ma Dilaut Center, and minorities and indigenous peoples in Kenya and Vietnam. In most cases this manifests itself through a negation of the links between economic and production systems, livelihoods and cultures. Ways of life seem to be sidelined and there is a leaning towards ‘modernizing’ and homogenizing versus more alternative and culturally sensitive approaches to development.

Part of the problem here is that the representation of minorities and indigenous peoples is difficult for government actors who know little about these groups. This was clearly the case for the Pastoralist Affairs Standing Committee in Ethiopia and minority representative structures in Vietnam. Distance from minorities’ or indigenous peoples’ day-to-day realities, lack of understanding of these groups’ rights, combined with direct and indirect discrimination are likely to be factors.

This, coupled with historical tensions between minorities, indigenous peoples and other ethnic groups in power will compound their marginalization in such a process. Whether a government is open to minorities and indigenous peoples’ participation may depend on their perceptions of these peoples and perhaps, their understandings of the economic and political ramifications of their active and effective involvement in the country’s development processes. In Kenya, indigenous peoples’ struggle for their rights to ancestral lands pitted them against the government that owns their lands and resources. Similarly, the recognition of minority communities was flatly refused, affecting minorities whose traditional economies depended on the communal ownership of resources. Clearly, in Kenya the concepts of participation and country ownership, and the politics that underlie them, manifested themselves in a way that was not beneficial to minorities or indigenous peoples.

Similarly, political circumstances in Kenya impacted on the nature and openness of the space for civil society participation. Further, the fact that the Kenyan PRSP is often interpreted as having been launched to invite suspended IFI support made for an especially rushed process, and the resulting lack of real debate.

Even in cases where decentralized local governance and local participation is institutionalized, minorities’ and indigenous peoples’ voices in the design of decision-making systems is absent. The case of decentralization in Bolivia (see Box 6) reinforces the observation that, in many cases, indigenous peoples lack a formal institutional framework for legitimizing authority.⁹² ‘Imposed’ organizational forms

can lead to the erosion of social structures and institutions, and cause increased dependency of indigenous peoples. For this reason: ‘External parties should be encouraged to follow an inclusive approach, recognizing the diversity of indigenous societies.’⁹³

However, minorities and indigenous peoples are finding their way through these complex hurdles. Grupo 484’s lobbying and campaigning work to include refugee and IDP issues in Serbia and Montenegro’s PRSP, the pastoralist experience in Ethiopia and Kenya, and to a lesser extent, Vietnam’s PPA experience, point to a number of practical lessons from which minorities and indigenous peoples can learn. These are grouped thematically below.

Working with and for minorities and indigenous peoples

CSOs, NGOs and development programmes

Strong relationships between development organizations and the minorities and indigenous peoples they work for, are key to success.

Participatory methods are needed along with a consideration of language issues, culture and the impact of discrimination.

‘Working with indigenous peoples or minorities requires interpretation not only in a linguistic sense, but also of concepts that development workers take for granted. For example, the concept or term “environment” is not one that can be used with indigenous peoples in Bolivia because inherent to it is a separation between the human and the world around her/him. This is a distinction that indigenous peoples do not make.’⁹⁴

Similar observations might be made about the concept of ‘poverty’, highlighting a need to further explore minorities’ and indigenous peoples’ perceptions of their well-being and life experiences.

Creating and exploiting networks and alliances

Relationships with one organization can lead to relationships with many. Almost all case studies demonstrate the value of creating networks and forging alliances. It is important to note that inter-communal tensions might leave minorities and indigenous peoples – and women within these communities – marginalized by other civil society groups. As development actors, international organizations have the potential to support such national and international networks in their efforts to reduce poverty. It is worthwhile their considering learning exchanges for networking, information-sharing, awareness-raising and capacity-building.

The *shirka* for Ethiopia's pastoralists and the pastoralist workshop (see Boxes 4 and 8) – built and strengthened pastoralists' capacity, and broadened awareness of their issues and concerns among government officials. In Kenya, the PRSP process has created a dialogue between government and others. The formation of the Pastoralist Thematic Working Group there, albeit within the context of their economic livelihoods, meant the government's specific opening-up towards minorities and indigenous peoples. The widening of this space invites more organized participation on the part of these groups in decision-making.

Awareness-raising

Like networking, awareness-raising must be directed towards government officials and international organizations as well as grassroots or local minority and indigenous peoples' organizations. Grupo 484's strategy in Serbia and Montenegro of sending information to more 'official' fora as well as to other lobby groups not only created awareness, but also served as a form of pressure. When other non-governmental actors became aware, they too began to push for change in the area of concern.

Sending information to constituents also builds knowledge, and thus is empowering. Further, it has the potential to build support and cohesion among minorities and indigenous peoples.

Capacity-strengthening

In response to seeing their involvement in policy processes as merely tokenistic, CSOs have started to focus their energies on building or strengthening capacities that will guarantee their more effective participation in and influence over PRS processes. This includes efforts to build the capacity of their constituents as well as of government officials.

For governments. Increasingly, civil society actors are working to build the capacities of government officials around the importance of their participation in PRS processes, and more recently in the area of rights. Involving Ethiopian MPs in the *shirka* or other fora might be considered a means of doing this. Another example is Zambia's Civil Society for Poverty Reduction network, which is holding sensitization seminars on the budget, PRSP and other critical issues for MPs and top civil servants, to encourage them to engage more proactively in development discussions and programmes.⁹⁵ Governments have legal obligations to understand and to respect minority and indigenous rights standards, and to remedy violations of these rights.

For themselves. Perhaps more critical at this time, however, is a focus on the capacity-strengthening of minority and indigenous peoples' groups in a large number of areas, including: analysis; fundraising; legal action; negotiation; networking; participatory research; rights awareness; writing. It is these efforts that will have more direct and sustainable benefits for minorities and indigenous peoples.

In Kenya, pastoralists' developing advocacy capacity over time, coupled with their strong and persistent lobbying, can partially explain their inclusion in the PRS process. Further, they made themselves visible within the development community and thus received funding more easily. This is in contrast to Kenya's hunters and gatherers. The need to strengthen their capacities, both technically and financially, is urgent if they are to effectively participate in future.

The case of paralegal training in Ecuador provides a strong example of how one capacity-strengthening activity led to the realization of indigenous peoples' and Afro-descendants' land rights.

Box 9: Training of community paralegals in Ecuador ⁹⁶

A particularly innovative and successful capacity-strengthening strategy has been the training of 'paralegals'. Paralegals are individual members of communities who have received intensive legal training.

The issue of land titling has been a key driver of the need for paralegals. In August 1994, the Agrarian Development Law entered into force following widespread demonstrations by indigenous organizations. Article 36 legally recognized the right of indigenous, Afro-Ecuadorian and/or *montubios* (coastal peasants) communities to be awarded, free of charge, their ancestral land, on condition that beneficiaries respect traditional forms of cultural life and social organization as well as the environment. Other lands could also be allocated to indigenous peoples, but not free of charge.

The law also created the National Institute for Agricultural Development (INDA) to facilitate the land titling process. However, INDA had limited capacity and a small budget. In addition, it had no mandate to delimit land, so prospective owners must hire approved surveyors.

Therefore, the land titling process was complicated and costly, especially for the poorest and most isolated communities, as it required a fairly detailed knowledge of existing laws and the ability to process the paperwork.

In order to facilitate the land titling process, SUBIR, a USAID-funded Sustainable Uses for Biological Resources Project implemented by CARE, EcoCiencia and Jatun Sacha, started to train and certify community paralegals in response to bottom-up requests by the indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants.

To be eligible for paralegal training, candidates must be able to read and speak both Spanish and their local languages, and they must have been living within their communities for at least three years. Training lasts eight months and takes place in their communities and, for six days a month, in Quito. The course covers: biodiversity, community tourism, community organizations, land titles, protected areas and forestry resources and petroleum and mining. A typical training session introduces a problem to be analysed, has a discussion of its legal consequences, with emphasis on the existing relevant legislation, and proposes solutions. During the workshop, various traditional and non-traditional techniques are used, including 'talking maps', painting, collages, theatre performances, etc.

At the end of their training, the candidates are tested and certified as paralegals by the Quito Bar Association. By the end of the project, in June 2002, SUBIR had trained 190 paralegals.

Paralegals were instrumental during the land titling process: they assisted their communities in seeking out government approval for land titles and in the resolution of resultant community conflicts. Typically, when two ethnic groups were in conflict about land tenancy and forest resources, paralegals met with community leaders to find solutions – the process usually involved a population census to determine the number of families, the physical measurement of the villages and the definition of criteria on how to divide the land.

Even after the land had been titled, paralegals remain helpful in mediating conflicts with and between communities, as they are highly respected by community members. In addition, they form a link between their community and the outside world as they are able to understand legal issues as well as the needs of the community, thereby strengthening the capacity of these communities' and their representatives' organizations.

As a result of SUBIR's capacity-strengthening efforts, community members have become more aware of their rights and have an increased knowledge of their environment. Communities have also increased their access to resources – notably through the acquisition of their ancestral lands.

All the cases illustrate the importance for minorities and indigenous peoples of understanding their rights in order to ensure the sustainability of their participation. In the context of PRSs and other policies that affect their lives, it is critical for them to pressure governments to recognize, establish and widely disseminate their rights, alongside their own government responsibilities.

Fighting discrimination: realizing rights and shifting power

Making use of knowledge about human rights is another hurdle that is especially trying for groups who have been discriminated against. Understanding how to realize these rights where their negation is due to 'exclusion, marginalization and injustice', as is the case with minorities and indigenous peoples, is a relatively new focus in development.

Doing this 'involves a process of confronting the embedded power relations that have perpetuated the negation of these rights in the first place'.⁹⁷ The 'how' behind doing this demands that we:

'... learn and recover from proven rights strategies which have involved the building of awareness and self-confidence, the use of popular education and

*communication, methods for reflective action, leadership development, and the forging of common visions, understandings and alliances; often well before any direct attempts at legal or political action*⁹⁸

Examining such struggles, strategies and methods⁹⁹ employed by, or potentially useful to minorities and indigenous peoples is beyond the scope of this paper. A critical look at the role rights plays in development is beginning¹⁰⁰ and in the context of minorities' and indigenous peoples' development struggles, warrants further study.

Conclusion

Minorities and indigenous peoples' distinct identities require special protection from discrimination, special action to promote the preservation of their cultures, religions and languages, and support of their participation in the public sphere. Serious consideration of their more effective participation in PRSs requires that this distinct identity be recognized when bridging MDGs, human rights and PRSPs.

In order to realistically assess poverty levels and experiences, governments and international actors must aim to collect disaggregated poverty data – i.e. disaggregated by ethnicity and sex – that paints an accurate picture of who and why these segments of the population are more prone to having their socio-economic, political, cultural and land rights violated. In turn, addressing minorities' and indigenous peoples' needs and rights through PRSPs requires governments and the international community to support their participation, particularly in the formulation of policies and programmes that respect their distinct identities, and thus more appropriately and effectively challenge their poor and marginalized status.

However, case studies drawn upon in this paper demonstrate that minority and indigenous peoples' rights are not being sufficiently considered in the formulation and implementation of PRSs, nor in the monitoring and evaluation of these groups' progress *vis-à-vis* poverty.

A principle reason for this lack of consideration is the fact that minority and indigenous peoples are not participating in the formulation of PRSs. They are rarely invited to do so. Even when they are invited to participate, or are consulted, their input is often misinterpreted or manipulated in such a way that does not effectively address these groups' needs or rights. Instead, the result of their engagement too often ends up addressing the government's (or IFIs') existing development plan. This observation reinforces the critique that PRSPs are premised on rhetorical principles of 'country ownership' and 'participation'. The study demonstrates that the process may have been government owned, however the governments under question have not effectively represented minorities or indigenous peoples in the formulation process. And in following, they have not effectively opened up the process to these peoples' participation. Where minorities and indigenous peoples have participated, they have done so from less powerful platforms and with little recognition.

Case studies further support the observation that their effective participation requires both an active knowledge of their political rights, as well as access to basic

economic and social rights that fulfil basic survival needs. This is a particular concern for minorities and indigenous peoples – and for women within these communities. For minorities and indigenous peoples, participatory processes will also only be successful if they consider linguistic and cultural differences, as well as geographic remoteness and dispersion. Indeed, differential power relations and differential capacities to participate effectively make competing rights and preferential treatment significant barriers to pro-poor results in such processes. To date, they have failed to do so.

Inviting minorities' and indigenous peoples' participation is challenging. And in order to create a climate conducive to informed and critical debate, careful consideration of the challenges these marginalized groups face – and of the women within these groups – is required. To assist these groups in overcoming these challenges, significant support is required to build their capacity to more effectively participate in and/or influence PRS processes. Complementing capacity-building efforts directed to these groups are initiatives that promote governments' openness and awareness of minorities' and indigenous peoples' rights to participate, and to development.

It is key that minorities and indigenous peoples seize the opportunity to build and strengthen their capacities and their networks. Development bodies should support such initiatives, with particular emphasis on monitoring and evaluation. Capacity strengthening might include building skills in: accessing information; analytical skills, including macroeconomic analysis, policy and decision-making analysis, poverty data analysis; collecting relevant data on poverty reduction and using advocacy techniques. More general skills to strengthen might include: communication and information sharing; effective networking; and ensuring a strong understanding related to decision-making, political environment and government processes as they relate to the PRSPs processes.

For the PRSP initiative specifically, and for development policy more generally, this raises a number of issues around the degree to which PRSPs can (or will) address (often deeply rooted) power differentials in the practical application of 'participation'. Related to this is the degree to which they are able to (and whether their systems can) contemplate development policies and programmes that might not fit into modernization-based development plans and outlooks.

Recommendations

1. International human rights obligations, including Millenium Development Goals, should be taken into account by governments in the formulation and implementation of Poverty Reduction Strategies. The UNHCHR's Draft Guidelines: *A Human Rights Approach to Poverty Reduction Strategies* should be used to provide instruction on the integration of human rights into PRSs.
2. Minorities and indigenous peoples' rights, and those of women within these groups, should be mainstreamed into the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of PRSs.
3. The collection of disaggregated data – disaggregated by ethnicity and sex – should be employed by development bodies to monitor progress with respect to minorities and indigenous peoples' rights and status. MDG country reports and PRSP reviews are a means of monitoring and disseminating such progress.
4. Development actors should support minorities' and indigenous peoples' organizations' efforts to advocate for constitutional recognition of their rights in different countries. This will facilitate the mainstreaming of their rights in decision-making and policy-formulation processes that have a direct bearing on their lives.
5. Development actors should encourage, and governments should invite, the participation of minorities and indigenous peoples – women and men – in the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of PRSPs.
6. Development actors should support the participation of minorities and indigenous peoples in the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of PRSs. They should do so by facilitating government–minority/indigenous peoples' relations, and by building the capacity of both government actors and minority and indigenous peoples' organizations.
7. Development actors should support efforts to build the capacities of government officials around the importance of minority and indigenous peoples' participation in PRS process, and in respect of their rights.
8. Development actors should support efforts to build the capacities of minority and indigenous peoples' organizations to engage more effectively in the formulation, monitoring and evaluation of PRSs. Focus here should be placed on building and strengthening national and international networks aimed at learning and information-sharing, awareness-raising and capacity-strengthening. Identification and approach to capacity-strengthening for these organizations

should be culturally and linguistically sensitive, and might include building the following skills: advocacy, analysis, fundraising, negotiation, participatory methodology and qualitative research, and rights awareness. Ensuring their effective participation might also involve support with transport.

9. Development actors should support researching the impact that the realization of minorities' and indigenous peoples' rights has in and for the formulation and implementation of PRSPs. Minorities and indigenous peoples should participate in all aspects of this research.

Notes

- 1 The main author acknowledges the invaluable input of the following individuals who took the time to share their in-the-field experiences with her: Mucha Arquiza, from the Philippines Lumah Ma Dilaut; Jordi Surkin Beneria, from Bolivia's Grupo Nacional de Trabajo para la Participación; Claude Cahn, from the European Roma Rights Center; Luisa Casalet, from Uruguay's Mundo Afro; Tezera Getahun, from Ethiopia's Pastoralist Forum; Elina Multanen and Miodrag Shrestha, from Serbia's Grupo 484.
- 2 World Bank, *World Development Report 2000/2001*, Washington DC, World Bank, 2000.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 4 Salomon, M. with Sengupta A., *The Right to Development: Obligations of States and the Rights of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*, London, MRG, 2003, p. 14.
- 5 As at 24 November 2004. Reservations restrict the application of a particular Article in the jurisdiction of that state. Details on reservations of the ICCPR can be found at http://www.ohchr.org/english/countries/ratification/4_1.htm.
- 6 Drawn from Salomon with Sengupta, *op. cit.*
- 7 There are 170 state parties to the ICERD as of 24 November 2004.
- 8 Those states are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominica, Ecuador, Fiji, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela.
- 9 Drawn from Salomon with Sengupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–20.
- 10 Lennox, C., *Discussion Paper on a UNDP Policy Note on Minorities*, London, MRG, 2003.
- 11 These include the Human Rights Committee of the ICCPR, and the Inter-American Commission and Inter-American Court on Human Rights, which have reviewed several important cases on indigenous peoples' rights. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) has also recently turned its attention to the rights of indigenous peoples by establishing a Working Group on indigenous peoples in Africa (ACHPR and IWGIA, *Report of the African Commission's Working Group of Experts on Indigenous Populations/Communities*, Copenhagen, IWGIA, 2005).
- 12 See also the CERD, General Recommendation No. 27: Discrimination against Roma and General Recommendation No. 29: Article 1, paragraph 1 of the Convention (Descent) on descent-based discrimination.
- 13 This might be prompted by fears of secession or terrorism, or a desire to promote national unity; see Ghai, Y., *Public Participation and Minorities*, London, MRG, 2003, p. 5. It could also be attributed to the fact that little is understood about the circumstances behind minority and indigenous peoples' poverty, and their respective perceptions of development.
- 14 In 1996 the World Bank and the IMF launched the HIPC to address low-income countries' debt burdens, creating a framework for debt relief, and thereby reducing

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- constraints on economic growth and poverty reduction imposed by the debt build-up in these countries. See <http://www.worldbank.org/hipc>.
- 15 McGee, R., *Poverty Reduction Strategies: A Part for the Poor?*, 2000, IDS policy briefing no. 13, Brighton, Institute of Development Studies.
- 16 UNDP, 'MDGs and PRSPs: complementing acronyms. A one-pager to describe the linkages between MDGs and PRSPs', available at: http://mdgr.undp.sk/papers_contents.php, 2004
- 17 Malloch Brown, M. (UNDP Administrator), 'Poverty reduction, the private sector and the Millennium Development Goals: a new framework for a new future', address at the Royal Institute for International Affairs, London, 22 January 2003.
- 18 In this paper, the term CSO is used broadly to include non-governmental organizations, trade unions, business and professional associations, religious bodies and other citizens' groups.
- 19 Piron, L.-H. with Evans, A., *Politics and the PRSP Approach: Synthesis Paper*, ODI working paper 237, London, Overseas Development Institute, 2004, p. 7.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 Gaventa, J. and Valderrama, C., 'Background note prepared for workshop on "Strengthening Participation in Local Governance"', Brighton, Institute of Development Studies, 21–4 June 1999.
- 23 Ghai, 2003, *op. cit.*
- 24 Eyben, R., *The Rise of Rights: Rights-based Approaches to International Development*, IDS policy briefing, no. 17, Brighton, Institute of Development Studies, 2003; Mungoven, R., 'Common cause – the converging agendas and complementary roles of human rights and development NGOs', *Global Future: A World Journal of Human Development*, fourth quarter, 2003, pp. 1–2.
- 25 Ghai, 2003, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 27 Christian Aid, *Ignoring the Experts: Poor People's Exclusion from Poverty Reduction Strategies*, Christian Aid policy briefing prepared in partnership with INESC, Rede Brasil, Mozambique Debt Group, LINK, CEDLA, UNITAS, 2001, p. 11.
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 The Lumah Ma Dilaut Center for Living Traditions is a programme focusing on the cultural re-invigoration of the sea-faring nomadic society of Sama Dilaut or Bajaus of Mindanao and Sulu seas, southern Philippines. The group is concerned about its people's extinction because of rapid sedentarization and threatened loss of sea-faring lifestyle and culture, due to conflict in the Sulu and Mindanao seas, and government negligence and non-prioritization of this group in development plans.
- 30 Shim Arquiza (Lumah Ma Dilaut Center for Living Traditions), personal communication, 2005.
- 31 Christian Aid, 2001, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

- 32 *Ibid.*; Hughes, A., *Lessons Learnt on Civil Society Engagement in PRSP Processes in Bolivia, Kenya and Uganda: A Report Emerging from the Bolivia–East Africa Sharing and Learning Exchange*, prepared for the Participation Group, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, 2002; World Bank, *Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: A Retrospective Study*, Washington DC, January 2002, available at: www.worldbank.org/participation.
- 33 Christian Aid, 2001, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- 34 World Bank, 2002, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- 35 Christian Aid, 2001, *op. cit.*
- 36 McGee R. with Levene, J. and Hughes, A., *Assessing Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: A Desk-based Synthesis of Experience in Sub-Saharan Africa*, IDS research report 52, Brighton, Institute of Development Studies, 2002.
- 37 Shim Arquiza, *op. cit.*
- 38 This diagram is adapted from McGee, 2000, *op. cit.*
- 39 McGee, R. and Norton, A., *Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategies: A Synthesis of Experience with Participatory Approaches to Policy Design, Implementation and Monitoring*, IDS working paper 109, Brighton, Institute of Development Studies, 2000, p. 41.
- 40 Norton, A., Bird, B., Brock, K., Kakande, M. and Turk, C., *A Rough Guide to PPAs: Participatory Poverty Assessment, An Introduction to Theory and Practice*, London, Overseas Development Institute, 2001.
- 41 Drawn from Turk, C., 'Linking participatory poverty assessments to policy and policymaking: experience from Vietnam', in Norton et al., *op. cit.*; Vietnam–Sweden Mountain Rural Development Programme in partnership with Lao Cai province, the World Bank and DFID (UK), *Lao Cai – A Participatory Poverty Assessment*, 1999.
- 42 UNDP Poverty Task Force, *Localizing MDGs for Poverty Reduction in Viet Nam: Promoting Ethnic Minority Development*, 2002, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTVIETNAM/Resources/Localizing-MGDs-for-Poverty9.pdf>
- 43 Friburg, 'Ethnic minority participation in public life in Vietnam', Master's thesis, Faculty of Law, University of Lund, Sweden, 2002.
- 44 Norton *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
- 45 See Schnell, S. and Forster, R., 'Participation in monitoring and evaluation of PRSPs: a document review of trends and approaches emerging from 21 full PRSPs – draft for comments', World Bank Development Papers, 2003, p. 10.
- 46 Adapted from Getahun, T., 'Gains made through the PRSP: the pastoral perspectives', note presented at a workshop of the Eastern African Pastoralist Inter-Parliamentary Group, PFE, Kampala, 2004.
- 47 Abdi, A., 'Reaching pastoralists through micro-financing', paper presented at the Third National Conference on Pastoral Development, Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, 2003.
- 48 Pastoral Community Development Project, 'Project appraisal document', Ethiopia, Africa Regional Office, AFTR2, 2003.

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- 49 The PASC was established in 2002 as a result of the restructuring of federal ministries in Ethiopia. It is a standing committee which reports to parliament.
- 50 Mussa, M., *A Comparative Study of Pastoralist Parliamentary Groups: Case Study on the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee of Ethiopia*, prepared for the NRI/PENHA Research project on Pastoralist Parliamentary Groups, funded by DfID's Livestock Production Programme and the CAPE Unit, African Union's Interafrican Bureau of Animal Resources (AU-IBAR), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2004. PASC was not entirely a government-inspired invention. It was partly a product of lobbying efforts by pastoralists, including the PFE.
- 51 *Ibid.*
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 Personal communication, Elina Multanen (former Head of Policy and Advocacy Unit, Grupo 484), London, 10 March 2005.
- 54 See UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Draft Guidelines on a Human Rights Approach to Poverty Reduction Strategies, 2002*, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/docs/guidelinesfinal-poverty.doc>
- 55 McGee and Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
- 56 *Ibid.*
- 57 Luisa Casalet (Mundo Afro, Uruguay), personal communication, 2005.
- 58 Honduras PRSP, 2001, p. 69; available at <http://www.imf.org/External/NP/prsp/2001/hnd/01/>
- 59 Schnell and Forster, *op. cit.*, point out that the difference between these two forms of monitoring is often blurred.
- 60 See McGee and Norton, *op. cit.*; Hughes, A. and Atampugre, N., 'Overview: a critical look at civil societies' poverty reduction monitoring and evaluation experiences', *Participatory Learning and Action*, no. 51, 2005; Schnell and Forster, *op. cit.*
- 61 Adapted from Schnell and Forster, *op. cit.*; and McGee and Norton, 2000, *op. cit.*
- 62 GNTP (Grupo Nacional de Trabajo para la Participación), *Participatory Assessment of Key Issues for Bolivia's Decentralization Process and Strategy Recommendations*, report prepared for SIDA-Bolivia, 2002.
- 63 Beneria-Surkin, J., '*Ha Llegado el Multiculturalismo? Reflexiones sobre Pueblos Indígenas, Poder, Desarrollo y Conocimiento en Bolivia*', Serie Documentos de trabajo, Santa Cruz, Bolivia, Grupo Nacional de Trabajo para la Participación, 2004, pp. 3, 7.
- 64 The following PRSPs were surveyed: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Georgia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Kenya, Kyrgyz Republic, Lao PDR, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Moldova, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Serbia and Montenegro, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam, Yemen and Zambia.
- 65 For a working definition of the ethnic groups in Uganda that can be regarded as minorities, and more important insight, see Baker, W.G., *Uganda: The Marginalization of Minorities*, London, MRG, 2001.
- 66 Source: Vietnam's PRSP, 2001; available at <http://www.imf.org/external/NP/PRSP/2001/vnm/01/INDEX.HTM>

- 67 Estimates from Government of Kenya, *Economic Survey 2004*, Nairobi, CBS, 2004, p. 8.
- 68 Indigenous peoples are those communities who have self-identified as indigenous peoples within the provisions of ILO Convention No. 169: pastoralists, hunter gatherers and fishing communities. See MRG, *Recognizing Minorities in Africa*, London, MRG, 2003.
- 69 Sessional Paper no. 10, *African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1965.
- 70 Ohenjo, N., 'European Union aid and ownership by minority communities' NSAs: an African experience', paper delivered at the Bond European Union Assembly, London, 4 July 2003; available at: www.bond.org.uk/world/briefs/ecaid.doc.
- 71 Paragraph 8 of the 1965 Sessional Paper no. 10 says: 'The state ... can never become the tool for special interests, catering to the desires of a minority at the expense of the needs of the majority.'
- 72 Examples of these communities are the Nyala, Suba and Teso in the western region of Kenya (the Nyala and Suba combine traditional fishing and agro-pastoralism, while the Teso are predominantly agro-pastoralists); the Turkana, Maasai, Pokot, Rendille, Saboat and Samburu, who are predominantly nomadic pastoralists; and the Ogiek and Sengwer, who are mainly hunter gatherers.
- 73 The Ogiek study put the estimate at 90 per cent (see Ohenjo, N., *Kenya's Castaways: The Ogiek and National Development Processes*, MRG Micro Study, London, MRG, 2003. The study by the Institute of Economic Affairs, *The Little Fact Book (The Socio-economic and Political Profiles of Kenya's Districts)*, published in 2002, indicates that in Nyanza, predominantly occupied by fisher and agro pastoralist communities, absolute poverty levels are as high as 60 per cent.
- 74 This was because of the replacement of structural adjustment programmes by PRSPs as the new pre-condition for loans and debt relief from the World Bank and the IMF, from December 1999. PRSPs were to be country-driven, results-oriented, comprehensive and long-term in perspective. They were expected to be the outcome of a broad-based consultative process between governments and stakeholders in society, and to serve as the main framework for donor assistance.
- 75 Opening the National Constitutional Conference in 2003, President Mwai Kibaki called on all the constitutional review structures to ensure minority rights protection and the rights of other marginalized communities. This was the result of intense advocacy for the government to officially recognize the existence of minorities in Kenya and to protect their rights.
- 76 See <http://www.treasury.go.ke/overview.htm>
- 77 Houghton, I., *Is There a Difference between the PFP and the PRSP in Kenya?*, Kenya, ActionAid, April 2000.
- 78 Interview conducted on behalf of MRG with one of the Busia district PRSP participants from the Nyala community, who requested anonymity.

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- 79 During the Constitution of Kenya Review Process, which is currently stalled, the then government resisted the involvement of CSOs in conducting civic education. However, after a lot of pressure, civil society participation in the process, and especially civic education, was reluctantly accepted by the government and many Kenyans participated.
- 80 Among those who suffered for speaking out were Raila Odinga and Kiraitu Murungi, currently members of the cabinet, and political activists Martin Shikuku and James Orengo. The period 1989–91 was one of the most difficult periods for human rights in Kenya's history. Advocates of multi-party politics were detained without trial and human rights lawyers fled to the USA. See Adar, K.G. and Munyae, I.M., *Human Rights Abuse in Kenya under Daniel Arap Moi, 1978–2001*; available at <http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i1a1.htm>.
- 81 World Development Movement. *Policies to Roll Back the State and Privatise? A Debt Policy Report*, 2001; available at www.wdm.org.uk.
- 82 Adapted from Tari Abkula, D., 'Jumping on the train: the pastoralist experience in Kenya's PRSP', *PLA Notes* no. 43, London, IIED (International Institute for Environment and Development), London, 2002; available at http://www.iied.org/sarl/pla_notes/pla_backissues/43_don.html.
- 83 The Nyala are indigenous fisher folk who live around Lake Victoria in western Kenya. They number around 50,000, with more than 60 per cent living in extreme poverty. For this case study, a consultative meeting was held, with the aim of establishing the participation of members of the community in the PRSP. Some of the information from that meeting has been incorporated in this case study. A consultative workshop was attended by eight members of the community, five representatives of NGOs and CBOs in the area and three civil servants from the area. Also, 100 members of the community were individually interviewed.
- 84 A visit to the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) website, www.kenyaconstitution.org, and the PRSP official website, www.treasury.go.ke, shows the contrast between their consultation and participation records. The CKRC documents the process in detail, while the PRSP website offers only a brief account of the process of consultation and participation.
- 85 *Kenya Interim PRSP, 2000–3*, p. 14; available at: www.imf.org.
- 86 According to the government, and as indicated in the PRSP, vulnerable groups were perceived as women, the disabled and youth. Specific minority and indigenous peoples are not normally classified in this group.
- 87 Marginal areas are defined by the government as low rainfall areas, which translates to the Arid and Semi-Arid Areas (ASALs), mainly inhabited by nomadic pastoralists.
- 88 Banda, F. and Chinkin, C., *Gender, Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*, London, MRG, 2004.
- 89 '[T]he current IFI governance framework does not officially promote the rights of local and national populations to development and self-determination. [Nor do] the IFIs ... take into account or acknowledge any contradictions between their external loan conditions and

the abilities of borrowing governments to fulfil their stated obligations to their own peoples regarding commitments under the United Nations' International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights or other conventions. Instead, the World Bank and IMF generally bypass international human rights conventions altogether. (Rowden, R. and Ocaya J., 'Rethinking participation: questions for civil society about the limits of participation in PRSPs', an ActionAid USA/ActionAid Uganda discussion paper, Washington DC, 2004). Some organizations are challenging IFIs on this vacuum in international governance and accountability mechanisms (see the UNDP's 2002 Human Development Report, *Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World*; available at <http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2002/en/>).

90 McGee and Norton, *op cit.*, pp. 35–6.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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PRSPs, Minorities and Indigenous Peoples – An Issues Paper

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Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS) are part of the response to poverty worldwide. Although often among the poorest and most marginalized communities, minorities and indigenous peoples are seldom invited to participate in the formulation of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), or the design of poverty alleviation policies, which are thus likely to be inappropriate, or even detrimental to their interests.

This publication uses case studies – including a detailed section on the PRSP process in Kenya by Nyang’ori Ohenjo – to examine the experiences of minorities and indigenous peoples in PRS processes. It also presents strategies for supporting these groups’ capacity to participate in, and influence, these processes in a meaningful way.

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