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Into the interior: An exploration of development policies and the representation of Amerindians in Guyana.

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INTO THE INTERIOR: AN EXPLORATION OF DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND
THE REPRESENTATION OF AMERINDIANS IN GUYANA

by

Suzanne Friemann

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Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to examine how indigenous issues fit into current theories and procedures of development discourse. The current definition of development has changed with the inclusion of the issues and concerns of indigenous peoples. My evaluation of the discourse on development supported this through the examination of the policies and projects of two international development agencies, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank as they pertained to the lives of the aboriginal people in Guyana, South America. However, I argued that the inclusion of indigenes in development policies has not led to any real changes in the development paradigm. Despite an awareness of global issues, such as indigenes, modernization and its new variant, neoliberalism, continues to be the prevailing model in the development sphere.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Bordered by Suriname, Brazil, and Venezuela, Guyana is the only English-speaking country in South America. It is home to nine distinct indigenous peoples: the Lokono (or Arawak), the Akawaio (or Kapon), the Arecuna (or Pemon), the Macusi, the Warrau, the Wapisiana, the Wai Wai, the Patamona and the Kalina (or Carib). Combined, these indigenous peoples consist of approximately 60,000 to 80,000 persons, or 8 to 10 percent of the total population. The remainder of the population consists of individuals of African, Asian, and European descent who live predominately on the coastal plain, which, geographically, covers about 10 percent of the country. The indigenous peoples occupy the coastal forests, the tropical forests, and the savannahs, which cover the remaining 90 percent of Guyana's landscape (La Rose & MacKay, 1999:2).

The Dutch first colonized Guyana in the 17th century, establishing a number of trading posts and plantations on the coastal plain, and importing African slaves as a work force. Relations with indigenous peoples revolved around trade, the capturing of escaped slaves, and the maintenance of a peaceful coexistence. In 1814, Guyana was formally given up to Great Britain, which ruled the colony until its independence was granted in 1966. Formal relations with the Amerindians deteriorated and eventually ceased as a result of the abolition of slavery and changes in export commodities. This situation led the British to construct a policy of isolation and wardship in the 19th century, followed by the establishment of a reservation system in the 1900s and a combination of wardship, integration, and assimilation beginning in the 1930s and 1940s. After independence,

Guyana's policy toward Amerindians emphasized colonial policy and law, strong elements of wardship, indirect rule, and assimilation (La Rose & McKay, 1999:2).

The impact of multinational and local resource exploitation activities have substantially increased since 1990, and have had a considerable effect upon indigenous subsistence and other land rights, both directly through land access restrictions and indirectly through environmental degradation and social disruption (La Rose & McKay, 1999:2). More recently, the Amerindian Peoples Association of Guyana (2000) addressed many of these issues, especially those pertaining to development-related concerns. For instance, harvesting of timber has had major social, cultural, and economical impacts on Amerindian communities, as well as on Amerindian rights to land and natural resources (Amerindian Peoples Association, 2000: 2, 4 & 5). Mining has also caused social problems and violations of Amerindian land rights, in addition to the pollution of water and the destruction of fishing grounds, spawning areas, and navigation channels. For instance, whereas some non-Amerindian miners have ignored the authority of the Village Councils, others have granted simple commodities to Amerindian leaders in exchange for permission to use the mines (Amerindian Peoples Association, 2000: 2, 4&5).

Amerindians have noted that their lands form the basis of their cultural, spiritual, and physical survival, as well as their future development as a people. Nevertheless, successive Governments of Guyana have failed to adequately address Amerindian land rights. In fact, some 50 Amerindian communities still have no title to their lands (Amerindian Peoples Association, 2000: 2, 4&5). The concerns pertaining to this type of exploitation are also related to a more general stream of development issues that the indigenous peoples face. Specifically, land rights and restrictions of intellectual and

cultural property rights, loss of political and economic autonomy, increased resource exploitation, increased environmental degradation, and increased impoverishment are of great concern. These are issues faced not only by the indigenous peoples of Guyana, but also by aboriginal peoples globally.

Rather than strictly emphasizing the specific issues related to Guyanese Amerindian land rights (e.g., mining; forestry; natural resources), the aim of the present paper is to examine how general indigenous issues fit into current theories and procedures of development. An assessment of the current theories and procedures of development suggests that its definition and practices have changed with the inclusion of issues and concerns of indigenes, environmentalism, and cultural preservation. My evaluation of the discourse on development has supported this and has revealed that international development agencies (e.g., The World Bank; Inter-American Development Bank; United Nations Development Programme; Canadian International Development Agency) have increasingly acknowledged the significance of indigenous peoples in the formulation of development policies.

However, this raises the question about whether or not the inclusion of indigenes in development policies has led to any real changes in the development paradigm. Despite an awareness of such global issues, modernization continues to be the prevailing model in the development sphere. That is, western-derived expansionism was (and still is) thought to be the key to achieving economic prosperity.

As part of the development discourse, modernization theory has gone through a number of incarnations, the most recent being that of neoliberalism. However, the core of this theory remains almost unchanged as the impetus behind current development

projects. As a development theory, the organizing premise was the unswerving belief that modernization was the only force able to pacify, control, and destroy archaic practices, whatever the human or environmental costs (Schuurman, 1993:15). As modernization serves as the main model for development, it is important to acknowledge that it is equipped with a series of assumptions that constrain how aboriginality is presented in the discourse. Thus, I focus on the discourse of development and the place of indigenous interests that is the focus here.

The work of Michel Foucault is utilized to understand the meaning of discourse, which is defined as the process through which social reality comes into being or, the articulation of knowledge and power. Texts that represent knowledge as objective and politically neutral and arise out of circumstances such as imperialism, gain authority from academics, institutions, and governments that surround it with prestige. Such texts not only create knowledge, but can also create the very “reality they appear to describe.” Eventually, the knowledge and reality produce a tradition or, as stated by Foucault, a discourse (Said, 1979: 94).

Though represented as objective and politically neutral, Foucault reveals how areas of knowledge, (in this case, areas of knowledge pertaining to development) are socially, historically and politically constructed. Discourses of power construct their subjects (in this case, indigenous peoples) in particular ways and exercise control over them. Therefore, I employ the concept of discourse in order to understand: (1) How policies create a reality that direct certain actions toward aboriginal peoples; and (2) How the development industry is shaping the world’s attitudes toward aboriginal peoples.

A Foucaultian definition of governmentality, as discussed in the Report for the

Law Commission of Canada (1999), demonstrates how tools for governing constitute individuals as free or active subjects, and how governmental power encourages individuals to conform their choices to articulated objectives. Government is not, then, the suppression of individual subjectivity, but rather the cultivation of it in specific forms, aligned to specific governmental aims (Law Commission of Canada, 1999:4). In other words, government would not promote options that are in opposition to its own directives, but instead nurtures a type of subjectivity that is linked to it. Government shapes subjectivity and, under these circumstances, whatever knowledge an individual has is in some sense determined by government in that certain ideas are allowed to take root while others are repressed. Knowledge is thus inherently political, because the criteria of what constitutes knowledge, what is excluded from this knowledge, and who is qualified to know, involves acts of power (Gardner & Lewis, 1996:71).

In the current social and political environment, international development agencies have the authority and ability to construct knowledge. These discourses then include practices and structures that have very real effects (Gardner & Lewis, 1996:71). Understanding development as a discourse makes it possible to maintain the focus on domination while exploring the conditions of possibility and the most pervasive effects of development (Escobar, 1995: 6). To speak the discourse of development, one must adhere to certain rules of statement that go back to the basic system of relations. This system defines the hegemonic worldview of development, a worldview that increasingly permeates and transforms the economic, social, and cultural fabric of Third World cities and villages. However, even if the languages of development are adapted and reworked significantly at the local level (Escobar, 1995:18), it is essential to question whether

development proposals initiated at this level are ultimately different, and consequently more beneficial, from those derived from western standards.

A Foucaultian analysis allows us to examine not only the elements of development (i.e., the process of capital formation; cultural considerations; and creation of institutions) but also the systems of relations established among them. These relations between institutions, socio-economic processes, forms of knowledge, and technological factors, for instance, define the conditions under which objects, concepts, theories, and strategies can be incorporated into the discourse. This system of relations establishes a discursive practice and sets the rules of the game for a particular problem, theory or object to emerge and be named, analyzed, and eventually transformed into a policy or plan (Escobar, 1997:86). "Truth is understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements" (Simons, 1995:24). Truth governs what may be said, in what mode it may be said, what is considered valid, and who may speak of it. In sum, discourse successfully deploys a regime of government over the Third World space for "subject peoples" that ensures certain control over it (Escobar, 1995: 9). This is how international agencies come to establish certain "truths" about the populations they aim to "help."

In this instance, power includes political structures (e.g., the American and Guyanese governments), systems of rules and norms (e.g., the United Nations), techniques and apparatuses of government (e.g., The World Bank, or the Inter-American Development Bank), and strategic relations between subjects who act upon each other (Simons, 1995:31). As a general formula, Foucault's power/knowledge thesis states: "Power and knowledge directly imply one another... nor any knowledge [exists] that

does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations” (Simons, 1995:27). The political and economic conditions of existence do not hide or impede the subject of knowledge because they are the means by which subjects of knowledge are formed and, hence, are truth relations. The foundation of political conditions are the very ground on which the subject, the domains of knowledge, and the relations of truth are formed (Foucault, 1994:15). Therefore, political and economic conditions of the time cannot be divorced from the domains of knowledge or from the ways in which truth relations are formed.

Foucault conceives of power as dynamic and therefore rejects any type of reification. “Power is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away” (Rouse, 1994:105); power depends upon other persons or groups acting in concert with what the first person does (Rouse, 1994:106). What defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions; either possible actions or actual present or future actions (Foucault, 1994:340). In other words, it is not simply the case that the development agencies hold all the power while Amerindian groups remain powerless. Foucault makes it clear that power is not linear; it is always changing, and it depends upon the actions of others. What this means for Amerindians is that “individuals are faced with a field of possibilities in which several kinds of conduct...and several modes of behavior are available” (Foucault, 1994:342).

Foucault dismisses the idea of a master plan onto which reality is projected. Instead, there are diverse projects of rule (systems of relations) that compete with each other to create a web that governs the present, and shapes, regulate, and stimulates

agency (Law commission of Canada, 1999:5). Power, therefore, is not predictable, and it has no blueprint. In this respect, resistance is not futile. Individuals do make choices and exercise their agency; those choices, however, are structured and socially constituted, with individuals thereby participating as active agents in their own subjugation.

Individuals do not suffer from false consciousness, but their consciousness is imbued within the dominant rationalities of government and in the prevailing governance strategies, thereby making up their selves through the articulation of dominant codes and discourses (Law Commission of Canada, 1999:5). In other words, aboriginal groups may resist the present power structure, but these structures inevitably restrict their actions; encased within these structures is their supposed identity, making it difficult if not impossible to think outside these codes and discourses.

Power is less a confrontation between two adversaries or their mutual engagement than it is a question of “government.” Government designates the direction of conduct of individuals or of groups (in this case, Amerindians). To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others (Foucault, 1994:341). Governmentality refers to “the contact between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self” (Simons, 1995:36). In other words, governmentality is the connection between power as the regulation of others and a relationship with oneself. This concept is also evident in what Antonio Gramsci has identified as hegemony, where the influence of ideas, institutions, and individuals works not through domination but through consent. In any non-totalitarian society, certain cultural forms predominate over others, just as certain ideas are more influential. Thus, power that is instilled within international development agencies have come to cultivate subjectivity in specific forms, especially

those that are aligned to specific governmental aims (Law Commission of Canada, 1999:4). By making use of subjectivity in this way, we can seek to uncover governmental strategies, rationalities, and programmes that constitute our very selves, constitute our world, and structure our agency. In this sense, we are more likely to be in a position to provide a deeper account of the effects of what the authorities planned and how certain forms of conduct were conceptualized and problematized (Law Commission of Canada, 1999:3).

As previously mentioned, there has been some change in the discourse, with various global issues presenting themselves more often in the development consciousness. Examination of current research suggests there is little, if any, published work that utilizes primary documents from international financial institutions to determine whether any of these changes have filtered down to the policy level. This is what my own research hopes to contribute.

In order to examine the place of aboriginality within the context of the development literature, I will explore how development knowledge (as shown in relevant projects and policies) is built around a series of assumptions (e.g., modernization and neoliberalism) that carefully limit the way aboriginality is represented in the discourse. It is within this literature that the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank conceptualize a particular brand of indigenusness. Therefore, the present paper concentrates on two international organizations that have substantial influence over the distribution of funds for development initiatives: (1) the World Bank; and (2) the Inter-American Development Bank.

The World Bank is a powerful organization that functions on a global scale, interacts with the Inter-American Development Bank, and has operated in Guyana since the early 1960s. The Inter-American Development Bank is influenced by the World Bank in its structure and purpose but focuses its activities exclusively in the Latin American and Caribbean regions of which Guyana is a part. Overall, the purpose of my research is to critically examine the various development policies of the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank as they pertain to the lives of the indigenous people of Guyana.

Specifically, I examine policies and an assortment of projects undertaken by each organization, in an effort to identify the degree and manner in which the interests of the indigenous peoples in Guyana find their way into the development discourse. Therefore, I pose the following questions: (1) Does the manner in which aboriginal peoples are represented in development discourse place any constraints on the ways their concerns can be addressed?; and (2) Do the various “truths” of development place limits on the possibilities for aboriginality that can be represented in development discourse?

In order to answer these crucial questions, the literature on primitivism will be examined. Within development theories, this notion of primitivism is used as a way of conceptualizing aboriginals. Therefore, this conceptualization will help me to determine how aboriginals are represented in western thought. My premise is that primitivism, and theories that are more recent have influenced current concepts of aboriginality in the context of discourse of development. The examination of both positive and negative aspects of primitivist conceptions of the aboriginal will provide the background for analyzing aspects of discourse within the development literature. Examining the notion of

primitivism will also help to determine if and how the notion of aboriginality has changed through time.

The literature on development, which includes theories of modernization, neo-liberalism, and globalization, will also be examined. Elements of the development literature are particularly relevant for understanding the world's representations of aboriginals and the constraints it places upon them. In this context, the concern is with both the explicit assumptions (such as aspects of primitivism and notions of tradition) and the implicit constraints that are imposed upon the representations of the Amerindians by various "realities" of development. The secondary sources pertaining to primitivism, aboriginality, the development literature, discourse analysis, and Guyanese Amerindians were obtained from the University of Windsor Leddy Library and interlibrary loans department, and the Columbus Memorial Library of the Organization of the American States located in Washington, D.C.

Finally, specific agency-related policies and projects of the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank are examined. Specifically, these two institutions were examined in order to determine whether the inclusion of aboriginality in the development discourse has significantly changed their policies. Since I was not granted access to the archives of the World Bank (i.e., pre-1970s), I had to rely upon documents that could be obtained from the World Bank Infoshop and the library of the Inter-American Development Bank. Therefore, I specifically examined a 34-year period from 1970 to 2004. The period selected represents projects that I believe are significantly important in further understanding the Amerindians of Guyana. Employing historical-comparative research as a methodology, I closely examined direct references to aboriginality, some of

which were found in the project documents of the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). However, most of the assertions about indigenous peoples were contained within the two Operational Policies on Indigenous Peoples. In both instances, I was reviewing their understanding of “aboriginality”. For instance, how was aboriginality defined in terms of culture or lack of technology? Their understanding of aboriginality has implications for how aboriginals were managed and how certain forms of behavior were conceptualized and problematized or controlled. I also noted any document references to archaic practices or primitive traditions of the aboriginals, which are often implied by modernization and neoliberalism.

Therefore, the two development organizations that were examined provided an outline of the governmental discourse that operated from the 1970s to the present. The specific project documents provided details regarding the types of projects that were undertaken, the purpose of such projects, the risks associated with these projects and so forth. These primary sources were obtained from the Felipe Herrera Library of the IDB and the World Bank Infoshop, both located in Washington D.C. In addition, online services from the World Bank and IDB provided me with indigenous peoples policies. A key issue regarding primary sources is that only a fraction of everything produced is made available in the present. This was especially true of World Bank documents. It was also difficult to locate pertinent documents that were directly related to my research because they were simply not available to the public. In addition, other documents had gone out of circulation as soon as a new version had become available, which was especially the case with the annual reports.

CHAPTER II

PRIMITIVISM

Throughout this chapter, I will use discourse analysis to investigate the concepts of the Other, Primitivism and Orientalism. The work of Michel Foucault is utilized to understand the meaning of discourse, which is defined as the process through which social reality comes into being, or the articulation of knowledge and power. A text that represents knowledge as objective and politically neutral and arises out of circumstances such as imperialism, gains authority from academics, institutions and governments that surround it with prestige. These texts can create not just knowledge but the very “reality they appear to describe.” Eventually the knowledge and reality produce a tradition, or what Foucault calls a discourse (Said, 1979: 94). Foucault shows how areas of knowledge (in this case Primitivism and Orientalism) are socially, historically and politically constructed. Discourses of power construct their subjects (the Other) in particular ways and exercise power over them. A discourse employing such terms as primitive, savage...tribal, traditional, third world, or whatever euphemism is current does not think, observe or critically study the primitive; it thinks, observes or studies in terms of the primitive (Fabian, 1983: 17-18).

All human societies use the concept of the Other to define who they are in relation to other groups of people. The idea “consists of [a] projection of social self-definition as a structure composed of being and otherness” (Hiller, 1991: 57). These Others occupy spaces that are far from one’s own space, far from the centre of one’s own reality. The Other is always distant as well as different. It is from this difference that the characteristics of self and society are formed (Hiller, 1991: 11).

The idea and practice of Otherizing is also referred to as Primitivism and Orientalism, for the “Primitive” and even the “Oriental” are a manifestation of the Other (Cooke, 1991: 137). Though lengthy, Edward Said’s description of Orientalism is worth reproducing in full:

...Orientalism is not a mere political subject matter or field that is reflected passively by culture, scholarship, or institutions; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the Orient; nor is it representative...of some...Western imperialist plot to hold down the Oriental world. It is rather a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts; it is an elaboration not only of a basic geographical distinction...but a whole series of “interests” which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains; it is rather than expresses, a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is manifestly a different world; it is above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperialist establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as ideas about what “we” do and what “they” cannot do or understand as “we” do). Indeed...Orientalism is and does not simply represent a considerable dimension of modern political intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with “our” world (Said, 1979:12).

Orientalism can easily be replaced with Primitivism, especially when we realize that “Primitive” was used often for all non-European societies until the end of the 19th century (Araeen, 1991: 167). Though Orientalism has its specific geographical boundaries, it is an example of the type of discourse that I will explore, and therefore an extremely useful concept. Furthermore, terms like “Oriental” and “Primitive” seemed to be morally neutral and objectively valid (at least to those using the terms) (Said, 1979:

205), and therefore non-political (Said, 1979: 10).

This phenomenon is not limited to contemporary populations, and though it resonates with the experience of colonialism, it is not merely a product of such (Hiller, 1991: 57). The concept of the Other or Primitivism was in place long before any encounters took place between natives groups and explorers. The tradition of Primitivism did not create a favorable version of the Other, but it shaped the vocabulary and imagery the explorers and settlers used to describe their experiences in the New World and the peoples they encountered; accordingly, “the accounts of explorers, missionaries and other early travelers and settlers seemed to provide the factual basis and therefore a validation for the primitivistic faith of many subsequent European writers” (Berkhofer, 1979: 73). Colonial America as well as Europe split the world into dualistic domains and were required to legitimize their respective histories at the Other’s expense by using many of the expressions developed by the monarchical state: good/evil, mind/body, culture/nature (Fisher, 1991: 297). Orientalism justified colonial rule in advance, instead of after the fact. History is full of instances where one group is demarcated from another based on real or imagined differences (Said, 1979: 40).

There is a tendency for a group of people living on a parcel of land to designate anything beyond a certain point as “the land of the barbarians.” They are deemed as such by virtue of the fact that they occupy space that is outside one’s own, and because they are different. This designation does not require that the “barbarians” agree to this, indeed they may never learn of their disparaging name. It is enough for “Us” to set up these boundaries in our own minds, and we designate those who are different as “Them,” for both their mentality and their territory are regarded as different from “Ours” (Said, 1979:

54). Nevertheless, as Sayre (1997: xi) argues, Otherizing is a universal concept, and Native American names for others were equally ethnocentric as the Europeans. It might even be suggested that ethnocentrism and prejudice against the Other were universal principles (Sayre, 1997: XI). Indeed, the more advanced societies have rarely offered the individual anything more than racism, imperialism and ethnocentrism for dealing with other cultures (Said, 1979:204).

In the West, this naturalized self-definition has been complicated by a history of expansion and conquest, which marks the relationship between centre and periphery in political and economic terms (Hiller, 1991: 11). With Orientalism, it was essentially a “political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, Us) and the strange (the Orient, the East, Them)” (Said, 1979: 44). This vision produced and served the two worlds it created. Even as late as the 19th century, Europeans thought themselves as rational, civilized beings with technological advancements that far outweighed anything the “Others” had. To be sure, the Others were considered savage, ignorant and uncivilized and their society categorized as not technologically advanced (Errington, 1998:74). These images of “Us” and “Other” promote negative stereotypes that may result in two possible scenarios: their oppression when we encounter them or, alternatively, we may instill them with qualities of nobility, justice, harmony, spirituality, etc, Each case leads to an equally unrealistic set of expectations (Hiller, 1991: 70).

With Orientalism, the discourse is more valuable as declaration of Euro-Atlantic power over the Orient than it is about the Orient itself (Said, 1979: 6). Undeniably, Orientalism depends more upon the West than the Orient, which stems from various

western techniques of representation that bring out the Orient in the discourse. These representations depend on institutions, traditions and conventions for their effects, not upon some distant and indeterminate Orient (Said, 1979: 21). Moreover, although it may be tempting to think of this practice as one that is out of fashion and no longer practiced, we only have to look to the American southwest for contemporary examples. There the indigenous peoples are mythologized within the contexts of ethnography, tourism and the arts and crafts movement. There the images of the indigenous are of ritualists and artisans, of a people doomed to vanish or as relics of a living past. Again, these images say much more about their creators and an imagined Primitive than about the Navajos, Pueblos or Apaches (Dilworth, 1996: 3).

It is important to realize that the descriptions of the non-European Other are not descriptions of real people (McGrane, 1989: 2). What we are actually looking at is the West's version of them, not their own self-representations (Brett, 1991: 114). The desire of the West to conquer and exploit other lands has led to the projection of European fantasies about the Other onto real living peoples (Hiller, 1991: 11). The Orient in Orientalism is but a system of representations enclosed by a multitude of Western forces that brought the Orient into being, and as a word, Orientalism did not necessarily refer to the "real" orient but to the field surrounding it (Said, 1979: 203).

Not only were the Others created as the West saw them, but the Euro-Atlantic powers were more interested in what the Others represented than in what the people actually were. For example, during colonial America, the Puritans were more interested in what the Indian represented metaphysically (as a warning and negative example to society) than culturally (Cooley, 1982: 26). How the Other was represented reflected the

curiosity about the origins of human kind, which eventually lead to proposals of evolutionary models of social development, which placed the West as the most advanced stage. To make this model work, all other societies were thought to be static, unevolved and simple. When other societies were conceived to be primitive or underdeveloped and therefore stagnant and unchanging, it was possible to see them as instances of societies that have been left behind. Cultures that were geographically distant from the west came to be seen as temporally distant, as earlier stages in human development (Hiller, 1991: 87). (The conception of temporal distancing will be dealt with more fully later in the essay). This served to classify and arrange living peoples of the world into a stratified design that made them appear as though they were the historical representations of European society. These others came to represent “our” ancient ancestors, as fossilized beings in a world that was carved up into different epochs (McGrane, 1989: 94).

However, presently we have a more global and historical perspective, we locate other cultures in a time and space that is contemporary with our own, and thus see others as part of our world rather than an alternative to it (Marcus and Fisher, 1986:134). Thus, there is no reason to think that non-industrial or pre-capitalist societies are less subject to change or internal contradiction (Hiller, 1991: 62). In spite of this, there are contemporary examples regarding other societies as changeless, which can be seen in Fabian’s critique of the present tense in anthropological writings. To state that such and such a society is matrilineal is to imply a static view of society, one that ignores that all cultures are constantly changing. He argues, “The present tense freezes a society at the time of observation... [and] it contains suppositions about the repetitiveness, predictability and conservatism of primitives” (Fabian, 1983: 81). Therefore, there are

contemporary instances where we must be vigilant against conceptualizing the Other as an unchanging entity.

Notions of changelessness and western mythological representations of the Other are both fundamental parts of the essentialization of the Other. As a concept, primitivism depends on a comparison between an idea of civilization and its counterpart, the uncivilized. This has made it possible for "Us" to write fantasies about "Them." And although these fantasies usually play out as the good or bad primitive, (Dilworth, 1996: 4) there is a wide possibility of Others, for the image of the primitive has to be as diverse as our own self image in which it was created in opposition (Hiller, 1991:65) (Cooley, 1982: 11). Whether typified as obsessed with rituals and terrified of spirits or as living in harmony with nature and possessing an advanced ecological consciousness, these positions actually originate from the same perception. Both images seek to dichotomize, otherize and essentialize (Errington, 1998: 78), hence in colonial America, the new world was either a place of hellish darkness or a lost Eden (Cooley, 1982: 20). It is to these opposing images that I now turn.

However, first it must be noted that parallels between old and new discourses of the primitive or Other must be qualified and complemented by other operations. One reason is that by identifying an enduring discourse, we tend to play down the specificity of texts and projects in order to fit the model of this discourse; each situation is distorted because certain particulars are left out. Secondly, although stereotyping the Other can be seen to go hand in hand with social inequalities, colonial discourse has particular cultural and political determinations (Thomas, 1994: 32). A single, decisive occupation or establishment of colonial power is a myth, as are notions of sudden decolonization and

accession to independence. Both ideas have hidden the importance of giving attention to the

repeated acts of oppression, campaigns of pacification, and suppression of rebellions, no matter whether these were carried out by military means...religious and educational indoctrination, administrative measures...or... by...monetary and economic manipulations under the cover of foreign aid (Fabian, 1983: 149).

Therefore, we must look at the specificities of the discourse; there are continuities, but there are also divergences (Thomas, 1994: 32).

I begin with the notion of the primitive as savage because this was how the Other was initially conceptualized. In the 16th century Renaissance, the discourse that surrounded the strangeness of the non-European Other was termed cosmography (McGrane, 1989: 8). It was related to the Christianity that he lacked, to his pagan - ness. The Other in the 16th century was a non-Christian (McGrane, 1989: 10), therefore, of central importance was whether the Other could be saved, whether he was capable of receiving salvation or if he was beyond hope (McGrane, 1989: 11). The most important response to the non-European Other was in the massive task of conversion, for, the Other was thought to be in collusion with the devil and therefore linked to the Fall and Punishment (McGrane, 1989: 14; Cooley, 1982: 26). However, in spite of this, the new world savages were seen as potential Christians (McGrane, 1989: 15). In addition, the customs of the natives were not ones that required any explanation, they were seen as the naturally degenerate; they represented man in a Fallen rather than primitive form (McGrane, 1989: 19).

During the Enlightenment, Christianity ceased being the impetus that informed and accounted for difference, and that function was taken up by “ignorance.” It was in

man's relation to truth that the Enlightenment posited difference. The construction of primitive mentality was based on its link to a "psychology of error" (McGrane, 1989: 56). The living savages are now not associated with the demonological forms, but are akin to man and his moral weakness, they are related to error and ignorance (McGrane, 1989:68). Therefore, in the cosmography of the 16th century, it was Christianity that separated the European from the non-European Other, and this was made possible through demonology. During the Enlightenment, it was ignorance, realizable through a psychology of error. However, not all conceptualizations of the Other in the 18th century surrounded ignorance and error; another stream of thought created the Other as Noble Savage.

The primitive conceptualized as the Noble Savage, the Romantic Savage or the Child-of-Nature was at its height in the 18th century (Cooley, 1982: 31). Nevertheless, as far back as the Renaissance, the Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions of an Eden or paradise and the golden age had combined into a myth of lands far away or long ago where citizens dwelt in pastoral landscapes in harmony with nature. These people possessed all the qualities of a seemingly perfect society: peaceful simplicity, health and well-being, equality of condition and status, sexual innocence, and strong minds untouched by the worries, complexities and sophistication of modern living. They were without war, injustice, rulers, and property and often without the need for work. Here primitivism suggested a people living in nature, according to nature, free from the burdens of society; it offered a hope to the Europeans that a peaceful alternative existed (Berkhofer, 1979: 72). The use of the Noble Savage and the primitive tradition looked towards the establishment of a new social order that resonated with the liberal ideas of

the time. Therefore, the noble savage demonstrated an idea of progress if civilized man was left free and unburdened by outdated institutions (Berkhofer, 1979: 76). Even Sigmund Freud believed that civilization was to blame for much of its misery and we would be happier if we gave it all up and went back to “primitive conditions.” However, Freud tempers this statement by admitting that the actual conditions of primitive life were undeniably more difficult than one would imagine (Cooley, 1982: 29). In fact, most of those who criticized European society did not really want to live the actual life of savagery they praised so often, they merely wanted to reform European civilization, (Berkhofer, 1979:77). Although he looked longingly at the other way of life, seldom would civilized man give up his security (Cooley, 1982: 29).

Still, in the 1920’s and 1930’s anthropology supported visions of American identity that identified remote places as possessing “authentic” culture and the possibility of providing solutions to the problems of modern day living (Mullin, 2001: 30).

Primitivism seemed to offer a treatment for the ills of modern life; it imagined that sincerity and communality dwelt within the primitive Other, whereas industrial life only offered them alienated individualism. For its supporters, primitivism captured the idea of an authentic way of life (Dilworth, 1996: 4), as in the American southwest, where the natives there seemed to be an exotic primitive peoples living in a harsh but beautiful landscape. To many non-native Americans, they appeared to embody a simple Edenic past (Dilworth, 1996: 2).

Even today, the concept of primitivism still seems to attract people as an alternative to their own hectic lifestyle. A case in point is primitive art. It appears that just purchasing goods made by supposedly simpler peoples can give its new owners a sense

of wholeness, authenticity, purity and harmony with nature (Mullin, 2001: 132). What was once labeled as “ritual object” or “cultural artefact” has been reclassified as “art.” This can be seen as a worrying event, developing a taste for appropriating or redeeming otherness, for constituting non-western arts in its own image, and for discovering universal, ahistorical “human” capacities” (Howell, 1991:235) has distinctive negative aspects. An example of this is the display of the arts of indigenous minorities as symbols of national identity. In the United States, there is the circulation of signs and tokens depicting and naming its indigenous populations – the Cleveland Indians, the Washington Redskins, the Miami Dolphins, Eskimo Pies, etc.. What is assimilated as a sign and rejected as historical reality, is institutionalized and used to celebrate national events. Ignoring the consequences of the original white invasion of their territories and efforts to subjugate and exterminate them, only result in any problem being located in the past and marks contemporary peoples and their issues as invisible (Hiller, 1991:283). Therefore, when the image is appropriated, the “whole story” (native history) is not likely to be told.

The whole notion of plundering native cultures for aesthetic, spiritual and environmental purposes seems more prevalent than ever. Indigenous languages, philosophies, stories and dances become material in a quest for further discovery (Todd, 1992: 71). New age spiritualists, environmentalists (Thomas, 1994:28) and artists have used the notion of indigenusness for inspiration and recognition. It seems as though appropriating native culture allows them an insight into what appears to be lacking in modern culture - the naïve or exotic. This is apparently the panacea for 21st century industrialized living, “worrying about ...feelings [of] spiritual emptiness... and lack of order and meaning in [their] lives, westerners look to others for succor rather than

seeking transformation from within” (Todd, 1992:71).

This brings up the issue of who are the “real” bearers of native culture, those who are considered “traditional” i.e., living in the bush and practicing something close to traditional subsistence (Thomas, 1994: 30) or those “educated” natives, living off the reservation, attending school outside the hinterland, and serving as cultural brokers (Briggs, 1996: 454). The adoption of western cultural elements into the indigenous world seems to horrify us. The presence of “cheap t-shirts, cotton dresses and sun glasses” in a New Guinea village appears as proof that traditional cultures are dying. They no longer “satisfy the requirements of the primitive, the traditional and therefore the Other.” There are problems with this thinking. It reasserts the exotic Other as an unchanging entity, and while we continue to praise the “betterment” of our own societies, we scorn it elsewhere. It is possible for other cultures to adopt western practices/products and transform them beyond recognition (Howell, 1991:229). The idea that the primitive Other still lives closer to nature than “we” do is as pervasive as ever, and this yearning for the natural has produced a sincere yet highly commercialized nostalgia for a peaceful primitive world, which in fact never existed in the first place (Errington, 1998: 149).

I return now to the historical representations. By the end of the 18th century, the Noble Savage was transformed into the Romantic Savage and the Child-of-Nature. These “new” varieties represent a reworking of the old themes in a new context rather than a denial of the old idea of Noble Savage. This is because a focus that romanticized the exotic and attention to the relationship between man and nature was there from the very beginnings of primitivism. What was new in romanticism was the task of the artist: to bring up feelings of compassion, sentimentalism and romantic love in addition to the

lessons of nature, all made possible through symbolism. “Whereas the true noble savage of rationalism comprehended nature’s laws through reason as well as instinct, the romantic savage depended upon passion and impulse alone for a direct apprehension of nature in all its picturesqueness, sublimity and fecundity” (Berkhofer, 1979: 79).

However, an allegation of Child of Nature did not always carry with it positive connotations. In the Renaissance, there was a concern with the relationship between the primitive and the gold within his “territory.” The primitive was considered inferior because he was not thought capable of having a responsible relationship with this gold, and so European appropriation was justified. The primitive was seen as child-like (McGrane, 1989:25). A similar example can be illustrated with the assumption that the native inhabitants of North America were thought not capable of using their land appropriately or of governing themselves. As a result, American civilization felt the need to take charge of these primitives in the name of progress (Dilworth, 1996: 6). The use of the childlike nature of the primitive is not a neutral classificatory act; the idea of the childlike primitive has informed colonial practice in everything from religious indoctrination and labor laws to basic political rights. To which Fabian likens to evidence of temporal distancing, the placing of the Now of the primitive in the Then of the western adult (Fabian, 1983: 63).

It is this idea of temporal distancing that I will now discuss. In the 19th century, it was time, geological, evolutionary and spatial, that separated the European from the non-European Other (McGrane, 1989: 78). Geological time allowed the slow progressive rise of humanity from the savagery of early man to the splendor of civilization (McGrane, 1989: 90). Here, spatial distance is teamed with temporal distance as the defining quality

of primitivism (Hiller, 1991: 56). Therefore, societies geographically distant from Europe were also seen as temporally distant, that is representing earlier stages in human development (Hiller, 1991: 87). The Other was now not a stratification of behavior, as with Enlightenment ignorance, but a stratification of time. The Other was now a “representation of historical evolution” (McGrane, 1989: 94) and evolutionism depended on time that was secularized, naturalized and spatialized (Fabian, 1983: 16). All living societies were placed on a temporal slope, a “stream of time.” “Civilization, evolution, development, modernization are terms whose conceptual content derives from evolutionary time” (Fabian, 1983: 17-18). Historical time contained the idea of the human past as a constant progression leading up to the present; this was the basis for the idea of progress (Errington, 1998: 29).

One result of the stratification of time was the conscious attempt to appropriate all cultures into European history, where the histories of the diverse cultures of the world became one history, a European one (Hiller, 1991: 24; Sayre, 1997: XI). However, this idea did not originate in the 19th century, it had its roots as far back as the Enlightenment, where the task was to incorporate all the varied histories of the ancient peoples into one common, universal stream of time: a world history (McGrane, 1989: 59). History is “selected, written, pictured, popularized and institutionalized” by elites and the victors and not what has actually been preserved in popular memory (Hobsbawm, 2000: 13), and therefore it is not surprising that native peoples have not had the opportunity to write their own history (McGrane, 1989: 125). This is as true today as it was then. In addition, when native scholars do write their own histories, they are expected to do so through western language forms (Todd, 1992: 76). It is as if their own ways of expressing their

cultures are not good enough or that native cultures are thought to hold some hidden truth that cannot be understood without western assistance (Todd, 1992:76; Said, 1979:128). This is exacerbated by the fact that the circulation of discourse by non-native scholars has a distinct advantage when one takes into account social class, nationality and education. The privileges that emanate from their position allow them to draw on a wide range of discourses and distribute their representations widely (Briggs, 1996: 460). This takes into account the tendency for textual representations to have an academic audience in mind, and not the population written about (McGrane, 1989:96; Said, 1979:336).

Topics such as geopolitics and images such as “western expansion” hide the fact that exploitative relations also had temporal characteristics. Fabian expresses that “Resources have been transported from the past of their backward locations to the present of an industrial, capitalist economy” (1983: 95). Movement of a temporal nature has always served to legitimize the colonial project. Temporalizations imagined as movement from savagedom to civilization have served an ideology whose main purpose was to acquire commodities for Euro/American markets (Fabian, 1983: 95). Hence, geopolitics had its roots in chronopolitics (Fabian, 1983: 143-44).

How does the idea of progress relate to that of the primitive? In the following manner: A nation’s forward movement in time cannot be separated from economic expansion and progress (Errington, 1998: 41). Progressivist stories of the 19th century invent and indeed depend upon the idea of the primitive because the universal time needs a starting point from which to measure progress and change (Errington, 1998: 6). Therefore, by the 19th century the difference between Europeans and the non-European Other was the result of progress (McGrane, 1989: 98), or to put it another way, the

alienness of the non-European Other was a discourse about development (McGrane, 1989: 101). The concept of progress in western thought was what fuelled the experience of the non-European's difference as an experience of primitiveness; "The resource of progress authorizes the transformation of the different into the primitive" (McGrane, 1989: 99).

In conclusion, although Primitivism has its roots as far back as the Renaissance, and has geographical variabilities, it is as relevant today in understanding the conceptualizations of the Other as it was then. Policy makers and technocrats build on such "abstractions as political elites, modernization, and stability, most of which are simply the old... stereotypes dressed up in policy jargon" (Said, 1979: 321). The fact is that orientalist/primitivist discourse is probably used more often than we like to admit when determining economic and political policies of the developing world. This is not only inadequate for what is happening in these countries today, but also perpetuates a discourse that is based on racism and ethnocentrism. Edward Said asks whether we can divide human reality into different cultures, histories, traditions and societies and survive the consequences humanly (Said, 1979:46). It certainly seems unlikely; rather, this discourse has only served to deepen the divide between "Us" and "Them." When distinct categories are used to classify people for analysis, research and public policy, the result is usually to polarize the distinction (Said, 1979: 46). The next chapter is concerned with the discourse of development.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT

As an area of intellectual inquiry, international development can be traced to the late 1940s and post World War II period. Development was seen as a burden to be taken on by the industrialised powers to ensure the “civilising mission” was spread throughout the developing world (de Senarclens, 1997: 191). It was recovery programs like the Marshall Plan, (1947) which convinced western trained economic planners that aid-based strategic planning would enable developing countries to “bridge the gap” between them and the industrialised nations (Visvanathan, 1997: 2). It is in this chapter that I outline the paradigms of development theory: modernization, neoliberalism and globalization. Here I will provide a background of the geopolitical climate in which the development project was formed. Following that consists of the core of development theory, modernization, and its criticisms. This will outline how populations and whole countries were compelled to follow modern western practices and values. These values are reminiscent of the earlier discourse on primitivism. The basics of development are important for understanding how aboriginals were represented and the constraints that were imposed upon them. It is assumptions such as those associated with primitivism and ideas of tradition, in addition to the various constraints that are imposed upon the representations of Amerindians by the many “realities” of development (capital formation, markets, property, consumption, etc) that I am concerned with. Because the current focus of international development is neoliberalism. I will reveal how it is a natural progression from the older modernization model, and the way it is linked to globalization. Finally, a short examination of what is meant by the development discourse will conclude the

chapter.

Project of Development

The project of international development was not just concerned about humanitarian issues, for poverty was thought to be a threat to world peace and the interests of the United States. Particularly after World War 2, the United States became increasingly concerned about the communist threat and Soviet ambitions throughout the world (de Senarclens, 1997: 191). In fact, the history of development and those of east-west politics stem from the same root: the political rearrangements after World War 2 (Escobar, 1995: 34).

This was the era of inter-state politics. A brief word about the state may be helpful, especially in later discussions about its diminishing role in the age of globalization. The state can be characterized as an agency that claims the legitimate right, and has the resources, to set up and enforce rules and norms concerning the running of affairs within a given territory (Bauman, 1998: 60). To order a portion of the world, a state must have the sovereignty to do so and it must be able to enforce a particular model of rule at the expense of all others. This task requires an enormous amount of effort and resources to maintain social power. This system was based on military, economic and cultural sovereignties and therefore effective order making was unthinkable unless the state was able to defend its territory against challenges, both inside and out, and had the cultural resources to sustain the state's identity through its subjects. The development of a state usually requires that the ruling population suppress other populations who may want to form their own state (Bauman, 1998: 62).

Ordering the world into units called states allowed development to become a

useful tool through the competing political and cultural spheres of the United States and United Soviet Socialist Republic. Doctrines of national security linked to development strategies were given preference over pacts of military assistance (Escobar, 1995: 34). The fate of the nonindustrialised nations was subject to intense negotiations and the dominant image of what was to become the developing world was shaped by strategic considerations and access to raw materials during World War II. Moreover, concepts such as the 'Third World' (developing world) and 'underdevelopment' did not exist before 1945; they were products of the post war period (Escobar, 1995: 31). In addition, the term 'Third World' meant those countries that resisted alignment with either the first world of the west or the second world of the east. Although the term now has economic meanings, it can still be described as a political concept (Charlton, 1997: 9).

The creation of the development project committed high-income nations to monetary and technical aid channelled through international agencies (Visvanathan, 1997: 2). This was based on the idea that aid would spur economic growth, which would eventually trickle down to the masses, for economic growth was considered the remedy for inequality and poverty (Visvanathan, 1997: 2; Latouche, 1997: 140; Escobar, 1995: 74). If economic growth was the key to solving the problems of poverty and inequality, then the path was to be paved with science and technology. In order for the developing countries to make sufficient strides, it was necessary for them to replicate the conditions characteristic of mature capitalist societies via industrialization, urbanization, agricultural modernization and infrastructure (Escobar, 1995: 38). Therefore, the faith in science and technology, arising from the new sciences of the war effort, played an important role in the elaboration and justification of the new discourse of development (Escobar, 1995:

35).

It is this concept of discourse that I will briefly discuss before moving on to the core of development - modernization theory. Michel Foucault's "fields of knowledge" and the conventions in which they were classified and represented in certain periods will help to clarify what is meant by development discourse. Foucault demonstrates how areas of knowledge are historically, politically and socially constructed, thereby constructing their subjects in distinct ways and exercising power over them. In this sense, although represented as objective and neutral, knowledge is inherently political (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 71). In this case, the field of knowledge is development, and my concern is how the discourse of development was created, how it constructed its subjects and the consequences that resulted. It is Foucault's work on discourse and power in the representation of social reality that offers us a way to understand how the mechanisms of development discourse produce permissible modes of being and thinking while making others improbable (Escobar, 1995: 5). The central component of the discourse on development is the idea of modernization.

Modernization Theory

In the 1940s through 1960s, the required replication of capitalist societies meant there was widespread consensus that development entailed a process of modernization. Although modernization was the most intellectually influential at this time, it continues to dominate development practice even today (Schuurman, 1993:15). It should be noted however, that although there are differing theories of development, the impetus behind international development organizations is one of modernization (Hettne, 1995: 53) and therefore it will remain my focus. Modernization theorists advocate a change whereby the

supposed traditional and backward developing countries advance along similar lines with the north- western world (Martinussen, 1999: 38; de Senarclens, 1997: 192).

Industrialization and urbanization were seen as the inevitable and necessary progressive routes to modernization. The organizing premise was the belief in its role as the only means capable of destroying archaic superstitions and relations, regardless of the social, cultural and political costs (Schuurman, 1996:15). Only through self-regulation of the market, the sanctity of property, a minimal role of the state and acknowledgement of the cultural superiority of the west could social, cultural and political progress in the developing world be achieved (Escobar, 1995:86; Schuurman, 1993:96). The problem of underdevelopment, as we know it today, had no place in this paradigm.

Modernization can be characterized as an inherently optimistic concept, for it perceives that all countries will eventually attain economic growth. This optimism was part of the historical context of post-war prosperity and growth in the north and independence of many nations in the south (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 13). This concept presented development as a relatively linear process. Lack of development was due to internal obstacles and therefore the solutions were straightforward, for example, a shortage of roads to the marketplace meant more infrastructure was needed (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 14). Other possible obstacles to development in the political and cultural realms were ignored while the emphasis was placed on the apparently neutral areas of science and technology (Escobar, 1995: 46), this was evident in the “green revolution.”

By the late 20th century, the notion of progress had undergone many mutations. For some, the idea had been discredited altogether, relinquished to the dustbin of outdated ideas. Others expressed serious doubts about the continuous enterprise of more

technology, more consumer goods, indeed more everything at the expense of quality of life, environmental destruction and social justice. However, ironically, governments of the developing world have tended to embrace the old notion of progress, and even enthusiastically so (Errington, 1998:6) and Guyana is an example. In fact, throughout most of the world, the notion of progress and its offspring, the “backward primitive” has not faded into obscurity. Since the middle of the 20th century, when the European colonies gained their independence and became nation-states, their elites have forged a new place for themselves and constructed national identities that differ from their former selves as colonized peoples. Though these elites have created their own narratives of nationhood, they have also bought into the already established stories of economic “modernization” and “development.” These narratives, as with the related ones of colonization and technological development in the 19th century, classify primitive peoples as backward and unsophisticated, as a people whose chance to “move with the times” appears limited (Errington, 1998:8).

As mentioned, development theory consists of many models, though my concern is with modernization and the recent variant, neoliberalism. They both incorporate the same idea - the ceaseless forward marches of economic and technological “advancements,” but neoliberalism is given a new lease by an alliance of authoritarian developing world regimes, trans/multinational corporations, international monetary and development agencies like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and consultants from the industrialized state economies (Errington, 1998:6). The name may have changed, but the principle is the same; all people must modernize or else be left behind in the race for wealth and power (Errington, 1998:66).

Despite being closely related, there is a difference between the past ideals of modernization and the present ones of development (neoliberalism). Modernization was born after World War II, and as an idea of progress, its intentions seemed benign. It was in vogue during the Cold War, when “underdeveloped” nations sought to modernize, to catch up with the industrialized West. During its heyday, debates were conducted on whether all traditional cultures had to be destroyed or if some could be reshaped to the modernization standard (Errington, 1998:41). Specialists that carried out these debates subscribed to the idea of the backward primitive. Now called “area experts,” these people rely on traditional knowledge reworked for better manipulation of its supposed object (Said, 1979:108). The “experts” whose qualifications include foreign language proficiencies, cultural understanding, regional specialization and some in – country experience are increasingly sought after by military organizations (www.military.com). Politicians whose source of information is “not only the half-literate technocrat but the super-literate [area expert] exploit caricatures of the Orient” (and other developing world places) (Said, 1979:108).

Neoliberalism’s new twist on the essentially same theory was that it abandons the idea of modernizing the natives and seeks only to modernize the economy of the countries the natives just happen to occupy. Alas, development, free from difficult promises of health and well-being of developing world populations and vague notions of equity, becomes the moniker for the success of free market ideals, for structural adjustment programs, for the gross national product as the yardstick of economic and political stability. The new and improved narrative has at its disposal more military power, more capital and more technological know how than the older modernization

narrative (Errington, 1998:41).

Because modernization is essentially an evolutionary concept with countries imagined to be at different stages on a linear path to an industrialized society, the contrast between tradition and modernity is central to this theory. There is great emphasis on rationality, both economic and moral. This can be applied in two ways. In relations between countries, the western industrial countries are regarded as modern, secular and profit-oriented and the developing ones as traditional and unmotivated towards profit. It also applies to practices, values, institutions and ways of life within particular countries where some groups are considered modern, others as traditional. Modernization theory is concerned with how traditional values, attitudes and practices can be replaced by modern ones. The problem, in this context, has been development-obstructing traditions, institutions, values and other internal conditions (Martinussen, 1999:56; Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 12). It is only when these traditions are broken down that growth was thought to occur, for it is the customs and values of non-western countries that were believed to retard their acknowledging the benefits of modernization. This idea can be linked with the previous discussion on primitivism. Recall that primitivism is a tendency for most people to have an image of themselves inhabiting a cultural centre while wild, uncivilized people (Hiller, 1991:57) populate outside realms. Modernization is simply an extension of this way of thinking. Developing countries are instructed to adopt the ways of developed countries because of the notion that those in the west know what is best for those in the south. As discussed previously, the west is believed to be modern and civilized while developing nations are characterized as mired in tradition. Primitivism characterizes the Other as not being able to make decisions for themselves, for they are

either savage or child-like; modernization perpetuates this line of thinking, believing developing countries are incapable of directing their own development due to internal obstacles.

The most important elements that went into the formulation of modernization theory were the process of capital formation, and the various factors associated with it: technology, population and resources, monetary and fiscal policies, industrialization and agricultural development, commerce and trade (Escobar, 1995:86). It was only through material advancement that social, cultural and political progress could be attained. This idea led to the belief that capital investment was the primary component in economic growth and development. Ample capital was needed to support the infrastructure, industrialization and overall modernization of society (Escobar, 1995: 40). In spite of this, there was only one problem in the seemingly perfect plan. Developing countries were seen to be locked in a cycle of poverty and lack of capital, so domestic savings would not be sufficient. Therefore, a substantial portion of the money would need to come from abroad (Escobar, 1995: 40). However, unlike the post World War II Marshall Plan, very little aid went to Latin America during this same period. Consequently, except for Europe, the rest of the world was instructed to look to private capital to finance their “development.” This meant that the right ‘climate’ had to be created: a commitment to capitalist enterprise. In practice, this entailed the curbing of nationalism, and the control of the left, the working class and the peasantry (Escobar, 1995: 33; de Senarclens, 1997: 194).

There was also a series of factors linked to cultural considerations, such as education and the need to foster modern cultural values. Finally, there was the creation of

various institutions: international organizations (The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, United Nations technical agencies), national planning agencies (Alliance for Progress), and technical agencies of various kinds (Escobar, 1995:86).

People were needed to run these institutions. However, it was not just anyone who became part of the institutionalization of development. Only those 'experts', who subscribed to western derived economics, were allowed to participate and thus profoundly influence the way development was carried out. The role of the experts gained considerable importance in the process of incorporating western science into the developing world. Techniques, strategies and practices accomplished a politics of truth that was created and maintained in which certain forms of knowledge were given the status of truth. Creation of development sciences and sub disciplines incorporated problems into established systems of knowledge and power (Escobar, 1995: 45). The problems (objects) of development were numerous and included issues like poverty, health, education, hygiene, insufficient technology and capital, rapid population growth, inadequate public services and archaic agricultural practices: the problems it would later treat and reform (Escobar, 1995: 41).

The experts constructed the information about those living in developing nations. Some of this data was given the status of truth. In other words, it became part of the discourse, while others were not. This practice is familiar with previous discussions on primitivism. In primitivist discourse, knowledge about subject peoples makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge and so on (Said, 1979: 36). The "politics of truth" was created out of this information, which is only a representation of the people in developing countries. These

representations are not natural (Said, 1979: 21), they are the manifestations of a desire to understand, control, manipulate and even incorporate what is viewed as an alien world.

The function of the objects of development was that capitalism and modernity depended on a politics of poverty in order to create consumers and transform society by turning the poor into objects of knowledge and organization. These objects required information about the population and appropriate models of planning. The most important feature of this phenomenon was “the setting into place of apparatuses of knowledge and power that took it upon themselves to optimize life by producing it under modern, scientific conditions” (Escobar, 1995: 23).

This in turn created the rationale of development aid, and shaped the forms it took. In this sense, modernization imposes a constraint on the conceptualization and execution of development projects. Large-scale projects are consistent with the notion of the push towards westernization (Hettne, 1995:53). It is safe to say that the general outlook of modernization theory still constitutes the popular image of developing countries (Hettne, 1995: 64).

Critiques of Modernization Theory

By the late 1960s, it became increasingly apparent that simplistic notions of modernization were inadequate. Economic growth rates in developing countries were disappointing and several large-scale development projects had failed miserably, despite attempts to remove the ‘obstacles’ of development (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 14). Modernization became the subject of much criticism as a theory and as a strategy. The notion that the developing world had no meaningful history before its ‘discovery’ and that the relations between the developed and developing worlds were beneficial were

only two criticisms. Modernization critics frequently argued that the periphery suffered from these relations; they were characterized by the creation of underdevelopment, the extraction of surplus, and the bringing into being of the domination/dependence syndrome (Slater, 1993:99).

One group of scholars particularly critical of modernization theory arose from the Dependency School. This group pointed out the dependent relations between northern and southern countries and argued that modernization was nothing more than an excuse for the north to intervene in the south on northern terms. Although these scholars argued from a variety of theoretical positions, one scholar, Andre Gunder Frank (1969) concentrated on the historical relevance of colonialism and argued that rather than undeveloped, the south was underdeveloped (Phillips, 1998: xiv). Underdevelopment can be classified as an inherent consequence of the functioning of the capitalist world system. The periphery is plundered of its resources, which leads to development of the core and underdevelopment of the non-western societies (Schuurman, 1996: 5). There is also the notion that the economies of the periphery (or non-western societies) had nothing to contribute to the process of development because tradition is equated with backwardness (Escobar, 1995: 78). Hence, the economies of the periphery existed outside the international economy and had to be disposed of as quickly as possible. They were not part of the global system and this was due to their failure to join the western countries in progressing towards modernization.

The modernization paradigm completely ignores the political effects of growth on the communities. It is assumed that wealth will trickle down and benefit the entire population. However, life is never so simple. As mentioned before, even if economic

growth is achieved, poverty levels may remain the same or even increase. Modernization does not recognize the varying degrees of power, access to resources and interests of different groups in the communities. It assumes either the community is made up of a homogenous group of people or that eventually all will share the benefits of modernization. Nevertheless, the communities to be 'developed' are not uniform; there is heterogeneity between households and within them (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 15). This "oversight" may in fact contribute to the failure of a project.

The assumption that all change would follow the western model is not only ethnocentric, but also false. Change comes in many shapes and forms and to generalize about the transition from one type to another is a shortsighted endeavor. In addition, modernization may classify local practices as barriers to development. However, it is more likely that if local people find it advantageous to adopt foreign practices they will be open to change. It may also be the case where foreign practices are indigenized (Appadurai, 1996: 32) to form new ways of doing things. Local people are likely better judges of their own needs and therefore have developed ways to strategize to make the best of difficult conditions. Unfortunately, however, modernization strategies rarely pay any attention to local knowledges (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 15). This will be discussed more fully in future chapters.

Finally, the most damning criticism of modernization theory concerns its failure to understand the real causes of poverty and lack of "development." Poverty on a global scale was a "discovery" of the postwar era (Escobar, 1995: 22). Economists and experts used comparative terms to construct the massive amounts of poverty in developing nations. They compared the per-capita income of the United States, which was over

\$1,400 at the time, to other countries in the world whose yearly income was often far below \$100. This comparison was of course ridiculous as economic and social realities were completely different. It also overlooked the social dimensions of development and contributed nothing to the distribution of wealth or the nature of economic structures (de Senarclens, 1997: 192). By insisting that all countries were to proceed along the same linear path, they ignored historical and political factors, which made the playing field far from even (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 15).

Today there exists a different political and economic climate, one unlike the era in which the development machine first produced its agenda. If modernization theory has suffered under its growing criticisms, then the juggernaut of neoliberalism has risen to take its place. The neoliberal agenda is not a total break with past modernization practices, for it still includes forcing northern value systems on southern countries, transferring local resources out of communities and of course, the development of the market (Phillips, 1998: xiii).

According to Phillips, neoliberalism can be seen as a shift away from “inward strategies of development promoting national self-sufficiency to outward-oriented free-trade aimed at total integration into the world market” (1998: xi). Phillips’ uses Hans Overbeek and Kees van der Pijl’s definition of neoliberalism, and I think it is useful here: neoliberalism can be defined as “the current profit-seeking project of transnational capital that derives its moral support from neo-conservative values” (1998: xvii). This definition grounds neoliberalism in the political component of a certain sector of the population, while still recognizing its hegemonic potential. In other words, neoliberalism tries to be relevant to the majority of the population by focusing on the daily concerns of average

citizens. By arguing that the full freedom of the market will produce more wealth, freedom and social order for everyone, it seeks to avoid the criticism that it is coercive by nature (Phillips, 1998: xvii).

Like past theories of modernization, there are different ways of looking at neoliberalism. Some may see it as a cure for the current economic crises; some as the cause, while others see it as a symptom (Phillips, 1998: xvi). However one may categorize neoliberalism, it aspires to include most of the population by emphasizing individual autonomy, flexibility and choice within the context of law and order, private property and family life. Therefore it is not just capitalists who are concerned with these issues; much of the population (in the south and north) are concerned as well (Phillips, 1998: xvii).

The background for the neoliberal agenda lies in what happened from 1975-1985. It was in this period that macroeconomic policy was changed by advocates of a revamped version of neo-classical economics, known as neo-liberalism. This force overcame its Keynesian opponents in the battle for ideological hegemony. It became clear that markets were more important than politics, which was a significant shift from the post - war period when the key to economic prosperity and social equity was co-coordinated by the economy of the state and its involvement in social policy (McBride, 2001: 27).

As mentioned previously, during the post - war period, nation-states were accepted as the basic units of economic and political life. This is no longer the case, for neoliberalism seems to deny the possibility or desirability of national economic strategies (McBride, 2001: 14). The reinvented role of the state can be traced back to the break-up of the Soviet Union. This has led to the notion that the military, economic and cultural

self-sufficiency of a nation appears to be an unviable prospect (Bauman, 1998: 64). It is argued that states have lost sovereignty due to the increase in transborder capitalism, and they have acquired a new relationship with transnational entities with which they must interact (McBride, 2001: 23). In addition, according to many, governments have no hope of politically controlling these forces (Bauman, 1998: 67). This has led to the accusation that nation-states are experiencing a decline as a complex, modern political form. For nation-states only make sense as part of a system and that system seems ill equipped to handle the complexity of diasporas of people and images that characterizes the 21st century (Appadurai, 1996: 19).

Due to the permeable aspect of most national economies and the rootless character of capital, global financial markets seek to impose their laws and rules on the planet. Many states do not have the resources or the freedom of space to withstand these forces. The economy appears to be exempt from political control due to the spread of free trade rules and the free movement of capital and finance; therefore what is meant by the term 'economy' falls within the area of the non-political (Bauman, 1998: 66).

Contrary to popular opinion, weak states do not go against the flow of global economic tendencies, but in fact, they complement it. For global finance, trade and the information industry require the political fragmentation of the world scene. Inter-state institutions are allowed to act with the blessing of global capital and exert pressures on states to remove barriers that would stand in the way of the uninhibited movement of capital and limit market freedom. Abandoning any hope of independent economic policy is part of the prerequisite for financial assistance from the World Bank and monetary funds (Bauman, 1998: 68).

Consequently, the growth of neoliberalism needs to be understood within the context of the unification of the world markets, the transnationalization of the capitalist political economy and the end of the Cold War that spurred the triumphant view of capitalism as the solution to restructure national economies in order to adapt to the new international division of labor (Riberio and Little, 1998: 176). The essential feature of this ideology rests in its determination to reduce and alter the role of the state in human affairs. The emphasis is on market mechanisms and an individual approach to solving economic or social problems, emphasizing that issues should be settled by individuals or by individuals interacting in the marketplace (McBride, 2001: 14).

What I have just described as the essentials for neoliberalism is the process of globalization. For globalization refers to the necessity for increased levels of economic integration and interaction around the world. While the term neoliberal refers to the ideology that gives shape and content to the globalised character of our times (McBride, 2001: 13), the term 'globalization' is a relatively recent one; it was uncommon before the 1980s, but became more prevalent in the 1990s. There is a diversity of definitions attached to it, and it may be in danger of becoming all things to all people and thus explaining nothing. As with modernization, it is suspected of spreading western culture and capitalist society by forces that operate beyond human control (McBride, 2001: 21).

So, what is globalization, and what has been globalized? Undeniably, it includes a shift in labor-intensive production to areas of the world where the cost of labor is far cheaper (Phillips, 1998: xviii). However, a universal component seems to be the market as the key mechanism for the construction of a new society (Phillips, 1998: xviii). In this increasingly integrated world, transnational corporations thrive and promote visions of

the world without frontiers, multilateral agencies (The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the United Nations) have their powers increased and supranational entities (The European Union, North American Free Trade Agreement, World Trade Organization) reshape economic and political relationships in different areas (Riberio and Little, 1998:176). However, globalization does not produce uniformity in the way people think; we must not forget that people conceptualize the world in dynamic and creative ways (Phillips, 1998: xviii). On the same note, globalization is not the story of cultural homogenization (Appadurai, 1996: 11). If a global culture is emerging it is filled with ironies and resistances (Appadurai, 1996: 29), for the rhetoric of globalization entails the removal of limitations allowing the free exchange of ideas across boundaries from people all over the world (Smith, Burke and Ward, 2000: 1).

Conclusion

To summarize, there were three important elements that went into the formulation of development theory: the process of capital formation, the factors needed to foster modern cultural values and adequate institutions (Escobar, 1995:40). Therefore, “Development is the result of ... a set of relations among these elements, institutions and practices and ... the systematization of these relations to form a whole” (Escobar, 1995: 40). To understand development as a discourse, the system, not the individual elements must be analyzed, for it is the system that allows the creation of objects, strategies and concepts that determines what is allowable in the development field. This system of relations “establishes a discursive practice” that makes all the rules; it determines whom the authorities are and what they are allowed to say, what constitutes an area to be studied and under what criteria problems become part of a policy or plan (Escobar, 1995: 41).

This discourse has created an apparatus for producing knowledge about the developing world that is very effective. Although the discourse was created in the 1940s and 50s, it has not become outdated. It continues to incorporate new ideas, theories and practices so that it remains relevant to the development field (Escobar, 1995:9). The discourse has undergone a series of changes allowing it to adapt to new conditions (Escobar, 1995:42). This is a very important point, for development must appear to remain innovative and significant in the eyes of most of the developed world. It cannot afford to risk having the appearance of a discourse that is no longer viable. Therefore, it must constantly be aware of the changes in its field and incorporate new ideas, even if these ideas do not actually change the focus of development itself. Lobbyists may be successful in changing official policy, for example, a commitment to policies on women, poverty alleviation (or indigenous peoples) but this does not mean that actual practice has changed (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 126). This reminds us that “discourse is not the expression of thought; it is a practice, with conditions, rules and historical transformations” (Escobar, 1995: 216).

Just as development does not entail a homogenous body of ideas and practices, developers are also not a united group of people. Different interest groups and agencies contest the discourse resulting in what may be a considerable struggle to put forth that which they believe development consists (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 126). Therefore, the changing face of development involves a lot of behind the scene conflicts, and one can say that it is the largest institutions with the most money and power that end up pushing their version of discourse to the top of the heap. The next two chapters examine two of the largest and most powerful institutions, the World Bank and the Inter-American

Development Bank.

CHAPTER IV

WORLD BANK

The World Bank constitutes the world's largest funding agency for large-scale development programs, while the Inter-American Development Bank is the largest funding agency for the Latin America/Caribbean region. These two institutions have had an enormous impact on the indigenous peoples of the developing world. It is for this reason that I have chosen to focus my analysis of the development industry on these two agencies. The purpose of this chapter is to determine how the policies of the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank (which will be dealt with in the next chapter) construct the discourse of aboriginality in their policies and projects. How does the World Bank policy on indigenous peoples (Operational Policy 4.10) as well as a selection of projects that have been funded since 1970, inform us about the indigenous population? What are the types of aboriginality that are allowed to be incorporated into these policies and projects? In other words, what is included in the papers and what is excluded and why? I argue that although aboriginality has been integrated into the development discourse, its inclusion has made little difference, for any sense of aboriginality is molded by the development discourse thereby preventing an "authentic" aboriginal to be presented. Through my interpretation of the policies and projects I am looking for a number of items: direct references to aboriginals within the projects; what the policies reveal about the Bank's understanding of aboriginality, which has implications about the way in which such groups are managed; the overall imagery that emerges in the discourse and the indirect references that are implied through the use of modernization and neoliberalism discourse. This chapter will first outline the general functions of the World

Bank, the basic operating structure and its focus or mission as well as touch upon the extent of its influence in the developing world. Following this, I will give a description of the Operational Policy 4.10; the details will be integrated throughout projects that fall into the following areas: livestock, forestry, petroleum and SIMAP (social impact amelioration program). I have chosen this selection of documents ranging from 1970-1998 because they best represent the type of projects that would likely contain references to Amerindians.

Structure of the World Bank

The World Bank group includes the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; the International Development Association; the International Finance Corporation; the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency; and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (World Bank, 2001a: 15). The primary function of the World Bank Group, as described by its founders, was to provide post war development loans for the reconstruction of Europe (Danaher, 1994:1). It also sought to promote private foreign investments by means of guarantees or participation in loans and other investments made by private investors (Danaher, 1994:1) for projects in poor developing countries.

When the Bank first opened for business in 1947, it considered its function to grant or deny projects presented for loans by borrowers (Payer, 1982:73). However, during its early years, there was insufficient demand for Bank projects, and it was dissatisfied with the quality of projects that were presented. Thus, the Bank decided to create demand for the type of projects of which it approved (Rich, 1994:7) and assisted borrowers with identifying and preparing projects that the Bank would consider eligible

for financing. That is, in order to ensure an adequate supply of projects to finance, the Bank had to produce them itself (Payer, 1982:73) rather than admit the world might not need their services. Warren Baum, who held a senior position at the Bank through the 1980s, admitted, “We do not get enough good projects to appraise unless we are involved immediately in their identification and preparation” (Rich, 1994:7). Indeed, the World Bank does not only extend financial assistance; the bank is eager to assume all responsibility, except for the failure of the project (Yunus, 1994: xiii).

Because the United States was the only major country to escape devastation during World War II, and so was the only feasible source of loanable funds, the U.S government officials designed the World Bank, just as they had designed the International Monetary Fund (Payer, 1982:22). The Bank’s money is generated by using the world’s capital markets, derived from contributions from wealthier member governments. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development raises almost all its money in financial markets, selling AAA rated bonds and other debt securities to pension funds, insurance companies, corporations, other banks and individuals around the world. Countries pay in less than 5 percent of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development’s funds when they join the World Bank. Member governments purchase shares, based on the strength of their economies, paying only a small portion of the value of those shares. The rest of the balance is “on-call” if the Bank cannot pay its creditors. This guarantees that capital can be used only to pay bondholders, not to cover administrative costs or to make loans (The World Bank, 2001b:17).

A Board of Governors formally rules the World Bank group, but it is the president and the executive directors that conduct the day-to-day business of the Bank (Payer,

1982:39). Member countries with the largest number of shares appoint five of the 24 executive directors; the rest are elected by the other member countries, which form the constituencies in an election process conducted every two years (World Bank, 2001a:38). The president is appointed and fired by the executive directors and has always been a United States citizen - this was thought necessary for retaining the confidence of the capital markets and the United States government. Moreover, the executive directors have been constrained to approving a candidate selected by the president of the United States (Payer, 1982:39). The United States executive director cannot vote as she/he pleases in the Bank's board meetings. She/he is subordinate to the Secretary of the Treasury, who is advised on policy matters concerning the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the regional development banks of which the United States is a member. Hence, the United States government, as the largest shareholder in the Bank and contributor to the International Development Association, has always been able to control the direction of its lending (Payer, 1982:42). The Bank claims its member borrowers have a voice in setting its policies, but how much of a voice is questionable, as it is based on proportional representation (World Bank, 2001a:10).

Even though fifty years have passed since the inception of the World Bank group, the United States is still the largest shareholder. Although its percentage of voting power in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is barely enough to preserve a United States veto on certain important issues, the economic power it holds is a much more significant constraint on the decisions of the Bank. If ever the United States executive were displeased by a Bank decision, it could withdraw from the organization or refuse to contribute to the International Development Association leaving it financially

helpless (Payer, 1982:40).

My focus will be on the activities of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association, for the two organizations lend money to developing countries for various development projects. Both share the same staff, follow the same policy guidelines, and have similar procedures for appraising and supervising project work. However, because the International Development Association has a different funding source and requirements for loans, it is a separate account in the organization (Payer, 1982:28).

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development makes loans on relatively conventional terms. It is “owned” by its shareholders who hold voting rights proportional to its shareholdings (Payer, 1982:29). It provides middle-income countries access to capital in large volumes and, on good terms, with longer maturities and in a more sustainable manner than the market provides. The Bank asserts that unlike a commercial bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is driven by development impact rather than profit maximization (World Bank, 2001a:10).

The International Development Association was created in 1960 as the answer to two kinds of challenges. First, the growing group of developing countries was lobbying intensely for a liberal type of development fund under the sponsorship of the United Nations, a demand prompted by the dissatisfaction with the conservative lending policies of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. One of these proposed agencies was the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (Payer, 1982:33).

After first opposing the creation of such a fund, the World Bank decided it would

be wiser to incorporate the new institution into its own structure rather than oppose it. Eugene Black, president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at the time admitted that the International Development Association “was really an idea to offset the urge for the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development” (Payer, 1982:33). Second, the Bank perceived that it could increase its own powers of advantage if it controlled the allocation of concessionary aid funds (Payer, 1982:25). In short, the International Development Association had to be invented to keep the Bank paramount, or at least important, in the growing complex of multilateral development agencies attempting to facilitate international development (Payer, 1982:32).

International Development Association’s funds primarily come from grants made by its capital exporting member governments, with a small portion coming from International Bank for Reconstruction and Development profits. Thus, all of its funds are derived directly or indirectly from the taxpayers of the member governments (Payer, 1982:33). It provides “credits” which are loans at zero interest with a ten-year grace period and maturities up to 35-40 years (World Bank, 2001a:11). Overall, new lending in 2001 focused on investments aimed at reducing poverty, including investments in the social sectors and rural and community driven development (World Bank, 2001a: 25). In the same year, responding to recent changes in the international development environment, the International Development Association, for the first time in its history allowed representatives of borrowing countries to join donors in discussions about its future direction (World Bank, 2001a:11).

The World Bank’s stated mission is:

to fight poverty with passion and professionalism for lasting results; to help people help themselves and their environment by providing

resources, sharing knowledge, building capacity, and forging partnerships in the public and private sectors; and to be an excellent institution, able to attract, excite, and nurture diverse and committed staff with exceptional skills who know how to listen and learn (World Bank, 2001a: back cover).

The notion of “helping people help themselves” has been around so long that its patronizing effects have become normalized. Sayings such as “if you give a man a fish you feed him for a day, but if you teach him to fish, you feed him for a lifetime” seem to justify foreign aid, as if the problem was ignorance of the poor. The people who hand out “charity” while blaming the poor seem to ignore the structure and rules of power and attack the integrity of the oppressed (Danaher, 2001: 93).

The Bank aims to achieve its mission by emphasizing governance and institutional and policy structures, including a regulatory framework that seeks to create a positive climate for investment. According to the Bank, this is key to creating jobs and reaching sustainable growth. It emphasizes the need to invest in people and empower them to participate in development, partly through community-driven initiatives. Central to the Bank’s scheme for poverty reduction is the building of poor peoples’ assets, promoting gender equality, and protecting the most vulnerable (World Bank, 2001a:35).

In order to achieve its mission, the World Bank relies on its core assets including its financial strength, experience and knowledge, global reach, and independence. These enable its objectivity, ability to integrate major elements of sustainable development, and capacity to deliver services and resources to countries (World Bank, 2001a:35). Even if one disagrees with its policies, it is difficult to contest its assets, except perhaps its objectivity, for there is no way to ensure the “objectivity” of the information it presents (Payer, 1982:73). Furthermore, the Bank seeks to maintain its global diagnostic capacity

across development sectors, while being more selective in its areas of implementation capacity (World Bank, 2001a:35). This may be interpreted as continuing to advise developing world countries as to what is wrong with their economies, while cutting back on the Bank's actual monetary contribution. The Bank would rather see the countries implement Bank policies themselves.

The World Bank extends its influence globally by two mechanisms: lending and non-lending services. Because it is the "largest external financier of human development programs," (World Bank, 2001a: 46) and therefore moves more money than any other development agency (Payer, 1982:15), its effects will be felt throughout most of the developing world. However, most people have no idea of the scope of the World Bank. It is not simply a bank that lends money to countries, or a bank that aims to "help" the poor. Its hegemony, financial and intellectual, is absolute. The World Bank has magnified its financial power by coordinating and subordinating various other financial institutions, technical organizations, bilateral aid agencies and export credit institutions. This coordination of aid efforts has both financial and intellectual aspects. Financially, the World Bank puts a lot of emphasis on co-financing, in which it persuades other (and potentially rival) funding agencies to contribute their money to projects that have been prepared and appraised by the Bank for its own funding. Regional development banks like the Inter American Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the African Development Bank (all of which are modeled on the World Bank), and bilateral aid programs, especially those of Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Canada, frequently invest or give capital to projects selected, defined, appraised and supervised by the World Bank (Payer, 1982:16). The wider the participation in the co -

financing effort, the greater the consensus on the activities and policies supported (World Bank, 2001a:20).

The supremacy in the financial sector is paired with an attempt at intellectual hegemony: the co-opting of technical expertise from a number of specialized agencies of the United Nations. In addition to its co-financing operations, the Bank has a close relationship with a number of United Nations technical agencies, mostly involving the use of experts from these agencies to prepare projects for Bank funding. Formal agreements exist with the Food and Agriculture Organization, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, World Health Organization, United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the United Nations Development Program. These agencies supply expertise but have no policy input into the lending process (Payer, 1982:17).

The extent of the World Bank's relationship with the United Nations goes beyond the co-opting of technical agencies. The World Bank and its partner the International Monetary Fund, are nominally specialized organs of the United Nations, but their structure of control (weighted voting that ensures the predominance of capital exporting nations) is quite different from the latter (Payer, 1982:16). According to the United Nations charter, these financial institutions were supposed to be under the control of the Economic and Social Council, which is under the jurisdiction of the United Nations General Assembly (Danaher, 2001:38). However, the agreement of liaison which the Bank signed in 1947 has been described as more a declaration of independence from, than cooperation with, the United Nations (Payer, 1982:16). Had this arrangement been preserved, it would have made the World Bank and International Monetary Fund

somewhat accountable to a broader constituency rather than a minority of world banking interests (Danaher, 2001:38). What was behind this arms length relationship? Mainly the Bank was concerned that association with the United Nations would subject it to political control or hurt its credit rating. Therefore, it insisted on a number of special privileges, which keep the central United Nations bodies at a distance (Payer, 1982:16).

It could be argued that training opportunities, a nonlending function of the World Bank, contributes much to its intellectual hegemony as does its practice of co-opting technical expertise from United Nations agencies. The World Bank has taken full advantage of the new technologies of the 21st century to deliver knowledge about financial systems throughout the developing world. It works with partners, uses the internet and databases, implements distance learning and addresses information gaps, to spread its vision of how the developing world should run their financial systems. Specifically, “the Bank is assisting countries to understand the new challenges and choices offered by electronic finance and the impact of technology on the integration of regional financial markets in developing countries” (World Bank, 2001a:58). Key to this dissemination on information is delivering training and knowledge to member countries (World Bank, 2001a:58).

To deliver this training and knowledge the Bank partners with the financial, academic and professional communities in offering programs that address policy issues in banking, capital markets, electronic finance, housing finance, micro finance, etc (World Bank, 2001a:58). In addition, civil society and the private sector have become involved and several technical working groups are attempting to promote coherence in the approaches and harmonization of policies and procedures (World Bank, 2001a:34). This

usually means that the World Bank requires an even playing field, discouraging governments from constructing barriers to private investment and free trade. Procedures and policies must be universal, all based on advantages given to private foreign investment.

The World Bank Institute, which claims that the emphasis of the “new” Bank is the empowerment of people through knowledge and capacity building, facilitates learning on development issues for staff as well as Bank clients, including policy makers, ministry staff, academics, and increasingly, parliamentarians, journalists, the private sector, non-governmental organizations and other segments of civil society. At the end of 2001, The Institute was reaching 48,000 participants annually in client programs in 150 countries through almost 600 learning activities (World Bank, 2001a:33).

Finally, there is one more partner that we must not forget - the client governments themselves. The Bank’s views are largely shared by officials of central banks and national financial agencies and by groups of influential private persons (the local elite) in the borrowing countries (Payer, 1982:83). Despite the devastating results of World Bank policies, these elites continue to execute these strategies even as they are caught in a never-ending cycle of debt. If they implement corporate friendly policies, they get more money; if they concentrate on pleasing their own population rather than transnational corporations, they are rewarded by isolation from the international capital markets. So poor countries rack up more debt and apply policies centered on exporting into a world market that is clearly slanted in favor of large corporations (Danaher, 2001:22).

The effect of this maze of agreements gives the Bank incredibly broad influence over development lending, which extends far beyond its already large monetary

contribution. The World Bank is not only the largest financial development institution in the western capitalist world, it is generally thought of as the best as well, providing the dominant model that other aid institutions imitate, cooperate with, and react against (Payer, 1982:18).

Projects of the World Bank

The structure and scope of the Bank's power now outlined, I turn to the Indigenous People's Policy as well as the direction of its particular projects. The World Bank has deliberately used its immense financial power to promote the interests of private, international capital in almost every corner of the developing world. What does this have to do with helping the poor? The answer lies in the Bank's belief that sound economic management equates with policies favorable to foreign investors, and only through economic policies that favor growth, will poverty reduction be possible.

What is not acknowledged in this equation is that most indigenous people are poor because they are victims of so-called progress. Crowded off the best lands or deprived of land altogether by local elites, agribusiness, or foreign owned corporations, the destitution of many Amerindians is the *result* of the development process. Institutions like the World Bank have chosen to ignore this historical and, in many cases, recent cause of poverty (Payer, 1982:58). If viewed as a social status instead of lack of material wealth, poverty can be classified as an invention of "civilization" - the world's indigenous people may own few possessions but this does not automatically make them poor (Sahlins, 1997:19). However, the World Bank views indigenous systems for protecting people against poverty as obstacles to development, denounced by their experts as practices that need to be banished (Latouche, 1997:140). Before I examine the

individual Bank projects, I will highlight some of the issues covered in the Indigenous People's Policy.

The objective of the World Bank's Indigenous People's Policy (Operational Policy 4.10) produced in 2001, is to ensure that the process of development fosters full respect for the dignity, human rights and cultures of indigenous peoples, which is in coordination with the Bank's mission of sustainable development and poverty reduction. To achieve this objective, indigenous peoples who are affected by Bank projects will be given a voice in design and implementation. Where feasible, adverse impacts will be avoided or minimized, and ensure that benefits intended for indigenous peoples are culturally appropriate (World Bank, 2001c: 1). However, there is a problem with any promise to "give a voice" to a group of minorities in the development of a project. There are many levels of participation (I will refer to these later); and the Indigenous People's Policy does not include the right to stop a project. Therefore, this objective must be looked upon with skepticism.

The World Bank makes some effort to define the term "indigenous people," while acknowledging that different countries may use different terms for such peoples. As a result, the policy does not provide a single universal definition, but identifies them by the presence of varying degrees of some of the following characteristics:

close attachment to ancestral territories and the natural resources in them; presence of customary social and political institutions; economic systems primarily oriented to subsistence production; an indigenous language, often different from the predominant language; and self-identification and identification by others as members of a distinct cultural group (World Bank, 2001c:2).

The notion of an "authentic" aboriginal is a highly contested issue. Authorities and outside experts are often called in to verify, comment upon and give judgments about

the validity of indigenous claims to cultural beliefs, values, and ways of knowing and historical accounts. Questions of who is a “real indigenous” person, what counts as a “real indigenous” leader, which person displays “real cultural values” and the criteria used to assess the characteristics of authenticity, are frequently the topic of conversation and political debate.

These debates are designed to fragment and marginalize those who speak for, or in support of, indigenous issues. They frequently have the effect also of silencing and making invisible the presence of other groups within the indigenous society like women, the urban non-status tribal person and those whose ancestry is “too white” (Smith, 2001:74).

What counts as “authentic” is used by the West as one of the criteria to determine who really is indigenous, who is worth saving, and who is still innocent and free from Western contamination. As referred to in the chapter on primitivism, at the heart of such a view of authenticity is a belief that indigenous cultures cannot change, cannot recreate themselves and still claim to be indigenous. Nor can they be complicated, internally diverse or contradictory. Only the West has this privilege (Smith, 2001:74).

By defining “authentic” aboriginals as people who preserve and display their folkloric culture, the policy denigrates and marginalizes urbanized or acculturated members who speak English, do not wear traditional clothing and do not conduct ceremonies as not being “true” native people (Thomas, 1994:30) and therefore, not covered under this policy. In fact, the World Bank explicitly states that this policy does not apply to groups who have left their communities of origin, who have moved to urban areas or have migrated to obtain wage labor (World Bank, 2001c:2). This brings up a number of problems in how the Bank classifies indigenous peoples. What happens to groups of people that have left their communities of origin due to resettlement schemes,

natural/man-made disasters, etc and how does the World Bank define communities of origin? Are they places where all its living members were born or, is it a site where that group has “traditionally” been located? Again, the fact that the Bank does not recognize people who have moved to urban areas as indigenous only serves to essentialize them in official World Bank policy. Therefore, only those groups whose lifestyles fits with the Bank’s notion of indigenous (non - western, non - capitalist, non - industrial) will get the official mark of approval declaring them truly aboriginal.

Not only was the Operational Policy 4.10 written in language that invites much interpretation, it also contains contradictory elements as well, namely that of not recognizing as indigenous those who have migrated to obtain wage labor. Part of the World Bank’s mandate is to expand work in the micro-credit enterprises through support for small and medium-sized businesses (World Bank, 2001a:3). This seems to indicate that the Bank does not support indigenous peoples who work for monetary gain. It is unclear whether the Bank recognizes as indigenous those who have moved to other parts of indigenous territory to work in various sectors and are compensated monetarily, or those who have moved to urban areas to find work. It is clear that there is again an essentialized notion of who is classified as indigenous. Those who have taken on occupations that derive a monetary benefit do not fit the model of being aboriginal. However, the Bank benefits because those who do not fall under their definition are granted no special considerations when policies or projects affect them in negative ways.

Where borrower legislation gives special status to groups with indigenous characteristics as defined by the World Bank, or where there has been a process whereby the Bank and borrower agree on general identification of indigenous peoples, this lends a

starting point for determining *whether the policy applies in a particular project context*. Additional investigations, such as consultation with potentially affected groups and technical judgment by experts who know the social and cultural groups in the region, may be necessary to determine whether the policy applies to such groups (World Bank, 2001c:3 *emphasis added*). What at first appears to be a policy that would cover all aboriginal peoples affected by World Bank projects, actually only applies to those groups the Bank considers covered under the policy. Not only does it limit the amount of so-called benefits of this policy to groups selected by the Bank, it awards “experts’ the task of deciding whether a certain group falls under the policy guidelines. This takes the decision-making away from the Amerindians and gives it to outsiders who are considered knowledgeable in certain aboriginal populations. It is this attitude where experts are perceived to know the people better than they know themselves, which not only patronizes but also has the potential to destroy indigenous cultures. Being an outsider, likely from a western country, supposedly affords the “expert” the privilege of objectivity. The expert is perceived as having a “bird’s eye view,” while locals are thought to have only unmediated knowledge, and to lack the reflexive cultural knowledge that is thought necessary for making informed choices in issues regarding their own lives. (Briggs, 1996:453).

To ensure meaningful consultation, the borrower provides relevant information to indigenous groups affected by Bank projects in a timely and culturally appropriate manner. To facilitate this consultation, the borrower a) establishes an appropriate framework for dialogue, including gender and generational representation; b) includes local representative indigenous organizations in discussion, if relevant and c) uses

culturally appropriate consultation methods, which allow both indigenous men and women to express their views and preferences (World Bank, 2001c:3). First, what is “meaningful” consultation? This vague reference to incorporating indigenous voices is open to a wide variety of interpretations. Second, it is the borrower’s responsibility to inform the people who will be affected by the project, not the Bank’s. This allows all accountability to be shifted to the borrower and relieves the Bank of responsibility for a project’s potential detrimental effects.

If the borrower does not inform the affected indigenous group, will the Bank take steps to remedy the situation? It is the borrower who considers the views of indigenous peoples in deciding whether to go ahead with the project and if any modifications are required to address adverse affects and or to enhance project benefits. Afterwards, the Bank reviews the borrower’s proposal to ensure that it is consistent with its policy (World Bank, 2001c:3). The Bank is supposed to take into consideration the borrower’s legislation and to establish legal recognition of the customary land tenure systems of the aboriginals affected or grant them long-term renewable rights of custodianship and use (World Bank, 2001c: 5). This may sound like a better course of action, one that places the borrower in charge of deciding whether the project is favorable towards the indigenous group. However, this assumes that the borrower is going to have the best interests of the indigenous peoples at heart. Clearly this is not always the case, for it depends on a theory of “governments as being above the fray, impartial...brokers between the different interests in society, an assumption which is not so, because the government itself is part of the class and interest struggle” (Payer, 1982:77). Moreover, in projects where there is a potential detrimental effect, the Bank considers the borrower’s legislation towards

indigenous peoples, but what if private corporations to the disadvantage of aboriginal peoples gear this legislation towards investments. Furthermore, this policy only considers granting them “long term renewable rights” or recognizing the land tenure systems, (World Bank, 2001c:5) it does not guarantee them these rights. I will now discuss the World Bank project documents related to indigenous Guyanese. The objectives for each project will be given, as well as any information on aboriginal people as they pertained to the project.

Upper Demerara Forestry Project

The objective of the project was to increase the country's foreign exchange earnings by rapidly expanding exports of wood products; diversify the exportable species of timber by gradually introducing to the world market the lesser known species; increase supply of lumber to meet the needs of the domestic economy; and penetrate the uninhabited hinterland for future growth and development (World Bank, 1978:19). The proposed project would utilize the abundant resources in the Upper Demerara-Essequibo basin for establishing a modern timber extraction and processing complex (World Bank, 1978:18).

The environmental impact of industrial logging in the project area was not expected to affect adversely the overall ecological balance of the surrounding region. Some minor modifications in forest microclimate were thought inevitable and the possible effects on natural regeneration were to be examined in the Silvicultural Management Research Program proposed under the project. Reforestation of the area logged by the project had not been considered because only an average of 19% of the total timber volume in the project area would be extracted. The proposed Forest

Management Research Program would investigate the advisability of replanting as one of the alternative silvicultural treatments required to keep the forests productive (World Bank, 1978:25).

The Amerindian population in the region was estimated at less than 50 people, although no precise data existed at the time. They were located in the southern part of the project area. The Bank justified operating in this area because logging operations would not commence for 15 years or more and the Amerinds had already been exposed to alien cultures. However, the proposed Forest Management Research Program would include a component to determine the actual number of the indigenous population and the expected cultural and economic impact of the project, and would identify any remedial action necessary (World Bank, 1978:25).

The project encountered serious problems and the construction schedule proved to be over-optimistic. A 4.8 megawatt wood gasification plant which was to power the sawmill was too large for the project's requirements, it was also innovative and was the largest of its kind in the world. It was a continuous source of problems and never fully supplied the mill's power requirements. The Bank professed that this was a serious mistake and that new technology should never be incorporated into projects (World Bank, 1991: iv).

The environmental impact of the project was to have been monitored under the research component, but this was dropped in year two of the project due to cost overruns. The Bank had determined that because the project had produced very little wood, the environmental impact on the area had been slight. Logging had been selective and there had been no uncontrolled settlement. In 1987 however, logging efficiency improved and

the damaging effect on the forest, though very localized, was evident. Had the project achieved its production targets the environmental consequences would have been serious (World Bank, 1991:8).

Although the Bank did admit that new technology should never be used in development projects, this does not mean that it has given up on the use of western technological innovations. Western expertise, in the form of equipment and personnel, form an integral part of the modernization project, for industrialization and urbanization are seen as inevitable and necessarily for modernization to occur (Escobar, 1997:86; Schuurman, 1993:96).

The World Bank admits that the economies, identities and forms of social organization of aboriginal groups are often tied to land, water and other natural resources. Hence, in order to avoid or minimize negative impacts and determine actions that may be necessary to enhance their security over lands and other resources, the borrower pays attention to

the cultural, religious and sacred values that these groups attribute to their lands and resources; their individual and communal or collective rights to use and develop the lands they occupy and to be protected against encroachment; their customary use of natural resources vital to their cultures and ways of life and; their natural resources management practices and the long term sustainability of these practices (World Bank, 2001c:4).

Nevertheless, despite these measures, Bank projects do have impacts on lands and resources occupied by indigenous groups, as can be seen from the Upper Demerara Forestry Project. The Forest Management Research Program was supposed to monitor the environmental impact of the project as well as determine the actual number of indigenous people living in the area and the potential cultural and economic impact on the Amerindians. However, this component of the project was dropped after the second year.

Therefore, I ask how the borrower is to ensure that negative impacts are minimized or avoided when the resources that were supposed to be provided for by the Bank are not given? The protection of aboriginals seems to be included in the policy however when it comes down to its implementation, the projects fall short of this goal.

Furthermore, the proposed treatment of Amerindians in the project area was abysmal at best. To simply state that they were already “exposed to alien cultures” and thus justify logging operations in their area is to imply that since they are not isolated cultures, they will be eventually assimilated into the majority culture and therefore, the Bank should not waste too much time worrying about this “insignificant” population. This is in opposition to how, in the Operational Policy 4.10, the borrower is supposed to mitigate negative impacts and enhance their security over land. In this particular project and the others I used for this research, there is no mention of any Bank provision which requires the borrower to follow this directive. Again, though it appears that indigenous peoples are provided for in the Operational Policy 4.10, when it comes down to the individual projects, there is little evidence that demonstrates this.

Although this project has limited references to Amerindians, there little evidence of outright negative primitivist beliefs, therefore it can be argued that there have been some changes in the representation of indigenous peoples. In this early project, there does not yet exist a positive notion of aboriginality, but one in which aboriginals are simply barriers to the success of the project. In 1978, there was little evidence that their way of life had any value to the World Bank, which is consistent with how this project was conceptualized. At the time development largely consisted of following the route to modernization. This limited the way aboriginals could be constituted in the development

discourse - limited it to conceptions of a people who were soon to become obsolete. This version of aboriginality is no more authentic than the older ones that incorporated images of brutality and cannibalism; it simply removes aboriginals from the picture and treats them as nonentities. By using a Foucaultian analysis it is possible to see how a discourse “governs what may be said, in what mode, what is considered valid, and who may speak” (Escobar, 1995:9). The discourse prevents aboriginals from even having a voice in this project and therefore, the possibility of portraying an accurate representation of Amerindians is unlikely.

The objective of this project follows the neoliberal trajectory of increasing export earnings in the forestry sector in order to increase the balance of payments, while underestimating any potential impact on the area. The fact that reforestation was not even part of the project demonstrates that timber sales were to take precedence over environmental sustainability. Large - scale projects like the Upper Demerara Forestry Project are consistent with the notion of the push towards westernization. Moreover, as the ideology behind development, modernization imposes a constraint on the conceptualization and execution of development projects (Hettne, 1995:53). In other words, only certain kinds of projects are conceived and put forth as viable options, namely ones that increase Guyana’s absorption into the global market economy.

Petroleum Exploration Promotion Project

The main objective of the project was to facilitate government’s efforts to establish potential oil-bearing areas for leasing to interested companies for exploration, both offshore and onshore. The project included a petroleum exploration promotion component and a heavy oil potential evaluation component. Although 85% of Guyana’s

land area has no potential for hydrocarbon production the project was approved and only two areas, the Takutu Rift Basin, which is located in an inaccessible area and an area along the northeast coast, were cited as having any potential for strikes. It was hoped that the project would attract foreign capital for more intensive exploration work and determine whether heavy oil deposits existed in economically exploitable quantities (World Bank, 1982: Summary).

The only risk associated with the exploration component was that the prospects might not be attractive enough for additional oil companies to sign contracts. This type of risk assessment is not unusual in World Bank projects. Only programs that have a clear social element warrant an assessment beyond the economic component. A project that concerns the drilling for oil in ecologically sensitive areas does not garner such a report, nor do such reports materialize for oil exploration in areas of Amerindian settlements. The two regions where there was a possibility for strikes were in Region 6 and Region 9. Region 6 is in the Orealla/Siparuta areas and has coastal Arawak settlements. This was the area of interest for heavy oil exploration. Region 9 is in the areas of Lethem/Good Hope and Apoteri, this region is the home of three Amerindian groups - the Makushi, the Wapishana and the Waiwai (Forte, 1996:8 &11).

At the time of appraisal, the Ministry of Energy and Mines was aware of the need to improve the institutional set-up for petroleum exploration and in particular realized the insufficiency of its current petroleum legal/fiscal framework. The petroleum potential of Guyana's sedimentary basins appeared rather modest. It was necessary, therefore, to enhance its positive outlook within the entire petroleum context, including promotion and the modernization of the legal/fiscal structure (World Bank, 1993:2). The objective of this

was to establish a framework for petroleum activities, with the emphasis on attracting high-risk foreign investments. In countries like Guyana where no oil has yet been discovered, this law was to be simple, flexible and attractive so that even marginal discoveries can be developed. In addition, an exploration/production agreement was to provide the holder of the exploration rights with the right to exploit its discovery without the government refusing to grant a license to produce a commercial discovery (World Bank, 1993:5).

For Bank projects that include the commercial exploitation of natural resources on lands owned or used by indigenous groups, it is the borrower's responsibility to inform them of possible impacts on their environments, livelihoods and use of natural resources. It is also their responsibility to consult them at an early stage of project development and involve them in decisions which affect them and provide them with opportunities to obtain benefits from the project (World Bank, 2001c:5). In this project, it appears that the Government of Guyana did not consult the Amerindians and therefore they were not given opportunities to derive benefits from the project. The basic thrust of this project was to attract foreign investment, and it appears that this was to be accomplished at whatever cost. To structure the legal framework as "simple, flexible and attractive" is to promote a type of exploration that will have few, if any regulations to hinder it. Furthermore, it appears that the Government of Guyana would not be able to refuse to grant a license for commercial discovery, leaving all the control in the hands of foreign corporations. What does this mean for the aboriginal people who inhabit the same region? To put it simply, their rights will likely be abused. There is no mention in the project of any aboriginals living on or near the proposed sites; it is as if the area were

uninhabited. This notion of an uninhabited hinterland is consistent throughout the Bank documents I examined. The hinterland is uninhabited because it lacks two components of modernization: infrastructure and a population that contributes to the national economy. Because the discourse of development has its foundations in modernization and neoliberalism, any sense of aboriginality will be subordinate to the ideas, theories, concepts, etc, that constitute this discourse and by extension, the projects of the World Bank. Thus, power is afforded to international development agencies to cultivate a type of aboriginality that is aligned to specific governmental aims (Law Commission of Canada, 1999:4). In this case, the type of aboriginality being cultivated seems to be one of invisibility. The aims of the World Bank were to attract foreign investment; therefore, the type of aboriginality that needed to be constructed was one which did not interfere with those objectives. If Amerindians are written out of the entire process there is little chance that foreign oil companies will acknowledge their existence and therefore their rights (or lack thereof).

Livestock Project

The proposed project was to assist Guyana in developing a modern and efficient beef cattle industry, and add an additional agricultural commodity to its two basic agricultural products, sugar and rice. The most promising areas for beef production were located immediately south of the sugar/rice coastal belt in the east Demerara and Berbice/Corentyne areas and in the Rupununi savannahs in southern Guyana. The Rupununi Savannah covers 25, 000 sq mi in southeast Guyana where cattle ranching is the main activity (World Bank, 1970: Annex 2 page 3). The Bank believes that what was lacking for the development of the livestock potential was expertise in modern ranching

and animal husbandry techniques, commercialized ranching units and the legal and institutional framework necessary for channeling financial resources into the sector (World Bank, 1970:3).

The project consisted of the development of approximately 25 ranches, mainly cooperative but, possibly company and private ranches. Of these, 15 ranches would be in the coastal areas; in the Rupununi savannahs, 10 ranches would be commercial and Amerindian tribal ranches (World Bank, 1970:4). Coastal and Amerindian ranches were expected to be owned by newly formed cooperatives whose members would have contributed cattle in exchange for share. For ranching enterprises, it was essential that the ranch manager, who was internationally recruited, be clearly responsible for the technical and financial operation of the ranch, without interference from elected officers and committee. Therefore, the traditional form of cooperative rules was not entirely suitable for these enterprises (World Bank, 1970:9).

In order for this project to be approved, it was necessary for the Bank to declare that the Guyanese ranchers had been running their farms in an ineffectual manner. This allowed the Bank to justify the need for modern western technology and expertise. Not only must the ranchers witness the complete restructuring of their livelihood, but also they must stand aside and allow an outsider to run their businesses.

The Livestock Audit Report states that the goal of developing large cooperative and private ranches had not been achieved, because demand for such development had not been forthcoming in an environment that was beset with natural and institutional obstacles. Only eight individual and four cooperative ranches received any development financing under the project (World Bank, 1980: iii). Project implementation was delayed

and results fell short of appraisal goals. Delays were attributed to the inappropriate and incomplete project design, which did not take fully into account local conditions and constraints. The World Bank recognized that project design needed to take into account the capabilities of domestic institutions and the experience of local people as well as the local ecological, resource and infrastructure conditions. However, there were different interpretations on the cause of these delays. The borrower attributed them to the undue reliance the Bank placed on foreign consultants, but the Bank credited them to the incomplete and incorrect data made available to the appraisal mission, together with inadequate institutional arrangements; lack of experienced local technicians and livestock producers and changes in government policies and goals (World Bank, 1980:4).

Hence, though the Bank may have acknowledged that the experience of locals and the conditions of the region must be included in the project design, how the Government of Guyana or the local population interprets this was very different. From this particular project, it appears that it does not mean that they must include local knowledge or that they even value such knowledge. In fact, these institutions “almost never think that they are learning something about the way the world really is” (McGrane, 1989:128) from aboriginal knowledge systems; indigenous knowledge is perceived as context-bound, and institutions like the World Bank do not place this knowledge on the same plane as western ways of thinking.

This attitude was evident in the lending to Amerindian co-operatives in the Rupununi. Those co-operatives did not materialize because according to the Bank, the Amerinds had an absolute lack of experience with credit, commercial cattle raising and improving management (World Bank, 1980:22). Again, the Bank disregards the local

knowledge as useless; therefore, Bank officials were able to prevent the one sector of the project that included indigenous people from coming to fruition. Whether this project would have been beneficial or detrimental to them is not as significant (to this research) as the realization that the World Bank creates ideas and notions about the Amerindians that coalesces into a discourse, which is in alliance with the Bank's aims and objectives. The development discourse tends to portray aboriginals in accordance with western ideology, thus following the set patterns of modernization and neoliberalism. Although not overtly portrayed as backwards, it seems that the Amerindians did not fit in with the basic ideals of the project; hence, part of the project was cancelled, rather than restructuring it so that Amerindians may play a significant role. In fact, it would be difficult to modify since the project is based on the assumptions of modernization and neoliberalism and these beliefs are generally not questioned.

Social Impact Amelioration project

In mid 1988, the government, with the assistance of Bank Group and International Monetary Fund staff, formulated a comprehensive Economic Recovery Program. The main policy objectives of the government's Economic Recovery Program were to promote economic growth beyond historical levels; eliminate domestic and external imbalances in the economy; incorporate the parallel (informal) economy into the official economy; and normalize Guyana's relations with its external creditors. In June 1990, the International Development Association approved a Structural Adjustment Credit (World Bank, 1992:2). The structural adjustment lending approach has been the key mechanism for the market liberalization program that was applied unilaterally to developing nations. Structural adjustment programs almost universally have the following macroeconomic

characteristics: radical reduction of government spending on health, education and welfare; privatization and deregulation of state enterprises; devaluation of currency; liberalization of imports and the removal of restrictions on foreign investment; and cutting or constraint of wages and elimination or weakening of avenues for protecting labor (Danaher, 2001: 11 and 22).

The Economic Recovery Program was a major and fundamental reversal in previous longstanding Guyanese policies. It had undertaken to eliminate distortions in commodity markets, reduce the size of the public sector, and restore international economic relations. From 1990-93 the government had eliminated almost all price controls; established a floating exchange rate for the Guyanese dollar; eliminated imported licensing and reduced tariffs; and launched the privatization of public assets. It also introduced private sector management into the sugar industry; reduced the people working for the government, raised taxes; and eliminated its arrears to international agencies, and agreed to a major program of rescheduling for its bilateral debt. In addition, the government launched a major program (Social Impact Amelioration Program - SIMAP) to offset the social impact of the adjustment program by providing funds for employment generating social projects at the local level, using contributions from external donors (World Bank, 1992:2).

For the Bank, the Government of Guyana's firm commitment to the new market-oriented policy direction was no longer in doubt. Yet what the International Development Association, the International Monetary Fund and bilateral donors had done only set the stage for the next phase of the government's effort, which was to be directed towards rehabilitation of infrastructure, public institutions, social services and deepening the

reforms agenda. Moving forward in these areas was essential for creating confidence in the population that opportunities exist for improved living standards (World Bank, 1992:9). In other words, continued strict adherence to the economic reform program was essential for the achievement of sustainable growth and poverty alleviation (World Bank, 1992:11).

The main objective of the SIMAP project was to assist the Government of Guyana in cushioning the social costs of the adjustment process by addressing the basic needs of the population in a decentralized manner, such as through non-governmental organizations, community groups, and local government agencies (SIMAP project, 1992:15). There was a need for SIMAP because structural adjustment involves an economic assault on the living standards of the poor and a political assault on popular resistance to austerity measures and adjustment. These two components formed a basis of the neo-liberal economic policies (Gershman, 1994:25), which have been cited as the reason for the lack of progress in the campaign against poverty, for ultimately it is an economic model that benefits the minority and harms the majority (Danaher, 2001:22).

The aim of the project was to: a) improve health and nutrition status over the short term, in particular pregnant and lactating women and children under five through the financing of food supplementation programs; the rehabilitation and equipping of health and day care centers; and the rehabilitation of the water supply, sanitation and storm water drainage structure and b) assist the government in the formulation of sustainable policies and programs in the social sectors over the medium term (World Bank, 1992:15).

SIMAP community projects were not demand driven, in other words no

community input was incorporated. Rather, communities were pre-selected and projects defined based on an explicit policy of poverty targeting and need. Although it is established that community participation in all stages of the project cycle generally increases the prospects for suitability, the Bank chose not to consult with the community but instead relied on a preselection method that they believed proved effective. This is ironic given that the aim of this project was to address the basic needs of the population through various sources including community groups. However, the Bank did acknowledge that to enhance future sustainability greater emphasis should be placed on ensuring the active involvement of regional governments and communities in all stages of the project cycle from identification through completion (World Bank, 1998: v).

The Bank believed the project outcome was satisfactory, although the project's ability to use non-governmental organizations, community groups and local government strategies was limited and the extent to which the project had been able to build sustainable capacity within the SIMAP agency was mixed. When the SIMAP project was designed there were very few non-governmental organizations operating in the country, and regional and local governments had very limited managerial capacity and ability to direct investments within their areas of influence. In 1994, SIMAP opened several offices and strengthened its community development activities. However, the Bank believed that "promoting community participation and empowering the community to determine its own future is a lengthy [process]" (World Bank, 1998:3).

Projects that may have negative impacts or positive outcomes for indigenous groups both require informed participation and the development of measures to be incorporated into project design. If it is anticipated that there will be adverse impacts, the

borrower makes an assessment to determine the nature and extent of impacts and the measures required to avoid or minimize these effects. Based on this assessment, the borrower prepares an Indigenous Peoples Plan in consultation with the affected indigenous groups (World Bank, 2001c:4). Whether the Plan has any influence whatsoever, or is just another tactic to make the Bank appear as if it is giving the indigenous peoples some say in their future is unknown.

In projects that involve education, health, and community driven development (like SIMAP) the borrower uses special measures in the project design to make sure the projects incorporate indigenous people's specific languages, cultural practices, religious beliefs and ways of life. The identification of these measures is supposed to be done in consultation with aboriginal people (World Bank, 2001c:4). However, in this case the SIMAP project did not include any community involvement. Furthermore, since the Bank aims to achieve its mission by concentrating on governance and institutional and policy structures that attempt to create a positive climate for investment, the notion that aboriginal language, cultural practices, religious beliefs and ways of life can merge nicely with a dominant market ideology is questionable. Since it is money that measures success (Gross Domestic Product), an individual's or a nation's development will be measured quantitatively rather than qualitatively in terms of the relations with other people and the natural world (Danaher, 2001:79).

Although there are no overt references to aboriginality in this project, the general policy of the Bank includes the notion that it is the Bank that must empower the community members to determine their own future. It seems as if the community is unable to make important decisions for themselves unless the Bank prompts them to do

so. In this instance, empowerment is framed within the context of policies that are set by the Bank and not by the people themselves. One of the changes in the development paradigm has been the incorporation of empowerment as a form of developmental change. Here empowerment is drawn partly from the ideas of Paulo Freire where it can be described as liberating, nurturing and perhaps energizing to the poor and marginalized. However, like participation, empowerment has become a term that has become molded by the development industry in framing their policies and projects. Governments may talk of empowerment, but the term has lost most of its radical connotations. In some planning documents there is an assumption that empowerment can be achieved through credit to low income people. Korten (in Gardner and Lewis) notes that "it is not really possible for one person to empower another: people can only empower themselves" (Gardner and Lewis, 1996:118). This brings up the issue of how the discourse silences some while giving a voice to others.

Conclusion

Publicly the World Bank acknowledged that national development projects often has disastrous consequences for aboriginals, but it argued that such failures were due to improperly designed projects. Furthermore, the Bank failed to admit any incompatibility between short-term national development goals and the long-term interests of specific tribal groups (Bodley, 1999:180). This was seen in the individual projects where the development goals prevailed and the interests of the Amerindians were not even considered. In the Bank's view, political self-determination and economic autonomy were not realistic goals for indigenous peoples, because such ambitions might give them control over their natural resources (Bodley, 1999:180). In the two projects that featured

natural resources (forestry and petroleum) it was apparent that aboriginals were not in control over their natural environment. The Bank's policy stated that the most favorable outcome for tribals was to become "accepted ethnic minorities" and it carefully avoided linking ethnicity to any special community level human rights or unique political status (Bodley, 1999: 180).

The Bank's policies on cultural resources seem as feeble as those regarding natural resources. They have little to say about it, only that when a Bank funded project "envisions the commercial use of cultural resources of indigenous groups, including their knowledge, Bank policy requires that such groups agree to and derive benefits from the use of such resources" (World Bank, 2001c:5). This sounds like the earlier colonial policies in which there were vague references to indigenous groups having agreed upon the use of and benefits from their resources, cultural and otherwise. Nevertheless, the Bank does admit that the knowledges and cultures of aboriginals are vital resources to their own survival and sustainable development and therefore may provide assistance to the borrower, for example, in strengthening intellectual property rights (World Bank, 2001c:7). Again, this language is too vague and open to many interpretations. As always, the Bank seems to relieve itself of any real responsibility to the indigenous people by placing the entire burden on the borrower. In fact, the Bank appears to be more interested in what the borrower is doing than what it is not doing. In other words, as long as the borrower is adhering to the Bank's indigenous peoples policy, it probably will not follow up to see if those people are actually consulted, and their voices included in the projects that affect them, either positively or negatively.

The Bank admits that indigenous people have not fully benefited from the

development process (World Bank, 2001c:1; Bodley, 1999:180). As mentioned in previous chapters on primitivism and development, progress is defined as something that the west exemplifies and that developing nations should emulate in order to become modern nations. Previously indigenous cultures were regarded as simple and unscientific compared with western ones (Todd, 1992: 74) and although this idea seems to have been moderated, with the rhetoric of development institutions such as the World Bank “accepting” the value of indigenous cultures, what has not changed is the notion that development must follow a western model.

The World Bank argued that economic growth generally contributes to the alleviation of poverty, and that, in a more general sense, human development depends on this growth to provide the resources for expanding productive employment and basic services. This idea suggests that development was only likely to be successful if it was market friendly. After more than a decade of structural adjustment, the World Bank sees the most appropriate role for government as one of supporting rather than supplanting competitive markets. In addition, within official discourse of the World Bank, one rarely if ever encounters a discussion around the need to rethink the private sector; in other words, the market, free trade and investment, the functioning of capitalist enterprises and the politics of accumulation are largely protected from any questioning critique (Slater, 1993:95). To rethink the private sector would mean to encounter the aboriginal issues on a completely new level; to consider perhaps that a free-market is not the solution to all the problems that indigenous peoples face.

CHAPTER V

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) is a multilateral lending institution that concentrates its resources on the Latin American and Caribbean region. Although the IDB is not as large as the World Bank, all of its financing is devoted to this region and therefore it has a considerable impact on that area. In this chapter, I will outline the functions of the IDB, the basic operating structure and its mandates. I also discuss the Bank's general development policies and the Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples through an analysis of specific projects. In particular, I seek to draw out the conceptions of the aboriginal through discourse analysis using the project documents of the IDB. This will make it possible to determine what path of development this lending institution follows, and identify the implications for Amerindian people. For this purpose, I examined ten IDB project documents with dates ranging from 1995-2001. However, with most of the documents there are few direct references to this minority population. In other words, it was difficult to ascertain where indigenous peoples fit into these projects. Despite this limitation, I have included more general information on the policies, which have a neoliberal agenda because the development industry incorporates this agenda into its discourse limiting how Amerindians can be conceptualized.

Structure of the IDB

The Inter-American Development Bank was established in 1959 to promote the economic and social development of Latin America and the Caribbean by providing loans and technical assistance for specific projects and programs for economic reform (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 99), and social and institutional development

projects. These include policy and sector restructuring and support for private and public investment. Its capital is provided by its member countries, as well as resources from the world capital markets through bond issues. The Bank also participates in a number of co-financing arrangements with multilateral, bilateral and private organizations (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001b: 2), including the World Bank, which will be discussed shortly.

The IDB Group consists of the Inter-American Development Bank, the Inter-American Investment Corporation and the Multilateral Investment Fund (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001b: 7). There is also an entity called the Fund for Special Operations. Of the ten projects I examined, two were loans made by the Multilateral Investment Fund and eight were Fund for Special Operations loans.

The Multilateral Investment Fund is an autonomous fund managed by the Bank. It provides a variety of technical assistance grants and investments to support market reforms, increase the capabilities and skills of the workforce, and broaden the economic participation of smaller enterprises, through partnerships with governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and business organizations (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 17). The Fund plays a special role in encouraging private sector development in the Caribbean and Latin America by introducing new development approaches and promoting broad reforms. Using both technical assistance and investment mechanisms, it is heading the transition of the region's non-governmental organizations into regulated financial institutions (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 85). Within the projects that I included in this study as well as in the general policies, I was unable to find any further information on the precise meaning of the latter statement. I

will however, provide a brief possible explanation for this because although NGOs are not the focus in this study, they comprise an important part of the discourse on development. The NGO sector is widely considered as containing potentially feasible alternatives to the usual approaches to development work. At one level, the increase in support given to NGOs suggests that there is a significant shift in the development practice, for funds are being channeled to organizations that often offer radical new approaches to how the work of development is carried out. This phenomenon, along with the diversity of approaches within the NGO area, highlights how development discourse is far from homogenous or rigidly fixed. However, some critics argue that instead of enabling NGOs to alter the agenda, the increase in funding by aid agencies has simply brought a potential threat under control (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 107). What is unique about NGOs is that many have radical origins and are interacting critically with the mainstream development discourse, while occasionally influencing donor and government attitudes and even practices. Yet while the work of some NGOs gives a glimpse into alternative development paradigms, there are organizations, included in the category of NGO, that may not be so critical of mainstream development. These organizations remind us that real change to the existing order is not easily accomplished (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 110). Whether this is the situation in the Latin America/Caribbean region is uncertain, nonetheless, just the fact that the Multilateral Investment Fund is in charge of regulating NGOs is a cause for concern.

The two main objectives of the Bank are poverty reduction and social equity, and environmentally sustainable growth. The Bank works in four areas to obtain these objectives: 1) support for policies and programs that increase a country's potential for

development in an open global economy 2) Modernizing the state by increasing the transparency and efficiency of public institutions 3) Investing in social programs that increase opportunities for the poor 4) Promoting regional integration by creating links among countries that develop markets for goods and services (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001b: 3) by working towards the creation of the Free Trade of the Americas (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 27).

It appears at least on the surface, that the main objective of the Bank coincides with the objectives of the Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples which seeks to a) promote the “development with identity” of indigenous peoples in order to assure social inclusion and equality of opportunity for this group and b) safeguard indigenous peoples’ rights in the context of development projects that could potentially affect them (Inter-American Development Bank, 2004:1). The Inter-American Development Bank formulated their Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples in 2004; the World Bank constructed theirs in 2001 (which they named Operational Policy 4.10). They are two separate policies and although there are similarities in the name and content, they are distinct entities and will be dealt with individually in their respective chapters.

The Bank is owned by its 46 member countries: 26 borrowing member countries in the Caribbean and Latin America and 20 non-borrowing countries, which includes the United States, Japan, Canada, Israel and 16 European nations. Each country’s voting power on the Bank’s Board of Governors and Executive Director is approximately as follows: Latin America and the Caribbean, 50%; United States 30%; Japan 5%; Canada 4%; and other non-borrowing members 11% (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001b: 4). By these numbers, it appears that the United States maintains the single largest share

at 30%, for the 50% from the Caribbean/Latin America is divided between 26 nations. Through membership in the Bank, non-borrowing countries are able to funnel their resources and concerns about specific development issues through Bank policies and programs (Inter-American Development, 2001b: 4).

The highest authority at the Bank belongs to the Board of Governors, on which each member is represented. These governors are usually Ministers of Finance or Economy, presidents of central banks or individuals with similar positions in their respective countries (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 18).

The Inter-American Development Bank is a separate and distinct entity from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. These two latter organizations have separate members, capital and mandates. In contrast to the IDB, they have operations in other parts of the world as well as in the Latin American/Caribbean region. The IDB concentrates a larger share of its resources than does the World Bank on the smaller economies of the Latin America/Caribbean region. In fact, it is the largest source of multilateral financing for Central America and the Caribbean (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001b: 9). Nonetheless, regional development banks such as the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the African Development Bank are all modeled on the World Bank, and frequently invest or contribute money to projects selected, defined, appraised and supervised by the World Bank (Payer, 1982:15). Therefore, the relationship between the IDB and the World Bank can be characterized as a familiar one. The IDB cooperates with both the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on a case-by-case basis. With the International Monetary Fund, it works to strengthen macroeconomic stability in the region, and with

the World Bank, it often co - finances reforms, projects and programs and cooperates in a number of technical areas (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001b: 7).

Who is able to borrow from the IDB? Only members of the institution are able to borrow capital for projects, and the entities eligible to borrow include national, provincial, state and municipal governments, autonomous public institutions, and civil society organizations that have a government guarantee. The Bank may lend to private businesses without a government guarantee, but only up to 5% of the Bank's loan portfolio (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001b: 10) may be directed to private businesses in such sectors as energy, transportation, sanitation, communications and the development of capital markets (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001b: 14). Borrowers are responsible for the execution and management of the project including the bidding process. The Bank's country offices are in charge of monitoring this process and cooperating with the executing agencies to ensure full compliance with Bank procedures (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 70).

To reach its two main objectives, poverty reduction and social equity and environmentally sustainable growth, one area of concern is investing in social programs that increase opportunities for the poor. To address this, the Bank has a mandate that claims to devote at least half its operations and at least 40% of its resources to social programs that target this group. It supports economic policy reforms that foster growth, employment and other opportunities for the underprivileged. It finances projects in areas that mainly target the poor, including health, education, urban development and housing, water and sanitation. It also funds programs for small farmers, worker training, violence prevention programs, and those that help women, children, and youth and marginalized

ethnic groups (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001b: 12). The Operational Policy defines *indigenous* as based on the International Labor Organization Convention No. 169 on Tribal and Indigenous Peoples in Independent Countries, Article 1. Accordingly, they would be defined as meeting three criteria: a) they are descendants of populations inhabiting the region at the time of the conquest or colonization; b) irrespective of their legal status or current residence, they retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions and practices and; c) they recognize themselves as belonging to indigenous or pre-colonial peoples or cultures (Inter- American Development Bank, 2004: 2). Incidentally, as of August 2002, Guyana had not ratified Convention No. 169 (Weitzer, 2002:4).

General policies and project documents

I collected and examined loan projects that I believed might be significant to the Amerindians in Guyana. I analyzed documents in the health, environment, microenterprise, low-income settlement, property rights, agriculture, and SIMAP (Social Impact Amelioration Program- a project designed to lessen the negative effects of structural adjustment programs) sectors. Two fit under the poverty reduction and social equity mandate: Low Income Settlement and the Social Impact Amelioration Program. The other five projects fall under different mandates. Although I have given some information on the Operational Policy already, before examining each project individually, I will give a brief outline of its general principles. Several of the basic principles of the Operational Policy on Indigenous People include: recognition and inclusion in discussions of development programs and projects of the different views of indigenous peoples; recognition and protection of the rights of indigenous peoples,

consistent with the legal framework of the country to lands and related natural resources, safeguards for the individual and collective rights of indigenous peoples as recognized in national and international law, including consideration of indigenous customs and uses, acknowledgement of the significant natural assets, cultural heritage and social capital of indigenous peoples, and of their undervalued potential to contribute to indigenous development (Inter-American Development Bank, 2004:2&3).

Microenterprise Training Services Market

Microenterprise initiatives fall under the mandate of policies and programs. In 1999, the Bank approved a loan for the development of a Micro Enterprise Training Services Market. The operation's principal objective was to test and demonstrate the feasibility of establishing, on a small scale, a sustainable market for training services to micro enterprises, in order to improve their competitiveness and productivity (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999a:1). This was to be accomplished through the use of an Information and Referral Service, a Training Voucher System and a Training Technology Development Fund and was expected to inform and refer at least 7,500 Guyanese microenterprise participants to the training course (or other non-financial service) of their choice through the use of 28,000 vouchers and facilitate the development of new training technologies in at least ten local training institutions (Inter-American Development Bank 1999a: Annex, 1).

The Bank's strategy in this operation was to promote an enabling environment for the development of the private sector, improve the human resource base, and the programs designed to reduce poverty and enhance living standards (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999a: Executive Summary, 3). The basic thrust of the program was

not to promote individual training institutions or their specific courses, but rather the expansion and improvement of the training services market (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999a: 6).

According to the Inter-American Development Bank, micro entrepreneurs face a series of constraints, which limit their competitiveness in both the national and global markets. Among others, these include: out-dated machinery and equipment; low levels of understanding about international markets and competition; poor product quality due to lack of knowledge about quality standards, market preferences and production processes; and a general lack of management and administration skills (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999a: 1). These criticisms have their roots in the language of modernization. This language may have been sanitized somewhat since the height of modernization's popularity, but the message is essentially the same: the people of developing nations need the assistance of the developed world; they cannot make it on their own because they do not possess the skills and attitudes necessary for a modern market oriented economy. Though not overtly portrayed as backwards and antiquated, when compared to western standards it becomes apparent that Guyanese entrepreneurs are deficient and in need of western expertise.

The location of the large majority of all micro businesses was along the coastal plains, especially near Georgetown and New Amsterdam (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999a: 1). The project included funding for information desks which would be located in easily accessible areas of Georgetown, Linden, New Amsterdam or Berbice, and possibly one other secondary city, in order to be within reach of the large majority of potential clients (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999a: 4), which number at

approximately 150,000 (Inter- American Development Bank, 1999a: 5). For the IDB, the decision to locate two information desks outside Georgetown seeks to emphasize and facilitate effective program outreach to more marginalized groups. In addition, there was recognition to develop and implement appropriate measures to ensure gender balance in access to information and opportunities to participate in the training and set appropriate targets based on the local context (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999a :9). The Bank's Committee on Environmental and Social Impact assessed this project and recommended that the operation consider whether any special measures are needed to provide indigenous groups with access to the program (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999a:9). However, this was as far as the discussion on indigenous peoples went, simply a question as to whether they should be included. Not only does this project not explore any specific issues concerning aboriginal micro-enterprises, but also the Bank believes that just locating an information desk outside Georgetown is enough to address any issues in equity which is short sighted in the least. There are many reasons as to why marginalized groups and women would not participate in training sessions, even if they were interested and there was information available in their locality.

Under the Operational Policy for Indigenous Peoples, one of the policy directives is "access to social and financial services, labor markets, economic development and justice" (Inter-American Development Bank, 2004:3). In Bank projects affecting or targeting indigenous peoples, the policy would encourage the inclusion of measures designed to facilitate equality of opportunity and equitable access to Bank funded services for indigenous peoples as well as project design that is socio-culturally appropriate (Inter-American Development Bank, 2004:3). This directive seems to be

lacking in the project on micro-enterprise training, for the project merely suggest that they consider whether special measures are needed.

In fact, according to the Inter-American Development Bank any special measures may be addressed as essentially requiring new marketing campaigns. For the Bank, gender bias and indigenous people's participation issues are communications, outreach and training design challenges, which need to ensure adequate outreach to social groups and communities that might be discriminated against by a more general public announcements campaign (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999a: 9). To address both potential microenterprise training participants and training institutions, the campaign produced and distributed posters and newsletters as well as released press articles and made radio announcements (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999a: Annex, 2).

As with the decision to locate information desks outside of Georgetown, merely directing part of the microenterprise initiative towards indigenous peoples is no guarantee that they will be included in the project. For it is likely that due to their unique circumstances, unless specific concessions are made, their participation rate will likely be low. For the Bank, Amerindians were presented with the opportunity to become entrepreneurs under the tutelage of this microenterprise initiative. How are indigenous peoples presented to us in this project? Is it an accurate portrayal and does it allow them to be viewed in ways that highlight their diversity? I argue that it does not acknowledge their uniqueness, but presents Amerinds as an ethnic minority that needs assistance in becoming small business owners and consumers in Guyanese society. Therefore, I will argue that there have been changes in the conception of aboriginality, they are no longer portrayed as primitive savages but are now potential clients and consumers. However,

this is still limiting to their identity. Indigenous peoples are constructed by the development industry in ways that keeps the fundamentals of the project intact. The 21st century indigenous person is encouraged to tap into the myriad of projects, opportunities and ventures the development industry offers to them so long as the pillars of development knowledge remain sacrosanct.

Social Infrastructure: Health

Of the Bank's active 49\$ billion loan portfolio, 43% is dedicated to the social sectors - making the IDB one of the multilateral financial institutions most dedicated to this sector (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 15). The Inter-American Development Bank remains the main source of multilateral credit for Latin America and the Caribbean, bolstering efforts not only to alleviate poverty, but also to build infrastructure, increase productivity, support the private sector and reform institutions (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 15). Its contribution is particularly important for the smaller and lesser-developed countries in the region, like Guyana. In 2000, 35% of the Bank's lending was directed to these countries, mostly for social programs and modernization of the state, sectors for which investment resources are scarce (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 15).

The focus of Bank lending in 2000 continued to be its commitment to sustainable economic growth, poverty reduction and social equity, and to protect the poor. The Bank invested in areas such as urban and rural poverty alleviation, water and sanitation, social safety nets and health and education (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 14). This was the only reference to the health sector in the 2000 Inter-American Development Bank report. However, included among the ten documents I examined was one entitled

“Health Sector Policy and Institutional Development Program” dated 1998 which outlines the policies of the IDB regarding the health division in Guyana.

Health Sector Policy and Institutional Development Program

The objective of this operation was to assist the government of Guyana in the definition and implementation of policies to address institutional, financial, managerial and service delivery problems in the health sector (Inter-American Development Bank, 1998: Executive Summary, 1) as well as to improve the health status of the population (Inter-American Development Bank, 1998: Annex, 1).

The proposed program was to accomplish the stated objectives through activities that focused on five critical and closely related policy areas: reorganization and strengthening of the institutional structure of the sector; development of an integrated health service delivery strategy; development of managerial capacity and human resources; development of health financing options and resource allocation mechanisms and institutional development of the Georgetown Public Hospital (Inter-American Development Bank, 1998: 4). Under the integrated health service delivery strategy, specific attention was to be paid to the unmet needs of vulnerable groups, including children, women and Amerindians (Inter-American Development Bank, 1998: 6).

Amerindian health issues cannot be separated from the poverty of Amerindian communities. Many communities are severely affected by yearly malaria infections to the point where traditional subsistence activities are threatened. Communities that are located close to mining areas lack a safe source of potable water and are at risk of contracting water-borne diseases; as well they face the decline of formerly reliable fish stocks for dietary protein (Forte, 1996: 34). In terms of medical services, Amerindian communities

are served by a few regional hospitals, health centers and by two categories of paramedical personnel - the Medex and the Community Health Workers. The latter two are often the only contact that residents have with the medical profession, but their work is hampered by the unavailability of drugs and the inadequacy of transportation (Fox, 1996: 41). In some communities the situation is even worse, with no community health workers, no radio contact with any health station, or means to register births and deaths without traveling long distances to the nearest health post. Dental care is a problem in all Amerindian communities while the incidence of AIDS among mining workers is a cause for concern (Forte, 1996: 35). Amerindian women have the highest level of fertility in the country. This is influenced in part by the fact that where Catholicism is practiced, the use of contraceptives is not advocated by the church. This affected the response rate of women in the practice of family planning services (Fox, 1996: 41). Finally, many Guyanese Amerindians travel between Guyana and the neighboring countries of Suriname, Brazil and Venezuela, thereby leaving many village settlements sporadic in occupation (Fox, 1996: 15) which affects the frequency of health professional visits.

The Bank claims that by focusing on the five closely related policy areas, this operation would enable a better targeting of resources to the right type of services at the right levels of the health system, and to those more in need (Inter-American Development Bank, 1998: 12). Nevertheless, how Amerindian health is to be improved when there are no specific provisions is questionable. While there are no special provisions for health in the Operational Policy, one document entitled "recognition of the unique circumstances of indigenous peoples in frontier areas" could be applicable to this project. The provision states that "In regional or trans-national initiatives or operations that might affect

indigenous peoples living in frontier areas, the policy would encourage recognition of ... these communities and address the need for their inclusion in project development” (Inter-American Development Bank, 2004:4). As was demonstrated with the fertility levels, migration, the remoteness of their communities and other issues, indigenous populations have unique health concerns due to their location, lifestyle and cultural practices. Despite this clause in the Operational Policy, none of these circumstances was addressed in this project. Amerindians were essentially excluded and their absence highlights the ways in which the Inter-American Development Bank offers little recognition to the concerns of the indigenous peoples.

Social Infrastructure: Land Use

According to the Bank, reducing poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean requires addressing four interconnected problems: material deprivation, low levels of human development, vulnerability and powerlessness. Many of the programmes in the region that seek to deliver higher growth rates, macroeconomic stability and more accountable governments may also bring greater social equity. The Bank professes that fostering competitiveness, modernizing the state, reforming social sectors and promoting regional integration will contribute to improving the living conditions of people most in need (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 22). This assurance stems from modernization discourse, where economic growth was thought to contribute to the alleviation of poverty and where human development depends on this growth to provide the resources for expanding productive employment and basic services (Slater, 1993:95). Again, the key to economic growth was to follow in the path of mature capitalist societies, adopting their characteristics of industrialization, urbanization, agricultural

modernization and infrastructure (Escobar, 1995:38).

However, the Bank did admit that accelerating the pace of poverty reduction requires precise actions in the various sectors to ensure that the benefits of growth reach all segments of society. This includes initiatives to create economic opportunities for the poor, correct inequities in the distribution of assets (education and land), eliminate the social barriers that exclude ethnic and minority racial groups and women, expand access to social infrastructure, help the poor better manage the risks they face, and promote an efficient and effective state that is more accountable and responsive to the needs of the poor people (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 23). Here the Bank still takes on the position that the trickle down effect is viable but admits there is work to be done for it to be achieved.

Low - Income Settlement Program and Strengthening System for Property Rights

Under the initiative of correcting the inequities in the distribution of assets, the Inter-American Development Bank financed two loans in 1999, one entitled “Low Income Settlement Program” and “Strengthening System for Property Rights.” Historically, private sugar companies and, now, government have concentrated ownership of land in Guyana. Government retains roughly 90% of the developable land on the urban fringe of the metropolitan area of the capital, Georgetown. The result has greatly increased the cost of purchasing and renting adequate shelter. The Low Income Settlement program was to fund a minimum package of services plus title to 21,500 households. Undeveloped land was to be sold to private sector developers, which would help improve cost recovery (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999b: 1). I chose to look at these two projects because I believed that issues to do with land, settlement and

property rights would likely include an aboriginal component. However, this was not the case.

The Low Income Settlement Loan Program proposed to help the Government of Guyana democratize ownership and galvanize markets by divesting large amounts of land to low-income families for settlement, establish a unified area for development approval/titling in order to streamline public and private-sector residential development; and to facilitate private financial institutions to make mortgage loans to low/moderate income households (Inter-American Development Bank, Executive Summary, 1999b:1). The policy reform component was to increase the scope for private-sector residential development so that developers, contractors, and households gain market share while government relinquished it (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999b: 12). The purpose of the Property Rights project was to improve the legal framework and administrative procedures for secured transactions in property and to enhance the physical security of records. The direct beneficiaries of the Property Rights Project were the individuals who would be able to register their titles and mortgages within a reasonable period, and the modification of the legal framework for secured transactions, would lead to a more stable banking sector (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999c:2).

In this case, low/moderate income households do not include Amerindian ones. The principal criteria for site selection were directed to ensure the health, safety and welfare of the community at large, and to assure that they meet environmental and accessibility standards. Candidate sites that met the criteria were ranked according to a system that directed assistance towards highly occupied, highly visible, well-organized communities with few environmental problems (Inter-American Development Bank,

1999b:19). All of the project's sites were along the coastal plain near population centers. About 40% of projects are in the areas contiguous to Georgetown and 60% in other town and nearby areas (Inter-American Development Bank, 1999b: 29).

Apparently, communities with aboriginal populations did not meet these criteria. Whether the Bank selected sites based on the most urgent needs or if the sale of undeveloped land played a significant role in site location, it seems that if any sites were occupied by indigenous peoples and there was some dispute as to the tenure, these sites were not selected. This may be because their history of land rights is a complicated one. In 1976, 60% of Amerindian communities were given title to land totaling 4500 square miles (Sanders, 1995: 136), less than one-fifth of the area recommended by the Amerindian Lands Commission (Forte, 1993: 56). However, this decision was fraught with legal restrictions. The Amerindian Act of 1976 states a title "may be revoked or modified by the Minister upon notice served on the Council and published in the Gazette where he is satisfied that the land or any portion should be repossessed by the State in the public interest" (Sanders, 1995:136). The Act also states that the Minister can revoke or modify community title if he is convinced that members of the community have "by act or speech shown themselves to be disloyal towards the State or done any voluntary act which is incompatible with their loyalty to the state" (Sanders, 1995:136). At this time, the People's National Congress was in power. The Amerindians of western Guyana received no land title. Their lands were required for mineral exploration and for an aborted hydroelectric scheme. They were officially declared squatters on the land they had occupied for generations (Sanders, 1995: 136). It is within this ideological context that the rapid carving up of the interior in the post 1985 period should be evaluated. Forte

argues that at this time Amerindians were defined as “children of the forest,” not deserving to be consulted when roads were built through their lands, when mining, forestry and oil exploration concessions were negotiated with outsiders or even when ecotourism was seen as a new moneymaking venture. Permissions to visit their lands had to be negotiated not with the village or regional leaders but with the bureaucracy in the city (1993: 56).

The Low Income Settlement program appears to be structured in such a way as to give individuals preference for owning land. Whether it is developers, contractors or individual householders, these people will act as individuals in the ownership of their property. This is a general tenet of neoliberalism - private property is one of the basics for a market economy. This is in direct opposition to communal property, which is at least how some of the Amerindian lands would be classified. Once again, it appears that these projects, such as this one on land rights, do not consider the Amerindians. If neoliberalism espouses private property as one of its fundamentals, and if some Amerindian villages prefer to structure their communities in a more co-operative/collective way, then their preference for collective ownership will not be encouraged because it does not fit in with the ideals of development. If part of their identity lies in collective ownership of the land and this is not recognized by the project, then the perception of aboriginality is limited by the way development discourse conceptualizes them.

Social Infrastructure: Participation

As previously mentioned, poverty reduction and enhancement of social equity constitute the core mission of the Bank. However, it recognizes that vast sectors of the

population continue to live in poverty and financial crises and natural disasters have an excessively large impact on poorer regions of the population. Because of this connection, the Bank considers it important to collaborate with governments, NGOs, other official aid and development agencies in establishing social protection networks and fostering small and medium enterprises (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 18).

In addition to collaboration with other agencies, the Bank provides some evidence that they also seek citizen participation. In the Inter-American Development Bank Annual Report, participation is defined as the process by which an interested party influences, or attempts to influence, a decision to be taken on a matter that will affect it. The Bank states that the benefits of incorporating participatory processes in the planning and execution of development projects are clear - participation leads to efficiency, improved equity and sustainability. However, they also admit that participation also entails costs. In the early phases of project preparation, the Bank and its borrowers find it necessary not to engage in open-ended commitments to participation given finite amounts of time and money, but rather identify stakeholders and define as soon as possible requirements and methodologies for bringing them into discussions on design alternatives and probable impacts (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 28).

The Operational Policy contains a provision entitled “meaningful consultation and participation of indigenous stakeholders” which states that indigenous people should participate meaningfully in decisions that affect them throughout the project cycle and should not intentionally or inadvertently be excluded from projects that have the potential to benefit them. The policy would also consider the principle of free, prior and informed consent of indigenous stakeholders in a manner consistent with international agreements

in this area (Inter-American Development Bank, 2004:4). Are the Bank and the Operational Policy compatible with respect to issues of participation? Furthermore, is the Operational Policy sufficient, does it go far enough to ensure indigenous participation?

Both the Bank projects and the Operational Policy use the term “stakeholders” to describe community members that should be consulted during the project cycle. However, it can be argued that indigenous peoples are not just another stakeholder to be consulted. They are rights-holders whose identity, autonomy and cultural survival is closely linked to their relationship with the land and for them, it is critical to include the right to free, prior and informed consent which includes the right to reject projects on their ancestral lands. In this light, prior consultation processes should lead to indigenous acceptance or rejection of a project proposal through appropriate mechanisms, instead of implying a negotiation on how to limit the negative impacts of a project that will go ahead anyway (Weitzer, 2002: 5).

The term “participation” is found in almost every development plan and policy statement, even though it is derived from radical ideas challenging the development orthodoxy. It is a buzzword that is hard to pin a precise definition on, however there can be three possible explanations: it can simply refer to a process where information about a proposed project is made available to the public; or it might include project-related activities rather than just information or it might entail the people’s own initiatives. Because the word is used so frequently in the development literature, it is often without meaning and some critics argue that it is only used to soften the “top-downism” and has been stripped of its radical roots (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 111). I argue that the project documents and the Operational Policy both attempt to place limits on their aboriginality.

Here the Bank seems to be interested in completing the project while giving the impression that it includes the voices of the citizens. The Operational Policy only suggests indigenous peoples should participate in projects that might benefit them, saying nothing about projects that may cause them harm. The right to free, prior and informed consent, including the right to say no to projects is not included in the policy, probably for the reason that it would give indigenous peoples too much advantage in negotiations with the Bank.

Agricultural Sector Loan

In 1995, IDB approved an Agricultural Sector Loan for Guyana. The sector goal was to improve production and the competitiveness of agriculture, while maintaining a supportive macroeconomic policy. Project objectives were to improve the national and sectoral environmental framework; consolidate trade liberalization; and extend the economic adjustment process to key agricultural factor markets: land, drainage and irrigation (Inter-American Development Bank, 1995: Executive Summary, 1). The Agricultural Sector Loan focused on two areas: pricing and administration of public land, creating a viable agency for managing public land, as well as improving pricing and collection of land rents; and tenure regularization, providing firm leases and facilitating freehold land titling (Inter-American Development Bank, 1995:15). In other words, achieve progress through developing criteria and plans needed for conversion of public land to freehold (private) property (Inter-American Development Bank, 1995, 18).

One of the policy directives in the Operational Policy on Indigenous People is protection and sustainable development of territories, land and natural resources.

projects that affect the lands and resources traditionally occupied by indigenous peoples and consistent with the national legislation and environmental protection

objectives, the policy would seek the inclusion of actions to a) solve irregular land tenure situations as well as to promote recognition of appropriate customary law and traditional knowledge and the establishment of appropriate institutional and legal frameworks for land tenure and management b) ensure benefit sharing mechanisms for protected areas that overlap with indigenous territories (Inter-American Development Bank, 2004:4).

As with the projects on low-income settlement and property rights, it appears that the focus is on furthering ownership of private property and not furthering the rights of communal landholders.

Under Agricultural Sector Loan supported policies, there may be increased use of agricultural chemicals in general and pesticides in particular. The expansion of the agricultural sector in Guyana has been accompanied by increased use of pesticides and other agricultural chemicals, including a broader range of active ingredients and brand names. Problems that have already been detected in Guyana, although never fully quantified or compared to other environmental and health hazards, include indiscriminate use with consequent residual contamination of food and environment, resistance to pesticides and fungicides, rising incidence of poisoning of workers, inappropriate marketing practices by dealers, misleading advertising, inappropriate labeling, and poor quality products. Additional potential problems arise when irrigation or particularly drainage water is used for domestic water purposes (Inter-American Development Bank, 1995: Annex, 6).

The objective for the management of toxic agrochemicals is to develop a system to use updated information about these chemicals. Activities include develop a system to access updated international information on toxic agrochemicals, and translating it into local denominations known by users; prepare and implement a training plan for on-farm

management of pesticides, and ensure coordination and complementary funding for activities already being implemented in Guyana for integrated pest management (Inter-American Development Bank, 1995: Annex 9).

This agricultural loan does not include any information about the potential negative effects of pesticide use for communities who live near the farms. A map of Guyana indicates that there are three Amerindian reserves close to agricultural lands that are serviced by waterways that run through these lands, one in the North West District and two in East Berbice. No way exists for the indigenous groups to fight back and protect themselves through the Bank policies (under the Operational Policy there are no allowances for environmental degradation due to Bank projects). How does this reflect on the Bank's view of the Amerindians? Does this imply a "children of the forest" or primitivist view where the Amerindians are not sophisticated enough to understand the modern technology of agrochemicals, or is it simply that the Amerindians are not worth enough to the Bank to inform them of the possible effects? Their health and well-being would add extra costs to the project that the Bank may be unwilling to absorb.

Social Infrastructure: Environment

Having just discussed the situation of agricultural pollution, ironically the Bank financed environmental projects they claimed were designed to protect and preserve critical and fragile ecosystems. Other loans in 2000 centered on water and sanitation, and tourism and reconstruction after natural disasters (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 15). By promoting improved regulatory frameworks, greater eco-efficiency through environmental management systems, and the creation of environmental investment funds, the Multilateral Investment Fund claimed that the private sector could

play a vital role in fostering sustainable development (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 30). The Bank supports sustainable development by directly financing projects for environmental protection and management and by incorporating environmental components into all its operations. Environmental projects have accounted for 10% of total Bank lending in recent years, including financing for environmental health, control of industrial pollution, and protection of natural resources, sustainable development, renewable energy, and institutional strengthening. All Bank project proposals are reviewed for their potential environmental and social impact (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001b: 14).

Environmental Management Program

In 1996, the IDB approved an Environmental Management Program for Guyana. The project aimed to strengthen the technical, managerial and organizational capabilities of the newly established Environmental Protection Agency; develop the country's legal and regulatory framework in the environment and natural resource management areas; and improve the environmental management and monitoring capabilities of two selected agencies- the Guyana Forestry Commission and the Guyana Geology and Mines Commission (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996a: 1) as well as to promote public participation in environmental management (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996a: 5).

The main objective of the Guyana Forestry Commission is to manage Guyana's forests to derive maximum benefits, pursuing optimum production and utilization of those resources for local and foreign markets. The Commission has an environmental unit; however, these officers are focused on monitoring wood extracted from concessions

for purposes of royalty assessment. The Guyana Geology and Mines Commission are in charge of promoting interest in mining and mineral exploration; it also advises on the economical exploitation of these resources but currently has a very limited environmental management capacity (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996: 7).

The program will finance the development of environmental regulations to avoid undesirable environmental impacts and to foster sustainable resource management, in keeping with the spirit of the Environmental Protection Agency. Bringing Guyana into the mainstream of environmental management practices is considered a high priority in view of the imminent pressures resulting from the implementation of current economic growth policy, as well as the existing social constraints that impact upon its valuable though fragile natural resource base. Additionally, the project would facilitate the development of an advanced and stable set of guidelines, fees and environmental procedures to guide the decisions of potential domestic and foreign investors (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996a: Executive Summary, 2).

One of the conditions the Government of Guyana and the Bank have agreed upon as prior to approval within the Environmental Protection Agency Board of Directors was placing special emphasis on civil society and Amerindian interests (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996a: Executive Summary, 3). Guyana has recognized indigenous title to 14% of the country's territory, representing one-seventh of the lands Amerindians see as their ancestral territories. The legal strength of these titles varies with the government of the day, for titled lands have been de-reserved to allow for mining activities (Weitzer, 2002:4). The Amerindian population has been estimated to number approximately 50,000; they live in about 150 settlements belonging to nine tribes,

scattered throughout the hinterland, mainly in the savannah, river rain and forest areas.

The Amerindians Act reserves lands totaling about 14,000 km. The proportion of poor is highest among the Amerindians compared with the other ethnic groups; 85% of Amerindian population falls below the poverty line (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996a: 2).

The government is committed to enlarging the country's exports over the next few years, based upon growth in agriculture, forestry and mining. Development of those resources has been limited so far due to difficulty of access, unfavorable investment conditions and lack of capital. These conditions are changing, however, making the prospect of growth in these areas a worrisome proposition in the absence of adequate environmental policy and enforcement capabilities (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996a: 4). One of the risks of these projects is the fact that the concept of environmental management is still relatively new in Guyana and that, given Guyana's difficult economic situation, environmental protection may be sacrificed for short-term economic development and poverty alleviation (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001a: Executive Summary, 4).

Over the last two decades, mining activities on or near indigenous lands have increased exponentially. This is due to a number of factors: globalization and the liberalization of the market economy, policies of international financial institutions (like the IDB) and development agencies promoting mining as a viable means for poverty reduction, as well as government revisions to mining codes to streamline environmental assessment and other procedures to provide "friendlier" investment climates. This has led to a situation in which the lands of indigenous peoples are increasingly sought for

their mineral potential (Weitzer, 2002:2). Work in the mining sector demonstrates that stakeholder acceptance of the environmental management agenda is critical for sustainability, but the process to engage stakeholders can be quite time consuming. As stated beforehand, the Operational Policy takes a slightly different view as to what participation might mean as well as the problems associated with indigenous peoples as 'stakeholders' rather than as "rights holders."

In 2001, the IDB implemented an additional loan for the environmental management program. In the environmental/social review of this project, it was suggested that they seek the participation of the Amerindians on the water quality-monitoring program (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001a: Executive Summary, 4). However, further research into the plan revealed no other information regarding the participation of Amerindians in this part of the project. However, concerning Environmental Protection Agency environmental officers, The Agency sought to identify opportunities to engage people in communities, particularly rural communities and Amerindians, in the monitoring, inspection and enforcement system. They claim that by using volunteer or part-time community members, The Agency should be able to greatly increase its ability to monitor outlying areas at minimal cost (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001a:10). Therefore, the one part the Amerindians would play in this project would be to supply cheap/free labor for the monitoring of the Guyanese hinterland. Why would project managers assume that the Amerinds would willingly participate for little or no compensation? One explanation is to accept them as the "ecologically noble savage." In this regard, Amerindians would be considered the logical stewards of the forest and if they are believed to inherently practice high levels of

conservation, then it is clear why they would be chosen. Of course, there is a problem with this assumption. Amerindians may have limited impact on their environment simply from limited population, technology and participation in the cash markets, making their conservation efforts appear more deliberate than they actually are. On the other hand, perhaps they genuinely are conservationists, practicing self-conscious sacrifices of immediate self-interest to long-term preservation of the environment (Ellingson, 2001: 351). Whichever situation may be more appropriate, it is implied that Amerindians will only be allowed to contribute in ways that converge with how they are conceptualized in the discourse. They were not asked to participate in an activity that would contradict what an “Amerindian” means in the development discourse, for instance to play an integral part in the design of the project.

Social Infrastructure: Culture

On the non-lending side, the Bank undertook a broad spectrum of actions aimed at poverty reduction and the equity enhancing potential of public policies. Progress in terms of systematically incorporating indigenous and other minority issues into the design of projects supported by the Bank was especially notable in the social sectors, particularly for primary education, social investment funds and other poverty-targeted initiatives (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 24). This is consistent with two provisions in the Operational Policy. One provides for the protection of indigenous culture, identity, language and traditional knowledge where the policy would recognize the specific socio-cultural and linguistic characteristics of indigenous peoples, seek protection of these assets, and ensure socio-culturally appropriate project design and implementation. The other provision avoids ethnically based discrimination, which would address

discriminatory factors, and barriers to entry to Bank funded activities in order to ensure that indigenous people have equal access to applicable Bank funded services (Inter-American Development Bank, 2004:5).

The Bank promotes culture as an integral part of development. Through alliances with the public and private sectors, the Bank supports efforts to strengthen the capacity of countries to develop and preserve their cultural heritage, particularly urban historical and cultural sites with significant economic and social potential (Inter-American Development Bank, 2001: 15)

In countries with significant indigenous populations, most basic education projects now include bilingual intercultural education as a standard feature. The Bank claims that this important development not only improves the effectiveness and quality of primary education, but also has important benefits in terms of strengthening cultural identity and community involvement in education activities. A number of social investment or community development projects included specific measures to ensure access by indigenous and other minority groups. Approximately 12% of Bank operations in 2000 affected or targeted indigenous groups and half of those projects (6%) included ethno-specific components or activities to facilitate participation of indigenous groups in project design or benefits (Inter-American Development Bank, 2000: 24).

Social Impact Amelioration Program (SIMAP)

SIMAP was established as an autonomous agency in 1990 in order to have a mechanism to mitigate the negative social effects of stabilization and structural adjustment policies. The chapter on the World Bank also has this same project. However, they are two distinct programs, despite sharing the same title. Nevertheless, they do share

the same mandate: they both seek to reduce the impacts on the communities made by structural adjustment programs. They are projects that are meant to alleviate the hardships that were placed on the communities after the government issued in the various requirements of the structural adjustment program. In other words, the SIMAP project was created to alleviate the hardships that previous Bank projects had done to the country. The Bank's loan financed projects in four areas: 1. rehabilitation of social and productive infrastructure - which included schools, health clinics, day care centers, community centers, markets, drainage and irrigation and farm-to-market and other rural roads; 2. Amerindian projects - this area started as a pilot project to target resources to Amerindian communities which have the highest levels of poverty. Due to the remoteness of these communities, the projects are managed by local communities and use local labor and materials as much as possible. 3. nutrition projects - World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank jointly financed a nutrition program that provided nutritional supplements to pregnant and lactating mothers through primary health care clinics; 4. Technical and vocational programs - financing was provided for in-plant training for 1,000 school dropouts (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996b: 6).

This program has three objectives: to improve the living standards and income-earning potential of lower-income households via the financing of small scale community generated projects; increase the capability of lower-income communities to identify, articulate and address their priority needs and; provide a demonstration effect for other public agencies on procedures to more effectively and efficiently respond to local demand and implement investment programs (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996b: Executive Summary, 1).

Poverty levels in Guyana are high. In 1993, 43% of the population was poor, and 29% of the population was found to live in extreme poverty, defined as having consumption levels insufficient to purchase a basic food package. Poverty was found to be highest and extreme amongst Amerindian communities due to their isolation and lack of economic opportunities, and higher in rural areas, relative to urban areas (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996b: 2).

Of the ten IDB project documents I examined, the SIMAP project had the only program focused on the Amerindian peoples. This Amerindian program supports an expansion of a pilot project, which financed community-managed and designed projects, that had significant levels of self-help, such as school and community centre rehabilitation, agricultural development, and transportation projects. Eligibility criteria and specific project cycle were established for the program to ensure effective management, sustainability and that the project's benefits were widely shared within the community. Although these projects were smaller and technically more straightforward, the maximum size of the Amerindian program project had been doubled from US \$10,000 to US \$20,000 over a period from 1996-1999, based on evidence that this expansion would allow the component to meet the majority of Amerindian community priority needs, and the annual number of projects was expected to increase from twelve to sixty (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996b: Executive Summary, 3). Finally, to mitigate the potential negative impacts of the agricultural development projects in Amerindian areas, (which incidentally was not even mentioned in the Agricultural Sector Loan) it is required that these projects include technical assistance on sustainable agricultural practices and that a management plan be prepared and reviewed by SIMAP

that demonstrates how these practices will be implemented over the medium term (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996b:33). The SIMAP project is the only one that mentions possible negative effects on the Amerindians. It is the only project (SIMAP) whose directive is to lessen the negative effects of past policies that the possibility of negative consequences is allowed to be discussed. In all the other projects I used for this chapter, there was no mention of possible adverse impacts on any population, indigenous or otherwise. However, in the Operational Policy there is a provision that addresses the identification and mitigation of potential negative impacts. The policy would entail early screening of projects for potential impacts on indigenous peoples at the pertinent decision points of the proposed project cycle, so that when adverse negative impacts are anticipated, the Bank would consider this in the decision to go ahead with the project. When significant negative impacts are anticipated, socio-cultural assessments would be required to help define project alternatives to mitigate these impacts and to develop indigenous components or action plans (Inter-American Development Bank, 2004:4). This does not seem to be the usual procedure for the project cycle.

SIMAP follows a bottom-up community driven project cycle, where community groups, non-governmental organizations or local authorities submit applications for projects which are selected by SIMAP based on meeting basic eligibility criteria (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996b: 7). Evaluation results indicate that SIMAP has successfully encouraged the participation of local community organizations and agencies in the development of projects. Low-income communities have demonstrated their ability via project sponsor organizations to identify and articulate their priority needs. The evaluation also found that greater community participation and strength of organization

are associated with greater project effectiveness. Amerindian community projects, which incorporated the highest degree of community participation (80%) and contribution in all stages of the project cycle, were generally rated to be amongst the most efficient projects in terms of meeting objectives at the least cost without sacrificing technical quality. In 1996, SIMAP introduced a minimum level of community contribution for the remaining social infrastructure projects. This was designed to build community ownership, and increase the effectiveness and efficiency of project resources (Inter-American Development Bank, 1996b: 9).

Conclusion

By analyzing areas of development knowledge, in this case project documents of the Inter-American Development Bank, I can deconstruct the knowledge as historically and politically specific constructions of reality, which have more to do with the exercise of power in particular historical contexts than presenting objective realities (Gardner and Lewis, 1996:71). How the Amerindians are represented in the documents is directly related to the realities that are embedded within a neoliberal paradigm. In other words, previously one could not have the concept of modernization without the concept of primitivism, or have development without the "Other." There has been a significant shift in this paradigm in terms of theories of development. However, upon inspection of the project documents, with the exception of the SIMAP project, there were few references to the Amerindians, or they were presented in such a way that negates their importance and presents their issues as marginal to the project itself. The projects financed by the IDB (as well as those of the World Bank) seek to completely restructure developing societies based completely on neoliberal policies. Changes made to these societies are not easily

undone when a new government comes into power. The projects reflect a macro view of society in which the voices of the affected remain unheard.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The general premise for doing this research was to examine how indigenous issues fit into current theories and procedures of development. The current definition of development has indeed changed with the inclusion of the issues and concerns of indigenous peoples. My evaluation of the discourse on development supports this through the examination of the policies and projects of international development agencies, which have increasingly acknowledged the significance of indigenous peoples in the formulation of development policies. However, I argue that the inclusion of indigenusness in development policies has not led to any real changes in the development paradigm. Despite an awareness of global issues such as indigenusness, environmentalism, and gender equity, modernization and its new variant, neoliberalism, continues to be the prevailing model in the development sphere. It is clear from the projects, policies, as well as mission statements of the two banks that western-derived expansionism is still thought to be the key to achieving economic prosperity.

I have used a discursive analysis in this research because understanding development as a discourse makes it possible to maintain the focus on domination, while exploring the conditions of possibility and the most enduring effects of development (Escobar, 1995:6). Discourse can be defined as a practice with conditions, rules and historical transformations, it is not just the expression of thought, nor is it just about words (Escobar, 1995:216). "To analyze development as a discourse is to show that to speak is to do something - other than to express what ones thinks..." (Escobar, 1995: 216). Michel Foucault defines discourse as the "articulation of knowledge and power"

(Said, 1979: 94). It is a requirement that both power and knowledge be present for a discourse to be formed. What constitutes knowledge, what is excluded from this knowledge, and who is qualified to know involves acts of power; therefore, knowledge is inherently political (Gardner and Lewis, 1996:71). The World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank play a major role in the shaping of development knowledge. They are powerful institutions which govern certain populations, they construct and implement their policies in ways that limit how indigenous peoples are presented in the discourse. These institutions construct a version of aboriginality that leaves little room for much beyond support for the neoliberal and modernization agenda to which they are committed. The exclusion of aboriginal issues from the projects constitutes part of how the discourse on development operates. Amerindians themselves were not widely represented in the projects. This raises a possible objection that the *construction* of aboriginality is not present in the discourse. However, in keeping with Foucault's statement on the creation of discourse, the construction of a discourse involves knowledge that is excluded as well as knowledge that is included. Some of the data will be given the status of truth and became part of the discourse, while others will not. The politics of truth that is created out of this information is only a representation of the Amerindians (Said, 1979:21&36). What is excluded is as important as that which is included. These omissions have significant political and social consequences as was evident in the various projects. This "silence" is a product of the discourse and not an omission from it; it is a construction in which a view of the world is created that leaves little room for aboriginality.

I employed the concept of primitivism as a way to examine the conceptualization

of aboriginality in the development discourse, to help me determine how aboriginals are represented in western thought. My premise was that primitivism has influenced current concepts of aboriginality in the context of the discourse of development. However, through the examination of the policies and projects of the two banks, it became apparent that the way aboriginality is constructed in the discourse does not follow a strict model of primitivism. There are indeed elements or remnants of this discourse present in the policies and projects of the World Bank and IDB, but it is not a hard-lined version of such. In other words, it is not simply the case that aboriginals can only be classified in one of two camps, the noble savage or the romantic savage. This is in keeping with the idea that the image of the primitive is as diverse as our own self-image in which it was created in opposition; there is a wide possibility of Others (Hiller, 1991:65; Cooley, 1982:11). Remnants of primitivism were indeed woven into the development discourse; but most of the time these elements were not obvious.

The World Bank constitutes the world's largest funding agency for large-scale development programs while the Inter-American Development Bank is the largest funding agency for the Latin American /Caribbean region. These institutions have had an enormous impact on the indigenous peoples of the developing world. Both banks have supported numerous development projects in Guyana. These projects have been relevant to the lives of the Amerindian people, who were the focus of my research.

Regional development banks such as the Inter-American Development Bank, are modeled on the World Bank, and frequently invest or contribute money to projects selected, defined, appraised and supervised by the World Bank (Payer, 1982:15). The IDB cooperates with the World Bank on a case-by-case basis; it often co-finances

reforms, projects and cooperates in a number of technical areas (Inter-American Development Bank Facts, 2001:7). Parallels between the two banks are more than organizational; the missions of the two institutions have much in common as well. The World Bank's mission is to fight poverty and help the environment (World Bank Annual Report, 2001: Back Cover). The mission of the Inter-American Development Bank is poverty reduction and environmentally sustainable growth (Inter-American Development Bank Annual Report, 2000:27). Their methods in how they will achieve their missions are also similar: the World Bank will emphasize governance, while the IDB will modernize the state. The World Bank will create a positive climate for investment and the IDB will increase a country's potential for development in an open global economy. Thus, we can see that the objectives and the methods of the two banks are quite comparable; they both work within the same modernization and neoliberal discourse to achieve their aims.

Both the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank have recognized indigenous concerns, evident in their recent formulation of indigenous people's policies. The Inter-American Development Bank formulated their Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples in 2004; the World Bank constructed theirs in 2001 (which they named Operational Policy 4.10). These are two separate policies though their contents are similar.

The World Bank's Operational Policy does not apply to all aboriginal people. In fact, it only applies to those aboriginals who have been identified by the Bank.

Where borrower legislation gives special status to groups within indigenous characteristics as defined by the World Bank... this lends a starting point for determining whether the policy applies in a particular project context. Additional investigations, such as consultation with potentially affected groups and technical judgment by experts who

know the social and cultural groups in the region, may be necessary to determine whether the policy applies to such groups (Operational Policy 4.10, 2001:3).

Therefore, only those selected by the World Bank will have a chance to voice their concerns (no others will be allowed to express their views) in negotiations. An “expert” who is not an aboriginal, determines the applicability of the policy to a given aboriginal group. Experts are awarded the task of identifying “valid” aboriginal groups; the Bank gives outsiders control in legitimizing certain indigenous populations within the context of the policy. It portrays certain aboriginal groups as not being legitimately indigenous and therefore not able to address their issues as they relate to the project. It requires indigenous peoples to meet certain criteria; in this case, the World Bank determines the criteria. This brings up the issue of who are the “real” aboriginals, those considered “traditional” (practicing traditional subsistence) or those considered “educated” (living off the reservation) (Briggs, 1996:454). The notion of the “authentic” aboriginal reasserts the exotic as an unchanging entity (Howell, 1991:229) which appears to coincide with the World Bank’s Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples as can be seen by the discussion on the migration to find wage labor.

In the Operational Policy of the Inter-American Development Bank, there is a provision entitled “meaningful consultation and participation of indigenous stakeholders” which states that indigenous people should participate meaningfully in decisions that affect them throughout the project cycle and should not intentionally or inadvertently be excluded from projects that have the potential to benefit them. The policy would consider the principle of free, prior and informed consent of indigenous stakeholders in a manner consistent with international agreements in this area (Operational Policy, 2004:4). The

Inter-American Development Bank uses the term “stakeholder” to define community members that are included in the project cycle. Participation entails costs, so the Bank and the borrower identify stakeholders as soon as possible to define the requirements for bringing them into discussions on design alternatives and probable impacts (Inter-American Development Bank Annual Report, 2000:28). The problem with this is that if only the stakeholders are included in discussions, then some members of the community but not others, will have their concerns addressed. In addition, who gets to identify stakeholders, the community, the Bank, or are they self-appointed? This makes a difference in how much of the community’s concerns will be addressed. If appointed by the Bank, they will likely choose someone who generally supports the project and has some authority in the community.

The projects that were utilized for this research were taken from the last 34 years, from 1970-2004. These documents are but a small selection from the vast amount of data that is produced by the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. Therefore, I can only speak for the projects examined and not for the entire body of literature produced by these two institutions. Though much more data exists on the various projects and policies of the World Bank and IDB, of the projects I did select, I am unaware of any further documentation relating to those particular projects. In other words, as far as I could determine, there was not a possibility of furthering my understanding of the projects incorporated in this research. These projects were selected because of their apparent relevance to the indigenous peoples of Guyana, who constitute 10% of the population. Despite the variety of these projects and the fact that both banks have formally acknowledged indigenous peoples, as evident by their Operational

Policies, the presence of indigenous people was hardly mentioned, if at all, in the documents that I examined. If they were mentioned, they were presented in ways that portrayed them as subordinate to the general assumptions of the development discourse utilized by the banks. These documents ranged in length from ten to thirty pages and overall there was less than a paragraph devoted to the Amerindian peoples. For instance, in the Micro Enterprise-Training Project, it was assessed that the project consider whether any special measures are needed to provide indigenous groups with access to the program (Development of the Micro Enterprise Training Service Market: 9, 1999). A one-line sentence on the Amerindians in Guyana was all that was mentioned. The treatment of aboriginals was similar with both banks. There is a lack of a discussion of certain issues, and the way indigenous issues were conceptualized in the discussion that did occur, was formulated in such a way as to render aboriginal issues subordinate to, or compatible with the various realities of neoliberal discourse. My thesis concerned the discourse on development and how it both excludes other realities and establishes new truths that are compatible with it.

I discussed the projects in two ways that are related: 1) analyze the actual references to indigenous peoples in the project documents, which create and establish truths about aboriginality, and 2) analyze the projects in terms of references to modernization and neoliberalism, to demonstrate how this excludes certain ways of looking at indigenous peoples and their concerns.

In the case of the World Bank Forestry Project, the limited references to aboriginal people implied that the Amerinds were acceptable sacrifices to the project. The Amerindian population in the region was estimated at less than 50 people, but no precise

data existed to verify this. They were located in the southern part of the project area, and the Bank allowed logging in this area because operations would not start for another 15 years and the aboriginal people in that area had already been exposed to “alien” cultures (Upper Demerara Forestry Project, 1978:25). They presented the Amerindians as a people who would likely be assimilated or extinct in 20 years, therefore their concerns, whether they were with logging, encroachment, or loss of hunting grounds, would not be taken seriously. Their concerns could not possibly be addressed or even be known if they were not part of the project; to the World Bank, they were invisible. Hence, it would not matter if they were excluded.

In the Environmental Management Program of the IDB, the project sought to incorporate volunteer or part-time community members so the environmental protection agency could increase its ability to monitor outlying areas at minimal cost (Environmental Management Program Phase II, 2001:10). The role of Amerindians was to supply cheap/free labor for monitoring the hinterland. Whatever the reason in assuming that they would participate in such a venture [primitive conceptions of natural conservationist (Ellingson, 2001:351) or the only people around] their role as “reporters”, “watchdogs” or “stewards” likely means their concerns have little significance to the bank. The amerinds simply report what they see or hear, they are not part of the decision making process. In this way, their concerns will not likely be attended to. There is no room for them to address such issues as subsurface and mineral rights or forestry ventures. These examples show that references in the projects construct aboriginality in a way that treats them as insignificant to the overall project and presents their issues as marginal to the project itself.

Most of the projects that I selected from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank had objectives that followed a neoliberal agenda that exclude certain ways of looking at indigenous peoples and their concerns. The World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank both treat the issue of indigenous participation/consultation/inclusion in a similar manner. The Inter-American Development Bank stated that approximately 12% of its operations in 2000 affected or targeted indigenous groups, and half of those projects included ethno-specific components or activities to facilitate participation of indigenous groups in project design or benefits (Inter-American Development Bank Annual Report, 2000:24). Therefore, the actual percentage of projects that included components to encourage indigenous participation was 6% of IDB projects. I did not discover any data to verify the amount of World Bank projects dedicated to indigenous peoples. However, in the projects that I did examine, there was enough evidence to suggest that the World Bank as well as the IDB did not seriously consider the issue of indigenous participation/consultation/inclusion. It is reasonable to infer that as a consequence of the neoliberal agenda the Bank did not consider it would be a proper role for the aboriginals to be consulted in project negotiations.

The second broad consequence of the neoliberal agenda involves the banks attitude toward proper areas of interest for aboriginals. The Inter-American Development Bank claims that they are attempting to incorporate indigenous and other minority issues into the design of projects, and this was especially notable in the social sectors, particularly for primary education, social investment funds, and other poverty-targeted

initiatives (Inter-American Development Bank Annual Report, 2000:24). For the World Bank, its lending in 2001 focused on poverty reduction, investment in the social sector and rural and community driven development (World Bank Annual Report, 2001:25). Thus, both institutions seek to incorporate indigenous/community issues into sectors like social and human development and gender inclusion, but not indigenous/community issues in projects that fall into the following sectors: economic management; financial and private sector development; trade and integration; and rule of law. Thus, what this means is that the participation, consultation or inclusion of indigenous people is only sought after in certain types of projects. In projects that have more to do with economic, financial or judicial issues, the voices of the aboriginals are not relevant to the Bank. In this case, the institutions are establishing a certain characteristic of aboriginality that prevents them from being included in issues of national importance. Thus, the second consequence of the neoliberal agenda is that the aboriginals should not concern themselves with issues that fall beyond the social sector.

Elements that are particularly important to the neoliberal agenda are required to be accepted by aboriginals. These elements are present in the projects that I examined. For example: the World Bank's Forestry Project was to increase Guyana's foreign exchange earnings; the World Bank's Petroleum Project was to establish potential oil bearing areas for leasing to interested companies; the World Bank's Livestock Project was to develop a modern and efficient beef cattle industry and add another agricultural commodity (for export); the IDB's Microenterprise Project was to establish training services to improve competitiveness and productivity; the IDB's Low Income Settlement Project was to democratize ownership and galvanize markets; the IDB's Property Rights

project was to improve legal framework and administrative procedures for secured transactions in property and enhance physical security of records and finally; the IDB's Agricultural Project was to improve the national and sectoral environmental framework, consolidate trade liberalization, and extend the economic adjustment process to key agricultural factors. By the very act of being forced to accept all these elements of the neoliberal agenda, we can see that it does not allow us to view indigenous people as responsible, autonomous agents that are able to make decisions in areas the bank deems important.

These aspects of neoliberalism represented in the projects limit the possibilities for aboriginality in the discourse because the parameters of the project have already been established based on the project's objective. Each objective allows certain possible boundaries as well as outcomes. For instance, the objective in the Low Income Settlement Project was to democratize ownership and galvanize markets. If there was an aboriginal component (and there was not) it would have to comply with the objective. To "democratize" seems to mean to sell land to private owners, and not foster communal ownership; and to "galvanize" markets means to stimulate them, to increase their productivity, to allow more goods, more trade and more money to enter the market. It does not mean barter, balanced reciprocity, or other forms of trade. All these factors of neoliberalism place limits on how aboriginals can be represented in the development discourse. They cannot be presented in such a way that contradicts the objective of the project, and the objective follows the path of the free market.

These neoliberal methods of the two banks appear to be in opposition to issues with which indigenous peoples might be concerned, such as self-determination;

participation in the political life of the state; rights to their lands and resources; free and informed consent; and rights to material culture (Bodley, 1999: Appendix E 216). Since it is the international financial institutions that have the power and knowledge to create the discourse on development, therefore, the aboriginality that is presented to us will be required to align itself with these “realities” while other issues that are important to them will not be permitted to be presented in the discourse.

As was demonstrated, there are many assumptions of development that fall under the guise of modernization and neoliberalism that constrain how aboriginality is presented in the discourse. Whether they are private property, the harmonization of policies and procedures, an emphasis on economic growth as the only way to reduce poverty, modernizing the state, or creating a positive climate for investment, these “realities” of development prevent a type of aboriginality from being incorporated into the discourse that may threaten the paradigm of the development model.

In conclusion, this thesis was constructed around the idea that the international financial institutions of the developed world have the power to create a “politics of truth” (Said, 1979:21) that allows a certain representation of Amerindians in Guyana to be formed. This representation is not a natural one, but is part of a desire to control, understand and manipulate a certain segment of the Guyanese population. The policies and projects of the banks provide a framework for the understanding of development discourse, which excludes the concerns of those who do not align themselves with the banks’ strategies.

More published work that utilizes primary documents from international financial institutions is needed in order to determine whether any changes in discourse have

filtered down to the policy level. Perhaps documents from other financial institutions such as United States Agency for International Development or the Canadian International Development Agency might be utilized. As well, it would be interesting to examine documents from the two banks that concentrate on other developing world countries in order to determine how their aboriginal populations are represented in the discourse.

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