

**REGIONAL STUDY: CHALLENGES AND PROPOSALS FOR THE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES**

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Index

INTRODUCTION.....	4
1. PURPOSE AND GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF THE STUDY.....	8
1.1 Research objectives and focus countries.....	8
1.2 Relevance of the study.....	9
1.3 The practical approach.....	12
2. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS.....	14
2.1 Premises and initial findings. Hypotheses and guiding questions.....	14
2.1.1 Premises and findings.....	14
2.1.2 Hypotheses and guiding questions.....	16
2.2 Methodology used.....	18
2.2.1 The systemic approach.....	18
2.2.2 A participatory work proposal.....	19
2.2.3 An economic research and disciplinary complementary research.....	22
2.3 Structure and logic of the study.....	24
2.3.1 Initial planning and conceptualization.....	24
2.3.2 Elaboration of a map of relevant actors for the economic development of indigenous peoples in Latin America.....	25
2.3.3 In-depth interviews and case studies.....	28
2.3.4 Preparation of the final study.....	32
2.4 Consultant profile.....	34
2.4.1 Consultants and research assistants.....	34
2.4.2 Director of the study.....	37

3. ISSUE: POVERTY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES	39
3.1 The general poverty situation of indigenous peoples.....	39
3.2 Ethnic and economic discrimination.....	42
3.3 Lack of economic integration	44
3.4 Indigenous peoples in the era of the global economy.....	45
3.5 Cross-Cultural Economies: The Big Opportunities at a Glance	48
4. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MODEL OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES	54
4.1 Basis of departure.....	54
4.2 Theoretical foundations of indigenous self-development.....	55
Table: Two opposing conceptions	59
5. THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF THEIR SELF-DETERMINATION	65
6. BARRIERS, CHALLENGES AND WEAKNESSES IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES.....	76
6.1 Ecosystem: main factors by sector.....	76
6.1.1 The research sector.....	76
6.1.2 Indigenous organizations	78
6.1.3 International Public Organizations and Funds	80
6.1.4 Organized civil society.....	82
6.1.5 Indigenous Peoples' Enterprises.....	84
6.1.6 Financial Entities.....	86
6.1.7 Private Sector	88
6.1.8 Public sector.....	89
6.2 Cross-cutting factors.....	92
6.2.1 The problems of training and education	92
6.2.2 Problems associated with the lack of financing.....	94
6.2.3 Territories and the governance of their resources.....	96
6.2.4 Lack of understanding and identification.....	99
6.2.5 Persistent discrimination	100
6.2.6 The shortcomings of public policies for economic development with identity	103

6.2.7	The problems associated with leadership and its legitimacy within indigenous organizations	105
6.2.8	The Gender Issue: Women and Indigenous Economies	107
6.2.9	By way of recapitulation. And not forgetting some of the structural problems of indigenous economies and their relationship with the environment	110
7.	PROMISING SOLUTIONS. CASE STUDIES: INNOVATIONS AND SUCCESSFUL MODELS	114
7.1	SYSTEMATIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES WITH IDENTITY IN MESOAMERICA	118
7.1.1	Mexico - Community forestry company in the community of Nuevo San Juan Parangaricutiro, Michoacán	118
7.1.2	Nicaragua - Pana Pana	127
7.2	SYSTEMATIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES WITH IDENTITY IN THE ANDEAN-AMAZON REGION	134
7.2.1	Bolivia - Production of quality organic Amazonian cocoa in the North of the Department of La Paz	134
7.2.2	Peru - Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas, Artesanas, Indígenas, Nativas y Asalariadas del Perú (FEMUCARINAP)	144
7.2.3	Ecuador - Runa Tupari Native Travel	151
7.2.3	Colombia - Anas Wayúu E.P.S.I.	161
7.3	SYSTEMATIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES WITH IDENTITY IN THE SOUTHERN CONE	171
7.3.1	Chile - Corporación para el Fomento de la Producción (CORFO)	171
8.	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	183

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**INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK
MULTILATERAL INVESTMENT FUND
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INTRODUCTION

The Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF) of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) Group was established in 1993 by 39 donor countries to stimulate private sector growth in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) for the benefit of the poor, their businesses, crops and households. To this end, MIF promotes access to markets and the creation of the necessary skills to compete in those markets, access to financing as well as access to basic services, including green technologies¹. The MIF has taken a special interest in areas of work such as:

1. **Value chains:** business training; support for the formation of production and marketing cooperatives; production and market training; small agricultural production and niche markets;
2. **Local economic development:** to support the development of or influence government policies in favor of local economic development;
3. **Financial inclusion:** access to credit and financial products; banking penetration; financial education;

¹ The MIF finances approximately 100 projects per year, with a financing volume of around US\$100 million. During 2010, the scope of its projects has benefited more than 600,000 individuals and businesses. The instruments used by the MIF are technical assistance, loans and equity investments, as well as the combination of these tools to structure mechanisms for risk sharing and institutional capacity building. The MIF is the largest international provider of technical assistance in Latin America and the Caribbean, and always works with local partners (companies, industry associations, foundations, universities and financial institutions), mostly from the private sector, to execute its projects.

4. **Basic services:** access to services adapted to local needs; access to new socially and culturally compatible technologies
5. **Environment:** climate change mitigation or adaptation; payments for environmental services; leveraging natural capital.

In 2010, the MIF implemented a new strategic framework called the **Access Framework**, aimed at strengthening the institution's focus on those areas with the greatest potential to achieve maximum results, with a strong emphasis on impact evaluation and strategic knowledge capture and communication.

As part of the Access Framework, the MIF has reorganized its areas of intervention around a series of systemic impact objectives. These areas of intervention are called "**Agendas**", and in order to achieve the greatest possible impact beyond the direct results of individual projects, each of them includes a "Knowledge and Communication Strategy". In turn, these agendas are organized under one of three "**Access Areas**": 1) Access to Basic Services, 2) Access to Markets and Capacities, and 3) Access to Finance. And in all of its areas of work the MIF focuses on gender, youth and traditionally excluded populations.

In this new strategic framework, indigenous peoples play a central role as groups that are in a situation of special vulnerability and, as all statistics show, have higher levels of human poverty, fewer opportunities, less economic development and fewer initiatives of entrepreneurship or entrepreneurship of their own if we compare them with other social groups with which they coexist².

The MIF recently conducted a study on its work with indigenous peoples over the last ten years, which showed a large and significant presence of MIF projects aimed at this population group, with close to 100 projects carried out and a growing demand for projects involving indigenous peoples. As a laboratory of innovation for development, the MIF is aware that it has within its reach a valuable opportunity to make important contributions to the economic empowerment and development with identity of indigenous peoples.

² The 2015 Report of the World Bank, called "Indigenous Latin America in the 21st Century", presents statistical data from the Latin American region that show that, despite the great progress that has been made in this region in the first decade of the 20th century at the global level, there are still great inequalities between people belonging to indigenous peoples and the non-indigenous population. Likewise, these inequalities deepen when analyzing between rural and urban areas, all of which together represent a greater probability of the indigenous population to live in conditions of extreme poverty, estimated at around 2.7 times more than the non-indigenous population, which represents 24% of the total number of indigenous households.

In this context, the MIF identified the challenge of economic development with identity in Latin America as a specific field of action in which to deepen its work and interventions with indigenous peoples. In this regard, there is a significant contradiction between the progress achieved in the recognition of collective rights and the empowerment of indigenous peoples' organizations, and the lack of improvement in the economy of these peoples in the region, despite the initiatives promoted by international cooperation or arising from within the indigenous peoples themselves.

In order to carry out this task adequately, the MIF considers that it must base its future actions in relation to indigenous peoples on a strategic vision that allows it to adapt its work models and align the generation of knowledge to the central challenges of development with identity or economic empowerment of indigenous peoples. However, there are no sources of information adequate to the needs required to obtain comprehensive knowledge.

Recognizing the lack of systematic, analytical and empirical knowledge, and convinced that it is necessary to generate more information, visibility and strategic action on this issue, the MIF wanted to contribute strategically to reduce the knowledge gap about the economic development of indigenous peoples and indigenous economic governance. For this reason, it commissioned the **"Latin American Regional Study: Challenges and Proposals for the Economic Development -and with Identity- of Indigenous Peoples"**, to the Institute of International and European Studies "Francisco de Vitoria" of the Carlos III University of Madrid³.

The aforementioned academic institution has more than 25 years of experience in the field of teaching and applied research in all matters related to the indigenous peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, and the global indigenous movement. Among its lines of teaching and research, the topics related to the development with identity of indigenous peoples stand out, an issue on which different scientific publications, seminars, congresses, meetings of researchers and postgraduate courses have been promoted. Specifically among the postgraduate courses

³ Throughout this time, the Francisco de Vitoria Institute team has accumulated extensive experience in the elaboration of studies: for multilateral agencies, governments, private companies, NGOs, foundations, etc., on all types of issues related to indigenous peoples. In addition, several of its principal investigators have assumed senior management positions in international institutions working in the field of economic development of indigenous peoples in Latin America (development with identity, indigenous economic governance, indigenous entrepreneurship, etc.). The Institute's group of researchers has generated different studies, documentation and systematization of information related to the development of indigenous peoples. In turn, the Institute has networks, links and presence throughout Latin America, which has allowed it to mobilize local actors (country by country) in support of the study. Its professors and researchers have extensive experience working with a wide range of actors: indigenous peoples, public sector, private sector, development and research entities; and have a curriculum of the highest level, as well as academic doctoral degrees.

The Expert Degree in Indigenous Peoples, Human Rights and International Cooperation (ten editions held up to 2016), which dedicates one of its training modules to development with identity and the economic needs of indigenous peoples, is noteworthy for its degree of specialization.

Actions such as this study are intended to contribute to the positioning and strategic vision of the MIF and, based on its mission, competencies and areas of work, to make the organization more effective, relevant and strategic in promoting development with identity, thus strengthening the livelihoods and economic empowerment of indigenous peoples in the region.

This study, based on the collection of information and empirical and interpretative work, has sought, among other things, to highlight the critical points in the economic development of indigenous peoples and, based on the areas of interest of the MIF⁴, to guide the organization of its plan of action in relation to indigenous peoples, specifically in the following areas:

- a) Selection from projects that generate greater economic impact whose theme/issue is relevant to Latin American indigenous peoples.
- b) Identification of strategic partners at the national and regional levels.
- c) Production, systematization and dissemination of knowledge.
- d) Operational strengthening.

However, the study is not only intended to provide guidance to the MIF, but also has the potential to be an excellent source of information for many other actors interested in advancing in the development of strategies and actions aimed at generating economic development, promoting entrepreneurship, fostering financial inclusion or shaping new value chains and market access for indigenous producers. This was the intention of the team that conducted the study.

⁴ The MIF's areas of interest are: environment and climate change; basic services; agricultural value chains and territorial economic development; and financial inclusion.

1. PURPOSE AND GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Research objectives and focus countries

The Latin American Regional Study: Challenges and Proposals for the Economic Development of Indigenous Peoples has focused in general on examining the critical points of the economic development of indigenous peoples, seeking to deepen, based on the analysis of practical cases, the relevance of the development model with identity and economic empowerment specific to these peoples. A model that a priori has indisputable particularities and patterns that can be extrapolated beyond the countries or regions in which the initiatives and promotion of indigenous peoples' development take place.

To this end, the study has focused on the challenges, limitations, best practices, and contributions of these models, and, as mentioned above, on the identification of good and effective strategic partners. All this with the general objective of having relevant and empirically contrasted information that can be useful for the MIF, so that the organization has at its disposal models and reference partners that work within the logic of development with identity (governments, other multilateral organizations, development agencies, private investors, foundations, indigenous organizations and companies, academic centers interested in the issue).

Likewise, the aim has been to gather relevant information so that the MIF can, through its actions, provide inputs for the strengthening of these particular development models of indigenous peoples. All of this is based on the guiding principle of reciprocity, because at the same time that the MIF is strengthened, seeing how its action strategies with indigenous peoples improve, the indigenous economic development models are also complemented and strengthened, thanks precisely to the MIF's better channeled action.

The study was planned jointly by the MIF teams and the "Francisco de Vitoria" Institute of the Carlos III University of Madrid, based on the identification of a series of objectives inspired by operational and practical organizational principles. On this basis, it was intended to be more specific:

a) Identify, **characterize** and analyze the main issues that impact on the **linking/articulating** indigenous enterprises to the **market**;

b) **To know** the main **actors** or the most **innovative** actors working with indigenous peoples in **economic development** activities in the region;

c) To highlight the **barriers and problems** faced by actors trying to promote the economic development of indigenous peoples;

d) **Identify** the economic development models that **are prevalent, effective and most innovative** in Latin American indigenous peoples and that constitute replicable good practices; and finally

e) Identify the MIF's **activities** and **strategic areas related** to indigenous peoples and their economic development.

The study, based on the conclusions and the knowledge gained, is intended to be followed by the preparation of recommendations for more operational and effective action by the MIF/IDB in managing the economic-productive development of the indigenous peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. It may also serve as a guide for other public institutions or private entities, including indigenous organizations and companies.

The regions and countries on which research has focused in greater depth have been:

-Mesoamerica: Mexico and Nicaragua

-Andean-Amazonian Region: Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador

-Southern Cone: Chile

1.2 The relevance of the study

As noted above, not much is known about the economic development of indigenous peoples, their particular approaches, initiatives or strategies. Nor has there been any systematic study of the main actors involved in this field trying to promote the economic development of indigenous peoples, or of the barriers, problems and challenges facing the economic development of these indigenous and differentiated communities. There is little bibliography on opportunities for indigenous business and entrepreneurship, as well as on good practices or successful case studies that could be replicable.

In general, great disparities and challenges persist in relation to indigenous economic development. Relatively little is studied and evaluated on the particularities and plurality intrinsic to this field: their diverse articulations to the market, modes of production, adaptations, challenges they face today, effective models to face such challenges, etc. Similarly, there is a general invisibility that degrades and even disqualifies the paradigm known in Latin America as development with identity towards the different models of Good Living⁵ of the peoples.

This certainly contrasts with other realities and other fields of study or research related to indigenous peoples. As is well known, indigenous peoples throughout Latin America have assumed an indisputable political and social protagonism. They have obtained key recognitions regarding their differentiated rights, as indigenous peoples with distinctive cultures, both at the national level (constitutional reforms and derived or secondary legislation), and at the international and regional levels (ILO Convention 169, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, recently the American Declaration, Jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, among other advances). In addition, indigenous peoples are beginning to occupy an important space in decision-making forums and spheres. As is generally known, they are even assuming government responsibilities in some countries, after centuries of discrimination by the colonial and republican powers.

This has led to many studies on their demands and claims, their social and political organization, the alliances they have forged with other collectives or indigenous peoples in their countries, the region or other parts of the world, on the new indigenous diplomacy, on their political emergence or on their government structures. Much work has also been done on the relationship between their already recognized collective rights and individual human rights, or the cooperation instruments and strategies that seek to benefit them, as well as on the link between environmental protection and indigenous worldviews, to give just a few examples of specific fields of research on these ethnoculturally differentiated peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean.

⁵ CUNNINGHAM, Mirna (2010). *On the vision of "good living" of indigenous peoples in Latin America*, Indigenous Affairs, 1-2/10, IWGIA: Copenhagen, Denmark, pp. 52 - 59. In this article, Mirna Cunningham indicates that development defined on the basis of increased productivity, modernization, technology and the accumulation of wealth is a concept exogenous to indigenous peoples, who encompass in Good Living the different notions of self-development. It also points out that Good Living is based on the intrinsic relationship of indigenous peoples with nature, the right to self-determination, the economy based on their own systems and institutions, indigenous forms of social organization that support the relationship with external actors, as well as the centrality of the collective as an economic subject, among other principles that are largely recognized in the international legal framework regarding the specific rights of indigenous peoples.

However, the issue of economic development - beyond research restricted to development with identity, generally poorly based on a market and productive vision - has hardly been the object of study or attention. On the other hand, it is striking how, in the agenda of the international and Latin American indigenous movement, in its pronouncements, demands and political positions for negotiation, everything related to territoriality, autonomy and indigenous self-governments, the preservation of their differentiated cultural identities, as well as the demand for bilingual and intercultural education systems, occupies an important place.

Similarly, we also find proposals regarding the defense of their justice systems and their own laws, and above all, those related to consultation and free, prior and informed consent⁶, especially in relation to their relationship with extractive or other types of companies. Without leaving aside, of course, claims and concerns about the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of indigenous peoples, their intellectual property rights or the positive review of their history as differentiated ethno-cultural groups and the revaluation of their particular worldviews. We can also find elements and proposals linked to the protection of their traditional health systems, their ancestral knowledge, food security, the role and situation of indigenous women, indigenous alternative media, as well as the philosophy of Good Living or the denunciation of ethnocide or cultural genocide.

However, the issue of economic development, let alone indigenous entrepreneurship from a productive and market approach, has hardly any place in the strategies, pronouncements, demands, political positions or concrete practices of the indigenous movement. This absence may certainly be due to cultural prejudices, bad historical and contemporary experiences that underlie and justify these reticences and perhaps excessively ideologized visions, among other factors that this study highlights. All of this leads the indigenous movement to identify the discourse and practice related to economic development and the

⁶ While consultation is a right widely recognized in Convention 169, the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples of 1989, and is therefore considered the cornerstone of this international treaty, it does not expressly include the right to consent, which is subsequently included in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, approved in 2007 by the General Assembly. The latter, despite not being a right in itself due to the non-binding nature of the Declaration (except for its obligatory nature in the cases established in Art. 16.2 of Convention 169, and Arts. 10 and 29 of the Declaration), does not expressly include the right to consent. 10 and 29 of the Declaration), it is a principle that guides jurisprudential developments in matters of consultation, adding three fundamental principles, which are the prior, free and informed nature, all of which must be directed towards obtaining the consent of the indigenous communities, as established in Article 6 of Convention 169. GALVIS PATIÑO, María Clara and RAMÍREZ RINCÓN, Ángela María (2013). *Digest of Latin American jurisprudence on the rights of indigenous peoples to participation, prior consultation and community property*. Due Process Foundation: Washington D.C.

entrepreneurship or entrepreneurship with part of the foundations of a globalizing and hegemonic economic model that they consider invasive, and that undermines a large part of their cultural foundations. For this reason, these issues do not figure prominently in their demands or community roadmaps.

These absences identified, both in the literature and research, as well as in the discourse and practice of the indigenous movement, have had a projection in the public policies of governments and strategies of cooperation agencies aimed at indigenous peoples. As a result, these policies - with some exceptions - have not taken into account the needs of indigenous peoples in the field of entrepreneurship, business, access to markets for producers and, in general, the economic and productive development of indigenous peoples. The projects implemented by the MIF are a small exception to this generalized lack or absence.

All of this makes this study particularly relevant, as it aims to fill an important research gap and at the same time offer ways of understanding and updated information on problems, challenges and opportunities for the economic development of indigenous peoples. The aim is to provide MIF with well-founded clues to better orient its activities in favor of indigenous peoples, but also with the clear intention, expressed here, to initiate a line of research that can be consolidated over time and offer keys to action for many other actors involved in this field.

A new line that can also benefit indigenous peoples and serve as a basis for the positive reorientation of governments' public policies and cooperation strategies. Always aimed at generating frameworks for meeting, debate, dialogue and understanding in which indigenous peoples, with their experiences, demands, reticence and fears, must play a central role, as they have certainly done in the process of carrying out this study.

1.3 The practical approach

This study is based on an initial theoretical conceptualization, a bibliographical compilation and a previous analysis of the issue in question. The theoretical starting point is focused on the study and knowledge of the necessary legal, historical, institutional and socio-political framework within which actions aimed at promoting the economic development of indigenous peoples in Latin America and the Caribbean are projected, as well as on the conceptual evolution (ethno-development, development with identity, self-development, Good Governance, etc.) of the economic development of indigenous peoples in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Living) that has taken place over the last few decades and that has undoubtedly had a concrete impact on the economic undertakings of indigenous peoples.

It has also been necessary to address the study of the functioning of the mechanisms of economic development of indigenous peoples, the peculiarities of their economic initiatives and the responses given to real situations, including the identification of problems, and the design, formulation and evaluation of policies, projects and programs of private institutions.

Thus, the work presented here has an eminently practical focus. In other words, the aim has not been to work on the issue of the economic development of indigenous peoples from a general or abstract perspective, but rather to contribute to reflection and dialogue among the different actors involved in this field of action. This was made clear from the outset in the first working meetings between the MIF and the "Francisco de Vitoria" Institute of the Carlos III University, based on an approach that, without renouncing the necessary theoretical foundations and the essential conceptual approach -which we consider essential and clarifying- has given priority to operational and practical aspects.

Therefore, both in the identification of the problems, the general planning, the assumed methodology and the execution of the research, the technical and practical orientation has been necessarily taken into account. In this way, the study is a precursor in its integrating perspective of the economic development of indigenous peoples, as well as from the applied research that is transversally projected in all the work contributed, with the mission of contributing important considerations, strengthened in the empirical activity, on the barriers, challenges, problems and opportunities faced by all those actors working in this field.

The combined efforts and resources of the MIF and the Carlos III University of Madrid, which has an important network of indigenous professors and researchers who have graduated from its specialized postgraduate programs - several of whom have taken on the role of consultants - have facilitated this practical and oriented approach, in order to obtain keys for the design and implementation of public or private actions by different actors in favor of effective and well-targeted economic development for indigenous peoples, based on their particular needs and worldviews.

2. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

2.1 Premises and initial findings. Hypotheses and guiding questions

The research has been based on some premises, findings, initial hypotheses and guiding questions that should be highlighted.

2.1.1 Premises and findings

a) The indigenous peoples of Latin America comprise more than 45 million people divided into approximately 800 distinct cultural groups⁷ and are present in the vast majority of countries in the region. They are to a large extent the depositaries of the cultural diversity of Latin America, and in this diversity that characterizes them we find very different peoples, with differentiated social and kinship structures, also focused on different economic activities and with more or less open identities depending on their geographical location, their relationship with other cultural groups and their demographic weight in the region or even the country they inhabit. Each people has its own tradition, worldview and particular history, which is also reflected in the specific way they approach their economic development, their relationship with other economic actors, and their willingness or tendency to participate in national trade circuits or global markets.

b) Indigenous peoples have particular needs in the field of economic and productive development. Any governmental or non-governmental, national or international actor that intends to intervene in this field through public policies, international cooperation programs or private initiatives must take into consideration the specific characteristics of indigenous peoples.

c) Indigenous peoples show significant shortcomings in the areas of entrepreneurship, the generation of sustainable productive activities, access to markets and availability of financing.

⁷ ECLAC (2014). *Los pueblos indígenas en América Latina Avances en el último decenio y retos pendientes para la garantía de sus derechos*. Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE)-Population Division of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC): Santiago, Chile.

d) Based on the review of well-known experiences, policies and economic development programs of indigenous peoples, it is possible to identify, characterize and analyze the main issues that impact the linkage/articulation of development initiatives with market identity (among others: regulatory challenges, public policies, productive, cultural, associative, commercial, financial, logistical, human resources, credit, technology, advertising or marketing, indigenous economic governance, etc.).

e) Lessons learned cannot be extrapolated to the entire region. An effort must be made to approach the analysis by considering geographical differences (urban vs. rural; Andean, Amazonian, Mesoamerican, Central American, etc.) as well as gender or generation when relevant.

f) When the recent history of indigenous peoples in the region is evaluated, there is a contradiction between the progress made in terms of recognition of collective rights and empowerment of indigenous peoples' organizations, and the lack of improvement in economic empowerment.

g) The economic development of indigenous peoples has not been sufficiently valued as a priority within the indigenous movement. Instead, the issue has been approached from the perspective of development with identity, autonomous development or, more recently, the models of Good Living. Although these approaches have been very important, as they emphasize the specificities of these peoples in the field of their own development models, they have not always been supported by timely technical diagnoses capable of guiding efficient interventions in relation to such relevant issues as productivity improvement, access to financing or integration into markets and trade circuits.

h) Although indigenous peoples participate in economic activities throughout the region, there are few successful experiences, and in general, there are still great disparities and challenges to indigenous economic development. First, there is relatively little study and evaluation of the particularities and diversity of indigenous economies in the region, their diverse articulations to the market, modes of production, adaptations, the challenges they face today, effective models to address these challenges, etc. The consequences of the general invisibility of the economic empowerment of indigenous peoples result in poorly developed models, poorly invested resources, and above all, the fundamental pillar of development with indigenous peoples' identity clearly weakened.

i) Therefore, there is not an abundance of specialized literature that, on the basis of empirical work and applied research, offers well-systematized conclusions on the problems, shortcomings, deficiencies, barriers, opportunities, good practices and challenges for the economic development of indigenous peoples. Even less from a regional analysis perspective that encompasses the complexity of the issue in Latin America and the Caribbean as a whole, and that pursues fundamentally practical objectives.

j) Largely because of the above, the different actors working or interested in this field and area of intervention (indigenous organizations, indigenous companies, public programs, economists, anthropologists and other academics, non-governmental organizations, public development cooperation agencies or international organizations) do not have well-systematized studies, oriented to practice and operational aspects, that can serve as a reference.

k) It is true that there have been interesting initiatives to promote the productive development of indigenous peoples, both internal and external. Some have been successful, others, however, must be considered failed models. Neither of them have been adequately studied.

l) All of the above justifies a study such as the present one, with an analytical and comparative approach, as well as an eminently practical objective.

2.1.2 Hypotheses and guiding questions

a) In general terms, the development of indigenous peoples (from a regional perspective) contains a set of specificities that any intervention must take into account. These are related to the autochthonous character of these peoples, with their historical origin and identity particularities that have been recognized in different regional and international legal instruments that have configured a particular status of protection for indigenous peoples, entrenched in the discourse and practice of collective rights, including their own right to development. A right that integrates different dimensions, including an economic and productive component.

Any intervention in the field of indigenous peoples' economic development cannot ignore the general context in which it is inserted and the necessary focus on human rights.

The initial guiding question is related precisely to this first hypothesis: do the actors working with indigenous peoples in promoting their economic development take into account this differential element and incorporate the focus on the rights of indigenous peoples?

b) Beyond the particular situations faced by the indigenous peoples of Latin America in relation to their national contexts of intervention, problems, challenges and complexities could be identified in terms of economic development, productive initiatives and entrepreneurship that have a cross-cutting nature and therefore affect all the indigenous peoples of the region. These problems and difficulties could be grouped into the following categories: i) lack of education and training; ii) problems of access to sources of financing; iii) inadequacy of public policies related to national productive development, which do not take into account the special needs of local indigenous peoples; iv) lack of programs of cooperation agencies and specialized international organizations that are well oriented to the economic development of indigenous peoples; v) serious problems of access to national commercial circuits; vi) impossibility of reaching regional or international markets in general - with some exceptions - and vii) lack of access to the national market, with the exception of those that do not take into account the special needs of indigenous peoples; viii) lack of access to the national market, with the exception of those that do not.

vii) distrust and reticence within the indigenous movement towards the market economy and the concept and practice of entrepreneurship or entrepreneurship.

Based on this hypothesis, we ask ourselves as a guideline: Are these challenges and complexities really the ones that affect the indigenous peoples of Latin America as a whole in terms of their economic development?

Can they be confirmed in the investigation process, and are there any other additions?

c) Despite the difficulties, public and private initiatives can be identified that have overcome the barriers and difficulties traditionally faced by the development of indigenous peoples and have obtained successful results. There are therefore good practices that are worth identifying, studying and systematizing.

The question associated with this hypothesis is the following: Can these good practices constitute reference models to be replicated in other contexts, and to be taken into account by governments, cooperation agencies, specialized international organizations, private initiative or the actions of indigenous organizations or companies that focus on economic and productive development?

2.2 The methodology used

The study was based on a systemic, comprehensive, participatory and interdisciplinary methodology.

2.2.1 The systemic approach

Undoubtedly, research on the critical points of economic development with identity of indigenous peoples in areas such as: 1) Environment (climate change; leveraging natural resources); 2) Basic services (access to intercultural health services, electricity, etc.); 3) Agricultural value chains and territorial economic development (agricultural cooperatives, cocoa, coffee, bananas, etc.); and 4) Financial inclusion (microfinance, microinsurance, financial products with cultural relevance, etc.); which are some of the key areas of study, without taking into account the necessary comprehensive perspective that this type of approach requires.

Indigenous cultures form an integrated whole, which takes shape in concrete social achievements historically mediated and conditioned by the contexts of intervention. This holistic worldview that characterizes the cultural evolution of indigenous peoples, beyond their particularities and specificities as distinctive ethnocultural communities, requires an integrated research work that is capable of incorporating the different dimensions that intertwine in a complementary manner.

Thus, it is not possible to identify, characterize and analyze the issues that have an impact on the articulation of enterprises, the elements that prevent indigenous peoples from accessing the market; to analyze the main actors working in this field with a differential approach or to know which are the most prevalent, successful, effective and innovative economic development models among indigenous peoples, if this comprehensive research perspective is not taken into account.

Working on the economic development of indigenous peoples requires taking into account the link with territoriality, taking into consideration the social structures and kinship patterns that are intertwined and that condition this type of undertaking, starting from an integral vision that associates these practices with the elements of spirituality that are always present in any cultural realization of indigenous peoples.

For this reason, the integrative, systemic and holistic research methodology has been present throughout the research, and has been taken into account in the guidelines given to the consultants involved, as well as in the preparation of the forms, surveys and study tools. In short, this study has taken a systemic approach, considering the set of elements that make it up as an integrated and interrelated body.

Starting from this holistic perspective implies, as has been done in this study, assuming that any transformation within indigenous peoples (for example, the generation of productive economic development initiatives or undertakings) induced by them through their own organizations or particular undertakings, or by external actors (governments, NGOs, international cooperation agencies or specialized international organizations), will necessarily, given the integrality of their cultures and ways of life, affect other dimensions of their collective existence.

2.2.2 A participatory work proposal

It is not possible to efficiently address the work on issues affecting indigenous peoples, and in this sense everything related to their economic development, without their active participation in the identification of the basic terms of reference and the formulation of the proposal for the development of the work, defined according to the particular needs of these peoples.

Nor is it possible to carry out research of these characteristics without the participation of indigenous peoples, thus identifying certain input elements, defined in terms of economic development with identity in its different processes, and the empowerment of indigenous peoples. All this in order to coordinate their requirements and technical and financial proposals with governments, multilateral institutional actors, development agencies, private investors, foundations and others. In addition to this, there is the establishment of output products oriented by the development objectives of indigenous peoples.

It is true that articulating a participatory and consultative process to ensure the involvement of indigenous peoples in the process of identification and execution of a regional study of these characteristics is no easy task. Fundamentally, because of the geographical scope of the intervention and study (which includes several countries), and because of the diversity of the protagonists, indigenous peoples organized in different participation platforms (of ethnic, political, regional or local components) in their territories of residence.

Nevertheless, the management and coordination team of the study⁸ took the necessary measures to ensure that the criteria and opinion of the indigenous peoples, through the concrete participation of representatives with experience within the indigenous movement, was present in all phases of the study.

Both MIF and the "Francisco de Vitoria" Institute of the Carlos III University of Madrid used their network of contacts within the indigenous movement to identify the most relevant aspects to be taken into account in the planning and formulation of the study.

In the case of the MIF, mainly by turning to the indigenous organizations that have benefited from the projects and initiatives previously carried out at the local development level in different Latin American countries, which has ensured the availability of well-founded opinions of indigenous professionals or leaders who have been protagonists in processes of support for entrepreneurship, market expansion or microfinance inclusion.

The "Francisco de Vitoria" Institute, for its part, consulted its network of professors and graduates of the postgraduate course in Indigenous Peoples, Human Rights and International Cooperation, which brings together more than 120 indigenous leaders and professionals who have been trained in recent years at the Carlos III University of Madrid. Many of them currently hold positions of maximum responsibility in the indigenous movement, Latin American governments or international organizations, some of whom have a professional profile oriented to the economic sphere and are involved in the design of public policies, programs or projects for the promotion of the economic development of indigenous peoples.

⁸ The study has a steering committee composed of Professor Dr. J. Daniel Oliva Martínez (Universidad Carlos III) and a pair of coordinators, Mateo Martínez (former Technical Secretary General of the Indigenous Fund) and Adriana Sánchez (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid). Ana Grigera of the MIF's Development Effectiveness Unit (MIF/DEU-Ana Grigera) provided guidance.

The execution of the study has also been structured fundamentally on the basis of interviews, focus groups, working meetings and case studies, a research process that has ensured the participation of indigenous people, either as interviewees or because their specific initiatives have been the subject of case studies in several countries.

Certainly, participation is not limited to indigenous leaders, professionals, organizations or companies; consultations and interviews have also been conducted with a whole range of relevant actors (public policy makers, international organizations, NGOs, cooperation agencies or academic institutions), which together with those carried out with the former have formed the basis for the collection of information.

On the other hand, during the entire research process, throughout the different phases of the study and on a regular and periodic basis, different types of work meetings and meetings (in collective and individualized formats) have been held between the management team⁹ and the consultants. Always with the objective of socializing the planning, sharing preliminary results and setting up permanent information exchange dynamics. This has ensured the participation of the consultants involved (most of them indigenous, as will be explained below) in all phases of the study.

The study's organizing committee encouraged the researchers/consultants to share with our team if they identified areas or fields of study in which they had less knowledge during the research process, so that we could offer them our advice, support and guidance. To resolve doubts and generate frameworks for information exchange, collective work meetings were held every week to reinforce the guidelines, a continuous and shared evaluation of the progress of the research, as well as a prudent and reasoned follow-up of the research activities in order to reorient some of the recommendations, if necessary.

In addition, as a complement to the modalities and organization of the work, bilateral meetings were made available to the researchers/consultants in which the members of the coordination committee offered personalized advice on possible doubts or questions that arose during the research process.

⁹ Those responsible for the study on behalf of the "Francisco de Vitoria" Institute of the Carlos III University of Madrid have been in constant contact with the IDB/MIF project team regarding their efforts and progress. Specifically with the Development Effectiveness Unit (MIF/DEU).

It should also be noted that the team has obtained the permanent advice and support of those responsible for the Fund for the Development of Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, with whom working meetings have been held, as well as that of several persons responsible or formerly responsible for the Inter-American Development Bank, who have also participated in several of the collective meetings of the working team, providing relevant advice and sharing their experience, thus participating in the research process.

2.2.3 A research of an economic nature and a disciplinary complement.

A research with the characteristics of those presented here, which has necessarily sought to address the issue of the economic development of indigenous peoples in all its complexity, from the integral and holistic study approach mentioned above, had to access the sources of information from the complement offered by different perspectives of analysis.

The study has an objective essentially linked to an economicist, market and productive vision, so that the researchers and experts, beyond their multidisciplinary training, focused on the economic-productive aspects when gathering information on the development of indigenous peoples. Therefore, they were not interested in a generalist approach based on Development with Identity, but above all and fundamentally in a grounded approach focused on economic development and the basically productive and market dimensions in itself. This economicist approach has prevailed in everything related to the analysis of barriers to access to financing, the incorporation of indigenous producers into markets or agricultural value chains. In this sense, the consultants received clear guidelines, while the research materials and instruments included elements of analysis and specific guidelines linked to economic analysis.

However, from the outset, we were also committed to a research proposal that could be supported by other disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, development studies or political science applied to the study of the indigenous movement within countries, its economic proposals and its relationship with other governmental or private actors. It was also important to know the national, regional and international legal framework that serves as a reference for indigenous peoples' economic development initiatives. Thus, the economic analysis has necessarily had to be complemented by contributions from other disciplines that have served as support, applying in research practice a combined method consistent with the aspiration of integrality and holism that has inspired all the research work.

The very profile of the researchers and consultants responded to these requirements that were identified from the outset¹⁰. All of them, as will be discussed below, have knowledge of the problems and barriers that prevent or hinder economic development, increased productivity and access to markets for indigenous peoples, the shortcomings in terms of their financing possibilities, and the worldview or practical difficulties they have in launching successful ventures.

At the same time, they are aware of positive experiences within the countries under study that can be replicated and serve as reference examples, in addition to knowing different actors that promote the economic development of indigenous peoples.

At the same time, due to their previous experience and trajectory, they are knowledgeable of the identity foundations on the on which are are based and their economic proposals or the historical and cosmovision bases, from which their productive models emerge, many of them even of pre-Hispanic origin. They have a perfect knowledge of the socio-political evolution of indigenous peoples within their countries of reference, and of the legal norms related to the right to economic development of these peoples.

In addition to the above, all but one of them are indigenous, so they have inside knowledge of the indigenous movement and the evolution of proposals and concepts such as ethno-development, development with identity, development with a differential approach, self-development or autonomous development or, more recently, Good Living. In short, they have the key anthropological, socio-political and legal knowledge (in addition to economic) to complete this multidisciplinary proposal that was proposed to them from the beginning of the research.

¹⁰ The team of researchers/consultants has a multidisciplinary composition and is made up of international experts, all of whom have in-depth knowledge of the situation of the region's indigenous peoples: Myrna Cunningham, Luis Maldonado, Andrés Marroquín, Andrés Matta and Juan Collque. In addition, the Carlos III University of Madrid has an institutional liaison who is the director of the Francisco de Vitoria Institute, Professor Carlos Fernández Liesa. All the researchers/consultants were selected for their experience and knowledge of the indigenous peoples of their country of reference, have significant prior knowledge of the issues to be addressed and are part of reference networks in the field of indigenous development, in addition to having first level connections that they share with other experts or strategic organizations.

2.3 Structure and logic of the study

The work has been structured in four main work phases, each of which has had a particular internal logic, while during its development they have been linked to each other from a common thread, giving meaning to the study as a whole.

In the first phase, the objective was to carry out general planning and a well-founded conceptualization of the economic development of indigenous peoples. The second research phase of the study focused on a map of relevant actors (by country under investigation) that directly or indirectly promote economic and productive development, as well as investment and entrepreneurship among indigenous peoples. In the third phase, we have worked in depth with some of the actors considered most relevant, identifying the obstacles faced by the economic development of indigenous peoples (second phase) and also identifying some of the most successful experiences that could be replicated through the case studies. The fourth phase consisted of the final systematization of the information and the preparation of conclusions.

With this structuring, we have sought to provide the study with a relevant internal logic to achieve a systematization and analysis of the main challenges, the factors that positively or negatively affect the market articulation of indigenous peoples' enterprises, and the most prevalent, effective and/or innovative development models.

2.3.1 Initial planning and conceptualization.

Initially, planning work was shared between the institutions coordinating the study, MIF and Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, in which the basis for the work, the conceptualization, the objectives to be achieved and the methodology to be followed were established. The consultants were selected on the basis of their profiles and previous experience. Specifically, it is worth mentioning that a significant amount of information was gathered on the basis of a conceptualization of the study and on the real model of economic development with identity in Latin America. For this purpose, institutional documentary information, project documents, documents resulting from the management of

knowledge¹¹ (project experiences systematized in publications, videos, etc.), web pages, and other secondary sources¹² .

Other available documentation was also analyzed (donor memorandum, mid-term and final evaluation reports; knowledge products generated in the context of executed projects). And different initial consultations or interviews were carried out with reference personalities in the field to ensure an analytical, relevant, applicable and inclusive study. Of course, academic research works (postgraduate theses) carried out in recent years in Latin America and Spain, directly or indirectly related to the topic under investigation, were consulted.

This was made possible with the invaluable assistance of the Fund for the Development of Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. Thanks to this work, more than 400 bibliographic sources were compiled, which have served as a reference and may do so in the future for future complementary research that may eventually be carried out on the issue of indigenous peoples' economic development.

This has led to a conceptual characterization of indigenous economic development with identity, the definition of its limits and the elements that interrelate within it, and the functional attributes of these elements have been determined.

2.3.2 Elaboration of a map of relevant actors for the economic development of indigenous peoples in Latin America.

The second phase of the study, in which the initially selected consultants were included, consisted in the elaboration of a mapping and database of the most prominent and important actors working with indigenous peoples in the field of economic development in the region, through the identification by country of the leading institutions¹³ . The work in this first phase consisted therefore in identifying in each of the countries of reference of the researchers/consultants the main organizations -differentiating them by categories- that may have an impact and/or work for the benefit of the economic and productive development of indigenous peoples, and which, if applicable, favor their entrepreneurship.

¹¹ Experiences of the projects systematized in publications, videos.

¹² Available documentation: Donor Memorandum, mid-term and final evaluations, and knowledge products generated in the context of the projects.

¹³ Indigenous and non-indigenous leading institutions, networks, federations, NGOs, public, private, business, bilateral and multilateral institutions were considered.

Secondary and primary sources, both existing and available, were used and collected by the researchers. In all of this, prospecting, identification and classification through the internet, web pages and other electronic sources, as well as field visits when necessary, played a very relevant role.

All of this was done on the basis of guiding criteria for the construction of a database and characterization of institutions that were determined jointly by the MIF and the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, typologies were established, and analyses of the activities and approaches of the organizations in the region were carried out.

Relevant / pertinent stakeholders were understood as those institutions / organizations / standards / foundations / professors / academics / research centers / companies, etc. that have a direct or at least indirect impact on the promotion of the economic and productive development of indigenous peoples, as well as on their entrepreneurship in the region, whether or not they have real links with these peoples, and whether or not they have specific policies or programs with a differential approach.

The mapping of actors was based on a holistic and comprehensive approach, consistent with the chosen methodology and the epistemological foundations of the research. This has made it possible to cover a wide range of actors and strategic partners at the national level in the region that influence or influence the market, and that can provide relevant information on the economic impact in favor of indigenous peoples.

The coordinating committee identified different categories that integrate the main actors to be selected as relevant actors to be included in the study: 1. Public sector; 2. Organizations, public funds and international financiers; 3. Each of these sectors was further subdivided into other sub-sectors or sub-categories.

Based on the instructions received, the consultants compiled information on more than 100 institutions in each of the countries. As a result of this work, excellent information was obtained on:

- a. Contact data: telephone number, address and name and/or email of a responsible person who could be interviewed in depth at a later stage.
- b. Date of establishment: date on which the organization was created.

- c. Institutional mission and activities: mission, vision, objectives of the organization and tools to achieve them.
- d. Work with indigenous peoples: what type of work does the institution carry out with indigenous peoples, topics and activities, since when have they been working with these peoples and what is the importance of this type of work for the organization.
- e. Consideration of identity: in this section it is important to identify whether the organization has a specific policy for working with indigenous peoples and, if so, include a brief description of this policy.
- f. Size of the organization: how many people the organization employs in the country of study.
- g. Justification of importance: in this case it is a matter of reflecting what elements of analysis and judgment have led the researcher/consultant to select this organization and why he/she considers it important to include it in the final map.¹⁴

As a result of this mapping exercise, an important input was obtained for conducting a regional survey on indigenous entrepreneurship, and strategic networks of potential partners and dissemination of knowledge and best practices were identified. In short, it has been an important contribution to the further consolidation and mobilization of a sector aimed at the economic development of indigenous peoples.

The leading institutions (local, national or international, indigenous, non-indigenous, networks, federations, NGOs, public, private, business, bilateral and multilateral) with an important role in the above-mentioned issues have been identified and we now know which are the most notorious/outstanding institutions in each country in terms of innovation, presence, legacy, mobilization capacity, etc. This has also made it possible to develop a typology and analysis of the activities and approaches of organizations throughout the region.

¹⁴ It should be noted that not all stakeholder categories could be mechanically and automatically linked to the types of information required. Thus, for example, within the public sector, information was required on "normativity" (international instruments, domestic legislation, jurisprudence) focused on promoting the economic and productive development of indigenous peoples. In this case, it did not make sense to seek information on "institutional activity" or the number of people working in the organization. Something similar occurred with regard to the actor "experts" incorporated in the category of actors linked to "Research". In this sense, the researchers/consultants were encouraged to use a flexible and contextual criterion when identifying the actors and relating them to the information -in principle- required. On the other hand, it should also be mentioned that not all the information requested required the same amount of information. Categories c (institutional mission and activities) and d (work with indigenous peoples) were the ones that finally included the greatest volume of data.

2.3.3 In-depth interviews and case studies

The third phase of the study was aimed at identifying particularly relevant actors working with a differential approach to promote the economic development of indigenous peoples, the main barriers/problems to the economic development (with identity) of indigenous peoples, and the analysis of the key explanatory factors of successful practices. The study starts, let us not forget, from the premise that working with peoples under an approach with identity is the best way to ensure respect for the rights of peoples and the effectiveness of economic development projects with peoples. To this end, we proceeded to identify an appropriate concept of development with identity.

Thus, development with identity was understood as the set of transformative practices carried out within local indigenous communities, inspired by their own models and cultural patterns, and based on principles of reciprocity and solidarity.¹⁵ These practices can be endogenous or induced from the outside with the support of international cooperation, but in any case they must have the participation of the members of the community and their legitimate representatives.

Development with identity of indigenous peoples also refers to a process that includes the strengthening of indigenous peoples, harmony with the environment, good administration of territories and natural resources, the generation and exercise of authority, and respect for indigenous values and rights, including cultural, economic, social and institutional rights of indigenous peoples, in accordance with their own worldview and governance.¹⁶ This concept is based on the principles of equity, integrality, reciprocity and solidarity and seeks to consolidate the conditions in which indigenous peoples and their members can enjoy well-being and grow in harmony with their environment, taking advantage of the potential of their cultural, natural and social assets according to their own priorities.

¹⁵ OLIVA MARTÍNEZ, Juan Daniel (2012). *Los Pueblos Indígenas a la conquista de sus derechos, Fundamentos, contextos formativos y normas de Derecho Internacional*. Universidad Carlos III de Madrid/ Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado: Madrid.

¹⁶ In this sense, development with identity is a concept strongly linked to the right to self-determination and the right to development, which, as Yrigoyen (2011) explains, results in the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination of their development, which implies that indigenous peoples define their way of life and development priorities autonomously, which the State must respect. As he explains, this right forms, together with other specific rights of indigenous peoples, a corpus of collective rights protected by international public law, and with different normative developments and implementation within each Latin American country. IRIGOYEN FAJARDO, Raquel. "IV. *The right to self-determination of development. Participation, consultation and consent*". In: APARICIO WILHELMI, Marco (2011). *Indigenous peoples' rights to natural resources and territory. Conflicts and challenges in Latin America*. Icaria: Barcelona, pp. 103 - 146.

The study sought to identify the challenges faced by indigenous and non-indigenous actors that impact indigenous economic development. With this 360-degree view, we wanted to make visible the specific and cross-cutting challenges faced by all development actors, in order to clarify the priority issues that require greater attention and support to continue advancing the economic development efforts of indigenous peoples.

In this third phase, in-depth interviews were conducted with key actors selected from the set of actors identified in the previous mapping phase. The aim was to quantify the frequency of occurrence of important aspects for the understanding of the model of indigenous economy with identity, through the application of the system. All of this was oriented to the perception of subjective, qualitative and, in the best of cases, structural aspects. Due to the nature of the structured interview, it was an agile method to handle and allowed saving time to the people who were interviewed, having the quality of being able to be carried out by telephone and in a short time, since they were carefully formulated and prepared sufficiently in advance.

The in-depth interviews were segmented by priority and main questions/topics according to stakeholders. Stakeholders were classified as follows:

- a) **Research:** Academic experts and “practical” experts, universities, extension or research centers.
- b) **Indigenous Organizations:** Political, economic, networks, confederations.
- c) **International Public Organizations and Funds:** Public funds, multilateral bodies, international cooperation.
- d) **Society Civil Society:** NGOs national, international, religious, foundations.
- e) **Indigenous Peoples' Enterprises:** Specialized IP enterprises (tourism, agriculture, environment, land management).
- f) **Financial Institutions:** Microfinance institutions, savings cooperatives, community funds, financial NGOs.
- g) **Private Sector:** Companies working with IP, PPP Alliances, Dialogue Tables.
- h) **Sector Sector:** Programs national, regional, regulations reference standards to be taken into account.

The four main themes addressed in the in-depth interviews were:

a) Differentiated approach

In this field, the aim was to make visible how sensitized the actors are to the notion of differentiated work with indigenous peoples. What are the justifications for having or not having a differentiated approach, and what are the challenges when working with this approach.

The concept of development with identity played a key role in defining and asking about this issue. The aim was to identify the opinions of those responsible for management or technical issues on the most suitable and effective way - according to their experience - to work in a differential way with indigenous peoples. Specifically for indigenous organizations, we have focused on a question that, in the opinion of those responsible for the study, is crucial when it comes to going deeper into this field, namely, whether they consider that working under an identity-based approach helps (or not) to make development projects or undertakings more effective. And if so, why they consider, according to their specific experience, that the indigenous character of the enterprise strengthens or weakens it.

b) Problems

The purpose was to generate visibility on the challenges or problems of the various public, private or indigenous actors working in the field of indigenous economic development, focusing on the obstacles they recurrently encounter when implementing productive projects. The difficulties faced by these actors in their work, progress, reflections or actions on the economic empowerment of indigenous peoples have been studied in depth. Importance has also been given to considerations on those particularities of indigenous enterprises that may lead to disagreements in public or private economic development projects.

c) Call for attention

Suggestions were received on areas that need more attention, support, research, inputs, methodologies to promote the economic development of indigenous peoples, taking their distinct identity as a reference. Relevant information to help indigenous companies to perform better.

d) Innovations

Success factors were identified through concrete cases of models, initiatives, projects or project components that were worth highlighting, learning about, studying in depth and carrying out case studies on them. The idea has always been to gather information with the aim of replicating good practices and providing guidance to other relevant actors involved in the development of indigenous peoples' productive and market initiatives. All this has made it possible to identify and systematize models that may have a high potential to be scaled up, strengthened, piloted, or taken as a source of knowledge generation.

To gather the required information, personal interviews (telephone or face-to-face interviews) and focus groups were conducted with individuals and groups (integrated into some of the categories mentioned above), linked to economic development with indigenous peoples' identity. To establish these interviews and focus groups, an interview protocol was prepared and shared with the group of consultants.

These telephone interviews with people linked to economic development with identity of the peoples or groups involved, were oriented to the perception of subjective, qualitative and structural aspects. These opinions collected were intended to increase the qualitative depth of the information gathered.

The pilot interviews that were conducted prior to the launching of this third phase of research were very useful as an indicative example. Once the structured interviews had been prepared and completed, some in-depth sessions were held with groups of key informants, according to the target audience, where what was to be discussed in the session(s) was carefully planned, based on the nature and objectives of the study, ensuring all the necessary details that would allow a more detailed approach to these topics, through analytical and interpretative discussions, which allowed emphasis to be placed on the qualitative part of the study. This was achieved through participation, exchange of opinions, discussion and broadening the understanding of the object of study from within.

After this round of interviews, the main information was systematized by each of the consultants and a final round of much shorter interviews was conducted, which served as the basis for case studies on good practices that could eventually be replicated in other contexts or could serve as indicative references that could be adapted to the circumstances of each future intervention.

In order to carry out the case study, we interviewed a person at management level (director, area manager, administrator, manager), and an indigenous representative involved in the technical activity of the key player, or in the productive experience selected because of his or her

value and importance. If the manager was indigenous, an attempt was made to interview a non-indigenous technician (area supervisors, technicians, workers). The objective was at all times to have an intercultural perspective of the enterprise.

At the managerial level, people should have a broad knowledge of the history of the organization, and should preferably have worked since its beginnings. The interviewee's experience and years of seniority in the organization, at least five years, were valued. For interviewees at the technical level, an attempt was made at all times to ensure that the persons selected had at least two years of seniority in the organization.

As a result of this third phase of research, central problems have been identified in the strengthening of indigenous peoples' development initiatives, experiences and replicable models that could eventually be addressed or taken up by the MIF and its strategic partners in the development of projects, analytical studies, knowledge dissemination, institutional strengthening, project evaluations and other interventions with indigenous peoples.

2.3.4 Preparation of the final study

The final study consisted of organizing and analyzing the information according to the described structure of the study, advancing in the interpretation of the information with respect to the elements of analysis, according to the research objectives. Specifically in the interpretation of the products (mapping of MIF strategic areas), emphasizing the problems, difficulties, conclusions, recommendations, lessons learned and findings that arise from the critical reflection of the data, without losing sight of: 1) the identification of the current relevance of the MIF's work in relation to the themes of the mappings carried out based on the main findings and lessons learned; and 2) the provision of strategic recommendations for action for the positioning of the MIF in economic development with identity of indigenous peoples.

Special attention has been paid to the analysis of the interrelationships and transfers that occur between the elements, in order to reveal the problems that affect the strengthening of indigenous peoples' initiatives in the development of projects, analytical studies and institutional strengthening factors.

The following inputs were used to prepare the final and definitive study:

1. Preliminary conceptualization of economic development with indigenous peoples' identity. The conceptualization has been the result of an analysis of various sources and a review of existing literature, in addition to consultations/interviews with organizations and technical experts and consultations/interviews with indigenous organizations, which has ensured a conceptual basis for an analytical, relevant, applicable and inclusive study.
2. Intensive and in-depth bibliographic compilation of books, articles in scientific journals, chapters in collective books, official and regulatory documents of international organizations, cooperation strategies and other documents of interest related to economic development, entrepreneurship, and projects for the incorporation of indigenous peoples into markets.
3. Map of the most relevant actors in each of the focus countries of the study that work to promote the economic development of indigenous peoples in the public, private, indigenous, international, regional or national spheres. This provides an excellent database and diagram of the actors involved, the main actors working with indigenous peoples and a descriptive matrix of the main functional characteristics of these actors.
4. Results of the organizational and coordination meetings held between the management team (MIF/Carlos III/Coordinator), and between the MIF/Carlos III/Coordinator and the consultants in their individual and group formats.
5. Results and compilation of information resulting from the pilot interviews conducted by the management team.
6. Results and materials resulting from the training activities in which the consultants have participated, and which have been conducted by international experts in the field of indigenous peoples' economic development.
7. Country report resulting from in-depth interviews guided by the management team and conducted by the consultants in each of the focus countries of the study.
8. Case studies prepared for each country under study, plus an additional one for Colombia.

This has allowed us to systematize information on key actors, barriers, problems and challenges, as well as the most effective models of indigenous economic development, and to consider the lessons learned.

2.4 Consultant profile

2.4.1 Consultants and research assistants

Due to the special characteristics of the study, it was clear from the outset from the management and coordinating team that it was necessary to have a multidisciplinary team of consultants, and that if possible, all or most of them should come from the indigenous peoples, as well as have first-hand knowledge of the reality they were to investigate.

Taking into account the peculiarities of the economic development and identity of indigenous peoples that we have already mentioned, and which will be discussed in more detail below, the profile of the consultants should also include training and experience working in communities, and specific knowledge of indigenous economies, productive aspects and the different dimensions that intersect.

Despite the advances that have taken place in the Latin American indigenous movement, and the processes of improving the technical training of indigenous professionals that, especially international cooperation, have been implemented for years, the fact is that we still do not have a very large group of indigenous specialists in the field under investigation.

Despite this, and thanks to the networks and strategic alliances of the Carlos III University and the MIF, it was possible to recruit a group of high-level consultants that included a former minister of planning, university professors and researchers, senior managers of the Fund for the Development of Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, and representatives of indigenous peoples at the United Nations. In this way, the consultant staff has incorporated the following professionals:

Dr. Mirna Cunningham is Nicaraguan, indigenous of Miskitu origin, educator and physician specializing in public health, and is President of the Center for the Autonomy and Development of Indigenous Peoples (CADPI). She has been governor and councilwoman of the Autonomous Region of the Northern Caribbean, deputy of the National Assembly, and founding rector of the University of the Autonomous Regions of the Nicaraguan Caribbean Coast URACCAN, one of the first Latin American experiences of

indigenous intercultural higher education. In 2011 she chaired the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues; and in 2014 she was FAO Special Ambassador for the International Year of Family Farming and Advisor to the President of the UN General Assembly for the UN World Conference on Indigenous Peoples held in the same year. She currently chairs AWID - Association for Women's Rights and Development - and the Indigenous Fund "Different Ways of Learning and Knowing". She is a member of the Board of Directors of the Intercultural Indigenous University of Latin America and First Vice President of the Fund for the Development of Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. She is also a member of the Board of The Hunger Project, the UN Trust Fund for Indigenous Peoples, the Tropical Agricultural Research and Higher Education Center (CATIE) and the Indigenous Peoples Support Fund at IFAD (IPAF). Together with his team of collaborators, he has been in charge of gathering information for the study in Nicaragua and Mexico.

Luis Eduardo Maldonado Ruíz, an indigenous native of the community of Peguche, Cantón Otavalo in Ecuador; he belongs to the Quichua Nationality of the Otavalo people, Ecuador. He is currently President of the Executive Council of the School of Government and Public Policy of Ecuador. He has previously served as President of the Fund for the Development of Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, Minister of Social Welfare of the Republic of Ecuador, Executive Secretary of the Council for the Development of the Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador (CODENPE) and Representative for the Province of Imbabura in the Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Ecuador in 1998. He studied philosophy at the Catholic University of Quito and is a graduate of the Diploma in Political Science from FLACSO-Ecuador. He has been linked to the indigenous movement for more than 25 years. Currently he is also coordinator of the Intercultural Indigenous Chair of the Intercultural Indigenous University and professor in several international postgraduate courses of prestigious European and American Universities, as an expert in public policies and development of indigenous peoples. He has carried out the mapping of actors, the interviews for the collection of information and the case study of Ecuador.

Andrés Marroquín, Guatemalan professional. He received his B.A. in economics from Universidad Francisco Marroquín (summa cum laude) and his M.A. and Ph.D. in economics from George Mason University. His research has been on issues of culture, entrepreneurship and development in rural and semi-rural communities in Guatemala, Colombia, and Haiti, including the Wayuu indigenous people in northern Colombia and the Ticuna of the Colombian Amazon. He has also studied institutions and economic development in mineral-rich economies such as Botswana and the Falkland Islands, and health economics in Taiwan. He has published several academic articles in these areas. He has also been a visiting professor in Senegal, Mexico, China, Haiti, Belize, among other countries. He has been involved in the study of Guatemala.

Andrés Matta belongs to the Mapuche indigenous people and currently holds the popularly elected position of CONADI National Councilor elected by the indigenous grassroots communities to integrate its board of directors for the presentation and planning of policies for indigenous peoples. He has been an indigenous counselor on the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Development of Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. He originally trained as an agronomist engineer at the Universidad de la Frontera (Temuco) and later completed a Master's degree in Business Administration at the Universidad Austral de Valdivia. He has professional experience as supervisor of lupine production projects with groups of Mapuche small farmers in the Imperial area, and as head of a project to strengthen the use of small family farming and the Mapuche peasant economy as a scale economy in communities. He has been in charge of field supervision of traditional crops and development of methodologies for the use of native species. He has also been in charge of the supervision of cereal producers in the region and of the supervision of the agricultural census and peasant production in Araucanía. He has extensive experience as a coordinator of field teams in indigenous communities and teaches courses on productive local economy, community business administration and leadership. He has carried out the information gathering, the mapping of actors and the case study in Chile.

Mateo Martínez Cayetano, of Honduran nationality, Afro-indigenous of the Garífuna people, is an educator and agricultural engineer by profession. He has been awarded Honoris Causa by the National University of Agriculture of Honduras. He holds a Diploma with Magister studies (Highest Distinction) in Training of Trainers and specializes in Educational Curriculum. Activist and graduate in human rights and indigenous peoples' rights, he has coordinated programs of protection, promotion and education in this area. He has done several postgraduate studies and professional development in education and training centers in Italy, France and Univalle - CAF - George Washington University, particularly focused on development planning with a territorial approach and community strengthening, research and participatory action with peoples, communities and organizations, methodologies for training of trainers, research, interculturalism, governance and political management. In recent years he has coordinated and directed at least twenty publications and systematization of work experiences with indigenous peoples. He has dedicated 20 years to the Fund for the Development of Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, serving successively as a member of the Board of Directors, as Vice President of the same and as Technical Secretary of the Indigenous Fund between 2002 and 2013, having done so with a high sense of professional responsibility, wisdom, solidarity with indigenous peoples and respect for the participation of the parties. In this responsibility, he led the institutional restructuring and its consolidation as an international organization.

autonomous and independent. The world of education and research has been one of his great passions. With this vocation, he was the main mentor in the creation of the Intercultural Indigenous University for Latin America and the Caribbean UII, and has been in charge of the study in Peru and has also collaborated as its general coordinator in support of the IDB/MIF and the Carlos III University of Madrid.

Juan Edward Collque Arrieta, is Bolivian, graduated in Economics from the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in 1997, and has postgraduate training in Financial Economics, Economic Development and Project Preparation and Evaluation. He has been a consultant for the Financial Education Program to encourage banking penetration and facilitate access to productive credit for small urban and rural producers of the Central Bank of Bolivia. He has also been a researcher on development and practice of living well, good living, at the International Institute for Integration-Andrés Bello Agreement, as well as a consultant on economic and social issues in urban and rural areas of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). He has also worked as a consultant in analysis, studies and research on productive structures, natural resources, productive development policies, and behavior of food and goods prices and salaries at the Centro de Estudios Para el Desarrollo Laboral y Agrario (CEDLA). He currently works as a member of the technical teams of the Bolivian government, the country on which he has focused his work as a researcher for this study.

Adriana Sanchez Lizama, a Mexican national, has a degree in Marketing and International Business from the University of Yucatan, a Master's degree in International Economic Relations and EU-LA Cooperation from the University of Guadalajara and a postgraduate degree in Indigenous Peoples, Human Rights and International Cooperation, of which she is currently the academic coordinator at the University Carlos III of Madrid. She has been the Marketing Coordinator for the southeastern zone of the Cooperative Manos de Mujer Maya of the Fundación Haciendas del Mundo Maya A.C. in the city of Merida, Yucatan, Mexico. She is currently a member of the research group "Globalization, Integration Processes and International Cooperation" at the Carlos III University of Madrid and is preparing a doctoral thesis in the Doctoral Program in Advanced Studies in Human Rights at the same University. She has been the research assistant to the director of the study, has collaborated in the coordination tasks, has directed the bibliographic compilation that conceptually and documentarily supports the research and has been in charge of writing some chapters of the report.

2.4.2 Director of the study

Dr. J. Daniel Oliva Martínez, is a Spanish national, anthropologist and jurist, specialist in development and indigenous peoples' rights. He has been working as a professor of International Public Law at the Carlos III University of Madrid since 1998, where he is also the assistant director of the Master in Solidarity Action and Social Inclusion and co-director of the Expert Degree in Indigenous Peoples, Human Rights and International Cooperation, framed in the Intercultural Indigenous University, which has the support of the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation for Development (AECID) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Kingdom of Spain. He is a member of the Center for Anthropological Studies of the Museum of America in Madrid, has been an advisor to the Indigenous Program of the AECID and more recently assumed the technical direction of the Fund for the Development of Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. He has numerous publications and extensive international experience as a lecturer in numerous prestigious academic centers in Europe, Latin America and the United States, as well as in the direction of applied research projects. He has been one of the two directors of the study.

3. ISSUE: POVERTY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

3.1 The general situation of poverty among indigenous peoples

The indigenous peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean make up, according to the most conservative data provided by international cooperation agencies, specialized census and statistics centers such as CELADE or the United Nations system, around 45 million people¹⁷, approximately 8% of the region's total population.

The levels of human poverty and generalized lack of opportunities are still alarming and are the result of the traditional discrimination to which they have been subjected, assimilation policies, also in economic terms, and the generalized and forced invasion or expropriation of their traditional territories, to which they are particularly attached and which are still being occupied, even today, without their consent.¹⁸

In many Latin American countries, indigenous peoples still suffer the violation of their economic, social and cultural rights¹⁹; the limits of their living spaces and traditional productive zones are permanently reduced; and environmental deterioration, deforestation and generalized ecocide ravage the ecosystems they inhabit, threatening their cultural survival, their possibilities for real economic development and still, in some cases, it is estimated that some 70 communities, their very physical survival.

Indigenous peoples are characterized by low income levels and generalized situations of socioeconomic marginalization. Their participation in production processes is very limited, they do not have access to financing to start their own enterprises (they are not subject to credit) and unemployment levels in the communities are very high. Only the informal or submerged economy ensures the

¹⁷ ECLAC (2014), op.cit. p. 12.

¹⁸ IWGIA (2016). *The Indigenous World 2016*. IWGIA: Copenhagen. In each yearbook published by IWGIA since 1990, the human rights violations suffered by the world's indigenous peoples are reported, as well as the results of the historical exclusion and discrimination they suffer within the countries where they are located. In the 2016 edition of *The Indigenous World*, we report on the most pressing problems faced by Latin American indigenous peoples at the time of writing this study, especially from the perspective of the local community level, where the gap that exists between the specific rights of indigenous peoples recognized internationally and nationally, and the conditions of poverty and marginalization in which most of them live, can be felt in a more empirical way.

¹⁹ TAULI-CORPUZ, Victoria (2014). Report of the Special Rapporteur of the Human Rights Council on the rights of indigenous peoples. United Nations General Assembly.

The company has been able to provide minimum material sustenance to many families in the context of unhealthy employment conditions, without social security and without effective labor rights.

The salaries usually received by indigenous workers are always lower than those received by professionals or employees of the same category but who do not have indigenous status, which in practice violates the main ILO conventions on the subject, to which their States are usually party.²⁰

The predominant weight in indigenous economies continues to be the primary sector, and despite rural-urban migration processes, most indigenous people in Latin America are still engaged in agricultural activities, livestock raising or fishing.

In many Latin American countries, despite the progress that has been made, there is a terrible correlation between being indigenous and being poor, in such a way that we can speak of an *indigenization of poverty*, that is, the indigenous are the poorest of the poor, or more clearly, where there are poor and there are indigenous, it is always precisely the latter who are the most impoverished sectors.

The poverty we are referring to is not only economic poverty, but is projected in a generalized lack of opportunities that undoubtedly has a very negative impact on the generation of real development possibilities for the communities. Thus, the nutrition indexes of indigenous peoples are quite low, sometimes they have difficulties in accessing drinking water and many of their members have problems of undernourishment. This appears together with a lower life expectancy in relation to other groups with which they coexist, limited access to health systems and a higher prevalence of infectious diseases.²¹

It should also be noted that these villages are characterized by high population growth and a steady increase in the dependent population. Beyond the lack of knowledge of contraceptive methods or cultural resistance, for many families, increasing the number of family members is still a strategy for economic survival and an assurance of care and future care for their elders.

²⁰ The ILO Handbook (2013) "Understanding the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169) Handbook for ILO Tripartite Constituents" indicates that indigenous people, based on available statistics and research, suffer the most severe conditions of labor exploitation, in addition to being disproportionately represented among the victims of discrimination, child labor and forced labor. This, together with other conditions such as limitations in professional training and education, and the lack of appreciation of their traditional knowledge, excludes them from the labor market, which contributes to their situation of poverty and generalized marginalization.

²¹ UNDP (2016). *Regional Human Development Report for Latin America and the Caribbean Multidimensional progress: well-being beyond income*. New York.

Of course, poverty must be linked to low levels of schooling and literacy. Here we still find an important difference between boys and girls.²² The latter have a higher school dropout rate and therefore fewer opportunities for formal education. In general, for both boys and girls, these educational difficulties have a direct correlation with inadequacies in the learning processes, in the acquisition of the necessary technical knowledge and, in short, in many communities, despite the entrepreneurial spirit of some of their members, they do not have the basic training to effectively start or sustain productive initiatives²³ .

We must also bear in mind, because of the direct relationship of all this with the possibilities of innovation and entrepreneurship of indigenous peoples, that their intellectual property rights are permanently violated, their traditional knowledge and intangible heritage are misappropriated by external actors, and their genetic resources, on many occasions, have been the object of study without their consent.²⁴

On the other hand, despite progress, in some contexts they still show limited participation in legislative spaces, which prevents them from directly influencing the configuration of regulations and public policies aimed at promoting their productive economic development on the basis of their diversity and particular identity.

Many of the national or international regulations that bind the authorities of their States and the agreements reached with governments and companies remain unfulfilled, and their customary law, their economic subsistence systems, their socio-political organization and their differentiated cultures continue to be despised in many contexts by the surrounding cultures. As a result, indigenous peoples have fewer overall opportunities for development and, in turn, express clear reticence towards the market economic model, which they often link to a model of

²² TAULI-CORPUZ, Victoria (2015). *Report the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples to the Human Rights Council. Rights of indigenous women and girls*. In this report the Rapporteur addresses, among other central aspects, the issue of education in indigenous women and girls at the global level, in terms of access, quality and inclusion, clarifying the particular conditions they face and that derive in a more disadvantaged situation than indigenous boys and men.

²³ CIMADAMORE, Alberto D., EVERSOLE, Robyn and McNEISH John-Andrew, *Pueblos Indigenas y Pobreza, enfoques multidisciplinarios*. CLACSO, Buenos Aires, 2006.

²⁴ The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), through the WIPO Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore (the IGC), promotes an agreement on one or more texts of one or more international legal instruments that ensure the effective protection of traditional knowledge (TK), traditional cultural expressions (TCEs) and genetic resources (GRs).

society, which they understand turns its back on them and does not recognize them in their differentiated particularity.²⁵

3.2 Ethnic discrimination and economic discrimination.

The story is of course not new and has its origins in the negative characterization of indigenous peoples, their stigmatization as backward societies and their possibilities for development, which dates back to colonial times. This was continued with the formation of the independent republics in Latin America and the Caribbean in the 19th century and finally came to a head in the economic sphere in the mid-20th century with the implementation of policies and programs inspired by developmentalism and economic integrationism, the aftermath of which, in some contexts more than in others, has continued to the present day.²⁶

Indeed, we must not forget that the main objective of policies inspired by developmentalist and integrationist models was to do away with indigenous cultures and their own production models, which supposedly, because they were inefficient and premodern, kept their members in a situation of underdevelopment and, in turn, posed a problem for the general development of the nations inhabited by these peoples.

In this way, classical evolutionism, that explanatory model coming from anthropology that classified human societies into savage, barbarian and civilized, and that did so much damage to indigenous peoples, was transmuted during the 20th century.²⁷ The indigenous peoples were no longer savages but underdeveloped, unintegrated and economically and socially backward. Thus, the denial of the indigenous and the projection proposed to us by the most Eurocentric evolutionism was maintained over time, so that the image of indigenous economies as gregarious, primary, non-productive, backward, unable to enter commercial circuits, unreliable or unreliable candidates for funding, was maintained and largely reinforced.

On the basis of these dualistic theoretical proposals that inspired public policies and those of the international cooperation system - then incipient - for the economic development of indigenous peoples, the following were identified within the countries of America

²⁵ UNDP (2009). "Indigenizing Development", *Poverty in Focus*, No. 17, Poverty Group, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP: Brazil. Andrés MARROQUÍN in his final report on Guatemala where he collects the results of his research refers precisely to this type of reluctance specifically in relation to issues that have to do with entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship. *Final Report, Guatemala*, p. 8, July 2016.

²⁶ SÁNCHEZ LIZAMA, Adriana (2014). "Autodesarrollo y Buen Vivir: el papel de los pueblos indígenas latinoamericanos en la resignificación del desarrollo", *Revista Electrónica Iberoamericana*, Vol. 8, No. 2.

²⁷ BATRA, Roger (1996). *The savage in the mirror*. Ediciones Destino: Barcelona.

Latin America, two opposing economic systems. On the one hand, the modernized, industrial, proto-industrial and market systems, and the traditional or archaizing ones of indigenous origin, characterized - so it was commonly affirmed - by backwardness, weakness, the non-existence of property and private initiative, by containing unproductive systems of communitarian reciprocity, and ultimately the origin and cause of the underdevelopment of the indigenous peoples²⁸ .

Since the aforementioned finding of this dual structure in countries with indigenous peoples was considered indisputable, economic planners (without ever taking into account the opinion and participation of the indigenous peoples) followed the path of least effort, that is, they promoted the growth of the modern sector of the economy and tried to encourage the assimilation/integration of the indigenous economic sectors, which were considered pejoratively archaic.

Thus, the development strategies implemented for decades in the second half of the twentieth century sought to neutralize indigenous economic structures, liquidate the distinctive characteristics of pre-capitalist formations, annul their own production systems and modernize indigenous communities.

This entailed at a practical level: 1. the elimination of the many forms of cooperation in the work of these peoples based on reciprocity and redistribution -integrating principles of the indigenous economies, as we will see below- and 2. the induced modification of their economic institutions and traditional values, adapting them to the economic model of Western origin.

In this way, a set of schools and theories, participants in the assumptions of the paradigm of modernization and integrationism²⁹ inspired the public policies of the governments that were involved in the generation of industrialization processes and later, after the oil crisis of the seventies, in the creation of export economies.

This induced process significantly affected the indigenous peoples, since the economic principles underlying those policies were not compatible with their community models, as all the ingredients of production, including land, were commodified.

²⁸ CLASTRES, Pierre (1978). *La sociedad contra el Estado*. Monte Avila Editores: Barcelona.

²⁹ Among the schools of development that promoted this type of actions and strategies among indigenous peoples, and that were applied by governments, cooperation organizations or multilateral agencies, we can cite the proposal of dual economies, Rostow's stages of economic growth or balanced development, and more recently the neoclassical proposals. Some authors and works representative of these models imposed on indigenous peoples were: W. A LEWIS, "Economic Development whit Unlimited Supplies of labor", *Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies*, No. 22; W ROSTOW, *Las etapas del crecimiento económico*, FCE, Mexico, 1960; ROSESTEIN -RODAN, "Notas sobre la teoría del gran impulso" in H. S ELLIS (ed), *El desarrollo económico y América Latina*.

and communal labor, which we must not forget among indigenous peoples are not considered merchandise, and therefore are not subject to the rules of price formation or to the absorbing principle of the market³⁰.

From this perspective, indigenous economies were seen as economies in transition with pejorative connotations, since the survival of their models of community production and redistribution were seen as an obstacle to development and modernization. Indigenous economies, being rooted in holistic socio-cultural patterns in the communitarian sense of the term, were not useful or compatible with market economies and did not contribute to the modernization of society.

3.3 Lack of economic integration

These types of proposals have been related to economic integrationism. The field of *economic integration* brings us face to face with the great dilemmas or problems that the indigenous peoples, as differentiated ethno-cultural entities, with patterns and conceptions of the economy that are very different from those of the West, have encountered since their first contact with the Western world.

A first aspect of great importance is the conflict related to the unequal distribution of land, as well as the impossibility of these peoples to access credits and/or technology to favor their agricultural exploitations to which they were economically rooted. In turn, many of these peoples throughout history were relegated or displaced to forested, mountainous, semi-desert, or in any case not very fertile areas, where the use of the land was very limited. Likewise, their access to markets was diminished, since many of these peoples were truly isolated, which did not allow them to establish commercial relations with other indigenous groups or with the rest of the sectors of society.

The lack of infrastructure and adequate tools or techniques, the limited diversification of their subsistence economies and the absence of reinvestable surpluses were other problems that prevented their economic integration.

Three mechanisms have traditionally been developed by States, international organizations and the cooperation system to promote the economic integration of indigenous peoples:

³⁰ As Gonzalo AGUIRRE BELTRÁN wrote in his classic work *Regiones de Refugio. El Desarrollo de la Comunidad y el Proceso Dominical en Mestizoamérica*, Colección Obra Antropológica IX, FCE, Mexico, 1992 (the first edition was published in 1972).

- a) The provision of aid to communities that has generated a certain culture of subsidy.
- b) The implementation of productive projects or public services that are generally not relevant from a socio-cultural point of view, not assimilated as their own by the indigenous peoples and therefore failed³¹.
- c) Privatization processes in the indigenous case are generally associated with agrarian reform and the distribution of communal lands.

Specifically, the agrarian reform was aimed at eliminating the traditional sector; increasing agricultural productivity; lowering the prices of agricultural inputs for industry; generating new labor for the industrial sector; generating a surplus that could be exported and serve to finance the development of the modern sector, in addition to alleviating the pressure of the struggle for land. The idea was to turn landowners into modern agricultural entrepreneurs and peasants into rural wage earners. With all this, the traditional haciendas and plantations had to give way to the development of agro-industrial units, with intensive use of capital, technology and less use of labor force, which to a greater extent had to be derived to the industrial sector, so in need of labor³².

In the end, the process ended up linking agrarian reform with land parcelization, without community control from the grassroots; the examples of Bolivia, Mexico, Honduras or Peru are very clear in this regard. The premise was that parceling the land would increase income by four times. Unfortunately, the initial assumptions and objectives were not met. In the monitoring studies carried out on these programs by institutions such as the World Bank and the IDB itself, it became clear that profitability did not increase, farmers were unable to access credit (one of the real bottlenecks affecting the indigenous economies as a whole) and there was no real dynamization of the land market, as initially expected.

3.4 Indigenous peoples in the era of the global economy

³¹ GROS, Christian and Jean FOYER (eds.) *Development with identity? Indigenous economic governance. Seven case studies*, FLACSO, 2010.

³² This is what Marcos MATÍAS ALONSO reminds us in the working materials "Desarrollo con identidad. Aspectos teóricos, conceptuales y epistemológicos sobre la noción de desarrollo", 2004, Fondo Indígena. Indeed, agrarian reform was one of the fields of action of integrationist indigenism in the field of economic integration. In order to favor the economic integration of the masses of indigenous peasants, it was necessary to modernize the rural-agricultural sector to favor a development that was compatible and, as far as possible, balanced with the development of the modern-industrial-urbanized sector.

A review of the imposition of models inspired by the paradigm of modernization and economic integrationism, largely based on a discriminatory view of indigenous economies, was necessary. It allows us to explain the origins of the problems associated with the poverty of indigenous peoples, their difficulties and their own reluctance to integrate into foreign commercial circuits or to assume more and better practices oriented to production and expansion, which are precisely related to the causes of part of their problems. But what is certain is that the context of intervention - despite the fact that the integrationist vision is largely maintained among many actors trying to promote the economic development of indigenous peoples - has been changing, and this must also be analyzed, as it entails both risks and opportunities.

If there is one thing that defines the economy of our time, it is its global nature, characterized by the mutual interdependence of national, regional, local and even community economies, something that undoubtedly affects indigenous peoples. The growing interrelationship between the various structures of the world economy in its different spheres, especially in the financial and commercial economy through the flow of capital and transit of products, are elements of change that contrast with the economic reality of previous decades characterized by greater stagnation and less dynamism.

To this must be added the spatial decentralization of productive, distributive and consumption processes, the generalized opening of markets, the integration of processes and the dismantling of artificial barriers to the flow of goods, services, capital and knowledge³³.

The latter has led to the consolidation of processes linked to the free circulation of goods, a process not free of contradictions and resistance, still largely unfinished, as evidenced by the difficulties encountered by producers in the South, including indigenous peoples, in introducing their products into the markets of the North. We can also refer to the unquestionable free mobility of financial capital³⁴ which is visualized as the engine of the world economy, the latter being of particular importance, to such an extent that we have come to speak of the financialization of the contemporary economy³⁵, financialization

³³ STIGLITZ, *Unrest in Globalization*, 2002, op. cit., p. 34.

³⁴ See PALAZUELOS, *La globalización financiera*, Síntesis, Madrid, 1998.

³⁵ As Professor Jesús MORA MOLINA points out "(...) without financial globalization the present globalizing pattern would be meaningless" in his work "Globalización económica y derechos humanos ¿derechos economizados?" published in *Sistema*, nº 170, September 2002, Madrid, pp. 69-86, p. 72. Paul A. VOLCKER and George SOROS have reflected on the destabilizing influence of global financial markets, respectively in "The Ocean of Global Finance" and "The New Global Financial Architecture", both in Anthony GIDDENS and Will HUTTON, eds: *Life in Global Capitalism*, pp. 113-136. Not everything is so linear of course, for the internationalized economy of our time appears to be associated with important contradictions. On the one hand, the

which, however, has not yet reached the indigenous peoples, as we reiterate and demonstrate in this study. The productive delocalization of large companies, the legal and social deregulation of labor and economic relations in general, as well as the weak regulation, that is, of consolidated international political and legal controls, of the very processes of the global economy (although after the crisis this has begun to change), are other elements to be taken into account.

As is well known, indigenous peoples are often highly critical of the global economy of our time. In their view, it promotes a largely wasteful and predatory model of economic development that depletes limited natural resources and is ecologically unsustainable in the long term³⁶, since it is based on a series of assumptions that call into question the sustainability of the planet due to:

- a) Steady increase in productivity.
- b) The objective of profit maximization and rate of return.
- c) Constant dependence on cheap and abundant energy.
- d) The increase in consumption and the spread of motorized mobility in a context of heightened international competitiveness.

In the opinion of indigenous peoples, there is no doubt that the processes of economic expansion in our times appear to be linked to the destruction of their ancestral lands and the invasion of their historical territories, to a generalized and extensive threat to their traditional subsistence and economic exploitation systems, to the discrimination of indigenous workers in the context of market segmentation, as well as to disadvantaged access to product markets.

international competition, the central axis of the processes of free market self-regulation, is distorted by practices and realities such as those related to the imposition of economic models, the emergence of immense monopolistic powers or the application of regulations, incentives and institutional controls; economic models linked to post-Fordist monoformalism, the lack of social protection, the privatization of the public sector, the increase in inequalities, marginalization, misery and exclusion zones, and the environmental attack whose consequences threaten the future coexistence of humanity, the sustainability of the planet and, of course, call into question the effectiveness of the right to development. As has been pointed out, globalization is not leading to an improvement in the indices of human development; on the contrary, it is leading to a setback in the satisfaction of the basic needs of individuals and peoples, of their economic, social and cultural rights and of their right to development. In making this assertion, two trends must be borne in mind. On the one hand, the weakening of the State implies the denial of its function of providing services, of guaranteeing economic, social and cultural rights. The social State, which has been one of the conquests of the twentieth century, is in danger. On the other hand, and from the point of view of international economic relations and the right to development, the process of globalization is asymmetrical, that is to say, it does not benefit all countries, nor within each country, does it imply a general increase in the quality of life". FERNÁNDEZ LIESA, Carlos R. "Globalización, humanidad y orden internacional", *Revista de Occidente*, nº 221, October 1999, pp. 53-66.

³⁶ According to data from WWF International, one of the most prestigious international non-governmental environmental organizations, based on its Living Planet Index (LPI), which measures the trends of thousands of vertebrate species populations, there was a 52 percent decrease between 1970 and 2010 of these species, mainly due to habitat loss, degradation and exploitation due to hunting and fishing, and climate change. *Living Planet Report*, 2014.

On the other hand, for the indigenous representatives, economic globalization, which in many contexts has weakened the social protection systems linked to the State, leads to a lack of access to social services for their members, which in any case tend to be few in number and of poor quality. At the same time, the cultural and intellectual heritage of indigenous peoples is being appropriated by the new cultural industries with mercantilist intentions and without compensation, which is an aggression against the autonomy and particularized identity of these differentiated ethno-cultural communities.³⁷ .

Indigenous peoples have repeatedly expressed their concern and criticism of the negative effects of the global economy on their communities in different international forums and meetings. Perhaps one of the reference documents is the Indigenous Declaration of Cancun, which followed the indigenous forum that was held in parallel to the world leaders meeting at the WTO summit. In the aforementioned Declaration, which continues to be cited repeatedly and taken into account by the main indigenous leaders and organizations, the indigenous representatives present there assumed a collective critique of the issue of the global economy, world trade and its effects on communities³⁸ . Also at the Kimberley Meeting, an international gathering of indigenous peoples that took place within the framework of the United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, those present there were highly critical of the effects of economic globalization, which, as stated in the final Declaration, constituted a major threat to indigenous peoples:

"One of the main obstacles to the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples: international cooperation and industrialized countries impose their global agenda on the negotiations and agreements of the United Nations system, the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO and other bodies, limiting the rights enshrined in national constitutions and international conventions and agreements. Unsustainable extraction, harvesting, production and consumption patterns have led to climate change, widespread pollution and environmental destruction, driving us off our lands, resulting in enormous levels of poverty and disease"³⁹ .

3.5 Cross-Cultural Economies: The Big Opportunities at a Glance

³⁷ IDB, *Profile of the Strategic Framework for Indigenous Development*, Indigenous Peoples and Community Development Unit, working document presented at the preliminary meetings of the Fifth IF Assembly, Lima, December 2003, p. 16.

³⁸ *Cancun International Declaration of Indigenous Peoples*, adopted by the indigenous representatives meeting on September 12 during the Fifth Ministerial Conference of the WTO in Cancun, Quintana Roo, Mexico.

³⁹ The Kimberley Declaration, can be consulted in *Los pueblos Indígenas y la Cumbre Mundial sobre Desarrollo Sostenible*, Tebtebba, AECI, Almaciga, 2003, pp 116-126.

Undoubtedly, beyond the history of economic subjugation, the application and imposition of foreign productive models or the fears and prejudices, whether founded or not, in the face of the global economy of our time, what is certain is that the current context, as a complex and multidimensional process in itself, not exempt from systemic risks (the still recent economic-financial crisis has been a good warning in this regard), offers important opportunities and advantages for the promotion of economic-productive development and entrepreneurship among the peoples of Latin America, not exempt from systemic risks (the still recent economic-financial crisis has been a good warning in this regard), offers important opportunities and advantages for the promotion of economic-productive development and entrepreneurship among indigenous peoples, which should not be discarded, eliminated or made invisible.

This set of opportunities has to do precisely with the economic foundations of indigenous peoples themselves, which are built on some basic economic or related pillars that are quite different from those on which the traditional and market economy is built, but which, when articulated with the latter, can form successful and replicable intercultural economies.

These are some of the particular characteristics in which the economic activity of indigenous peoples takes place and which, in our opinion, any activity aimed at promoting their economic development must take into account:

1. The nuclear family is not the productive or consumption unit in indigenous peoples. Indigenous economies have traditionally been community economies where clan relations or kinship structures have played a determining role.
2. Community economies are based on reciprocity, redistribution and mutual aid, on small commercial activities and generally non-monetary models based on exchanges, gifts and donations at community festivals as redistribution mechanisms, as demonstrated by economic anthropology. With this, indigenous peoples, not only in Latin America but all over the world, generated and continue to do so (now trying to adapt their models to the traditional market economy) mechanisms of economic resistance and solidarity, in the face of possible setbacks or shortages, which other peoples and communities do not have. This certainly prevents indigenous peoples from suffering, in general, dramatic shortages or food crises, even though many communities remain poor and lack opportunities.
3. They have a cultural conception of productive processes directly related to the reinforcement, through production, of their differentiated identity on the economic level. In other words, they do not understand the economy if it is not to reinforce their culture.

4. On the other hand, their economies have traditionally operated on the basis of a redistributive and reciprocal principle, as we have pointed out, and therefore of non-accumulation. They do not usually operate through the classic economic circuit based on the generation of wealth, consumption, savings and investment, thus encouraging the growth of capital and the possibilities of entrepreneurship. In the case of indigenous peoples this accumulative and saving principle is not usually present and traditionally the surplus has been redistributed socially through mechanisms such as those mentioned above: community festivals, exchange of gifts, economized kinship relations, etc....

5. They are also characterized by an ethical relationship with their territories and are reluctant to generate or authorize massive and large-scale resource exploitation in their communities, as they consider it an attack on the ecosystems they inhabit and the living beings with which they interact. This is closely linked to their demand for territorial governance.

6. Generally speaking, and analyzing the foundations of the traditional economies of indigenous peoples, the most important thing for them is social prestige and charismatic leadership that is gained through activities that are mainly symbolic or, in any case, through processes that generate benefits for the community. Less important is individual economic wealth, which is less valued socially, or sometimes even repudiated, and much more important is the capacity to make important contributions to the collective.

7. Partly because of these characteristics, their level of articulation with the markets is still small, although the fact is that the integration of indigenous workers in the economic circuits is increasing and there are also good examples, as we analyzed in this study, of successful enterprises that have managed to maintain part of the traditional values and principles, adapting them to the demands of the market economy. Thus showing a good capacity for articulation from the generation of multimodal or multidimensional economic proposals and generating initiatives that move between the monetary and the non-monetary. When this intersection and complement between the traditional indigenous economy and the market economy takes place, the models we call intercultural economy⁴⁰ arise.

⁴⁰ We have taken here as a reference the classes given by Carlos Perafán at the University Carlos III of Madrid, in the framework of the Expert Degree in Indigenous Peoples, Human Rights and Cooperation (2016 edition) as well as the information shared by the mentioned expert in the course of the complementary activities carried out.

8. Their economies are not separated but integrated in this differentiated worldview where mutual aid, solidarity, integration of human beings and peoples in ecosystems and all living beings are a priority.

9. They defend an alternative vision of economic development that should tend to the configuration of frameworks of good living or good community living, dispensing with accumulative and privative objectives⁴¹.

10. And they have an important heritage. These are the great comparative advantages of indigenous economies, compared to other groups or societies with which they coexist in their States of reference:

a. Its patrimonial capital, mainly associated with the control it exercises real, symbolic or formally over almost 20% of the territory in Latin America. Territories very rich in natural resources, both above and below ground. These are refuge zones that have not yet been economically exploited. The indigenous peoples claim to exercise autonomous control over these territories and rely on the normative recognitions that have taken place in international law of our time in the area of territorial rights. They have a special attachment to the territories as sources of life and identity, as the origin of their specificity as differentiated and ancestral peoples.

b. Its natural heritage and traditional knowledge, or in other words, the sustainable management of land, natural resources and the environment.

c. Their differentiating social capital, based precisely on these networks, on these kinship structures, producer associations, the cooperative spirit or the principles and values of reciprocity, redistribution and mutual aid that inspire their economic activities. They thus start from a social, cohesive, inclusive and protective structure that tends to collectively assume the economic decision-making process, where

in a training capacity within the framework of the study. Specifically the lecture he gave to the group of consultants and researchers on April 16, 2016.

⁴¹ See the following chapter of this report, which focuses precisely on the foundations of economic development with identity proposed by indigenous peoples in our time.

participatory and not merely representative practices, which translates into community governance.

d. Its cultural capital, which is linked to the traditional knowledge and know-how of sustainable land management, pharmacopoeia, ethno-tourism, ethno-engineering, the tangible and intangible heritage of its peoples and communities, etc...⁴²

e. Their political and organizational capital. Indigenous peoples throughout Latin America and the Caribbean have been demonstrating a capacity to organize and generate processes of autonomy within their countries with an impact on the decisions that affect them. Well oriented, they can have positive effects on their economic and productive development.

f. Their legal capital, associated with the specific rights that have already been recognized by the international community and the constitutions of their States or secondary legislation. Collective rights that have direct implications on the possibilities of economic development of indigenous peoples. These include territorial rights, the right to autonomous development, the right to preserve their customary law (which incorporates specific rules and norms that affect their economic activity), the right to consultation or free, prior and informed consent, autonomy rights and the right to self-government. Also rights at the cultural and educational level directly related to the maintenance of their distinct identity and their tangible and intangible heritage that can have projection in the generation of tourism-type enterprises or in the field of cultural enterprises⁴³.

From these solid bases, in relation to indigenous peoples and from a purely economic level in specific contexts, indigenous peoples have been taking advantage of the opportunities of the global economy of our time with practices such as:

⁴² On the natural, social and cultural capital of indigenous peoples, the consultant Mirna CUNNINGHAM has referred in her *Final Report on Mexico* (July 2016) in which she collects the results of her research for the study.

⁴³ The consultant and coordinator of the study Mateo MARTÍNEZ for the case of Peru has highlighted what is a reality in all the countries of the region "Indigenous peoples are not eligible for financing because they have economies with low productive levels (...) not scalable, without technical assistance services that are guarantee factors...". *Final Report, Peru*, 2016, p.15.

- a) Taking advantage of the new global commercial circuits and the insertion of their artisan or artistic products in international markets.
- b) Balanced economic exploitation of their historical and cultural heritage and knowledge related to indigenous medicine, traditional plants and pharmacopoeia.
- c) The activation and self-management of ethno-tourism activities within the territories they have historically inhabited.
- d) The creation of indigenous forestry, trade or transportation companies.
- e) The initiatives linked to ethnomedicine, ethnopharmacology and ethnoengineering that have been launched by indigenous peoples in different parts of the world, and which are imbued with a whole spiritual dimension attached to the different particularized cosmovisions of the communities involved⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ However, in addition to these comparative advantages, the economies of indigenous peoples are currently facing serious problems or bottlenecks that prevent them from taking off and hinder their development. And here we must point out the problems associated with the lack of financial capital (they are still not subject to credit), the scarce public investment in their territories, the absence of technical training, labor segmentation or the real exclusion of their territorial rights, which, although recognized, are ignored by the States or private actors, becoming a kind of virtual rights. On this issue we can echo the contribution of Mirna CUNNINGHAM in her research materials related to her field work in Nicaragua. From her vision and experience, the challenges of indigenous peoples are associated with "ensuring territorial governance and governance over their natural resources in order to promote it (...) the need to establish a political-legal framework for the recognition of their collective rights is the main basis for its construction. *Final Report, Nicaragua*, July 2016.

4. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MODEL OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

4.1 Basis of departure

In the context of the economy of our time in which they are immersed, indigenous peoples around the world are demanding their right to shape sustainable development or development with identity, socioeconomic and cultural development, as both reinforce and feed off each other. An integral and participatory development model, with decentralized institutional mechanisms for identification, elaboration, management, implementation and evaluation, which involves training and economic empowerment of grassroots communities, based on human resources strategies in accordance with their socio-cultural reality⁴⁵.

The economic development with identity that the indigenous peoples claim and that they incorporate into the demand for the rights that the International Community should recognize for them, must consist of:

- a) Improving living conditions by reducing material poverty.
- b) The reduction of marginality and exclusion.
- c) Promotion of development opportunities.
- d) Empowerment of indigenous management capacity.
- e) Improved access to social and financial services.
- f) The strengthening of the specific and differentiated cultural identity.
- g) Preservation of natural resources.
- h) Consolidation of social organization.
- i) Prior consultation of the beneficiaries on any matter affecting the management of their territories and the modification/improvement of their traditional economies.

All this will have to be done on the basis of the protagonism of the beneficiaries and respect for the rest of their differentiated rights⁴⁶. We will now go into more detail on the characteristics and foundations of the development model that inspires the

⁴⁵ WORLD BANK (2015). Indigenous peoples development in World Bank-financed projects. Our People, Our Resources. Striving for a Peaceful and Plentiful Planet. Case Studies Report. World Bank: Washington, D.C.

⁴⁶ IDB, *Profile of the Strategic Framework for Indigenous Development*, Indigenous Peoples and Community Development Unit, working document presented at the preliminary meetings of the V Assembly of the IF, Lima, December 2003, p. 17-20.

The following are some of the issues that any governmental or non-governmental, national or international agency that intends to work with indigenous peoples must take into account in the programming of its policies.

4.2 The theoretical foundations of indigenous self-development.

Faced with the ethnocidal principle of integration and the developmentalist strategies of modernization, which prioritized scientific-technical economic progress, forced modernization and the rapid incorporation of indigenous peoples into the surrounding societies to the detriment of cultural identity⁴⁷, the concept of ethno-development was initially opposed and later evolved towards self-development, development with identity or the good living of our times⁴⁸.

This alternative model proposed by indigenous peoples "seeks to generate conditions that allow for creativity and innovation, both through the development of autonomous culture and through the enrichment of the appropriate culture".⁴⁹ It is not merely an extension of the concept of development, current in the economic and political literature produced in Europe and the Americas, but almost a counter-concept, insofar as it implies a thorough critique of developmentalist theories. "This concept advocates a kind of "alternative development" in which the interests of the peoples or ethnic populations are respected in the so-called "development programs"⁵⁰.

Only within the framework of their own cultural peculiarity, from their particular cosmovisions, ensuring their community governance and from their rich heritage, choosing their alternative paths, self-managing their own lives as peoples, will the indigenous people be able to achieve real development and see their expectations of a dignified life and autonomy fulfilled.

⁴⁷ A good example of how these types of proposals regarding the development of indigenous peoples are still present today can be found in the work of José GUILLÉN VILLALOBOS, *Política Indigenista y Desarrollo*, COMGRAFICA, J.R., S.A, Guatemala, 2000.

⁴⁸ For an integral approach to ethnodevelopment, BONFIL BATALLA, G., "El etnodesarrollo: sus premisas jurídicas, políticas y de organización" in ROJAS, Aravena F. (comp.) *América Latina: etnodesarrollo y etnocidio*, FLACSO, San José, 1982. For his part, Rodolfo STAVENHAGEN presented a list of six considerations that would justify the adoption of the concept of ethnodevelopment, namely: "1). that development strategies should give priority to meeting the basic needs of the population and raising their standard of living, instead of exclusively advocating economic growth; 2) that the vision should be endogenous, oriented to the needs of the country rather than to the international system; 3) that, instead of rejecting cultural traditions a priori, efforts should be made to take advantage of them; 4) that respect should be shown for cultural traditions; 5) that the concept should be based on the concept of ethno-development; 4) that the ecological point of view be respected; 5) that it be self-sufficient, respecting whenever possible local, natural, technical or human resources; 6) that development be participatory, never technocratic, so that it is open to the participation of the populations in all stages of planning, execution and evaluation" in "Etnodesenvolvimento: Uma Dimensao Ignorada no Pensamento desenvolvimentista", *Anuario Antropológico*, 86, 1985, pp. 11-44. This is echoed by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, op. cit.

⁴⁹ BONFIL BATALLA, G. "el etnodesarrollo..." op. cit., p. 140.

⁵⁰ Roberto Cardoso DE OLIVEIRA "Vicissitudes of the concept in Latin America" in Miguel LEÓN- PORTILLA, *Motivos de la antropología americanista, indagaciones en la diferencia*, FCE, 2001, op. cit. p. 81.

When establishing a panoramic comparison between integrationist indigenism and self-development or development with identity, we are clearly faced with conflicting proposals. The following quote, which establishes a close link between self-management and indigenous development, shows the differences. "Self-management supposes a previous or concomitant reculturation. Acculturation does not occur without deculturation, slow or accelerated or also prior or concomitant. Self-management is led by the indigenous people, relying on a more or less dialogical, symmetrical relationship with the white. Acculturation is led by the white, through a situation of domination, essentially asymmetrical, however much a varnish of mellifluous paternalism pretends to cover up its nature. Self-management leads to a certain political and economic independence. Acculturation, to the integration of the detribalized indigenous into the lowest strata of a highly dependent class society, in which he will no longer have any power, since the nucleus that could sustain him has been dissolved. Self-management leads to an optimal social equilibrium. Acculturation, towards imbalance, which means that the first ensures ethnic survival and the second causes the disappearance of the group in the national society. The corollary of self-management, the subjection of the ethnic group to the national political-administrative apparatus. Self-management is affirmed in participation and self-government. Acculturation, in mechanisms of domination, such as political control and others. For self-management, the contribution of the West is an incentive. In the process of acculturation, the Western bursts in with a violence that decentralizes social life. In self-management, all political consciousness will pass through the recognition of ethnic identity. In the acculturative process, political consciousness, when it exists, is given through the denial or ignorance of one's own identity, linking it to a retrograde and shameful past that it is better to bury. Finally, in the self-managed process, it is the ethnic group that selects the guidelines and elements to be incorporated into its social life, adapting them to its idiosyncrasy. In the acculturative process, it is the oppressor who decides which elements of the indigenous society he will momentarily conserve, while imposing, by means of compulsive mechanisms, his entire culture and conception of the world as an undifferentiated block "51.

If on the one hand the modernizing and developmentalist model of integrationism was based on a conception in which the culture of indigenous peoples was considered an impediment or at best a secondary or merely instrumental aspect for the economic development of the communities, the development model of indigenous peoples, as an alternative proposal, considers culture as an essential aspect, a fundamental aspect for the economic development of indigenous peoples, and on the other hand, the model of development of indigenous peoples, as an alternative proposal, considers culture as an essential aspect, a fundamental aspect for the economic development of indigenous peoples.

⁵¹ Adolfo COLOMBRES, *Hacia la autogestión indígena*, Quito, 1977, Editorial del Sol, pp. 31-32. For a more detailed approach to the concept of indigenous self-management, see Adolfo COLOMBRES, *La hora del "bárbaro" (Bases para una antropología social de apoyo)*. Ediciones del Sol, Anthropological Series, 1991, pp. 33-55.

The latter cannot take place without taking into account the identity of the beneficiaries⁵².

If in the framework of the predominant developmentalist paradigm, tradition is seen as an obstacle, a brake on modernization or a setback for the economic development of those peoples, self-development proposes that cultural tradition as a deposit of emancipating experiences is a potential, an engine of change, a creative possibility, a foundation for transformation, in short, that cultural traditions ensure a balanced and alternative development that preserves peoples from modernizing destructuring, and make possible a balanced economic development that respects the community and nature.

If the objective of integrationism is to standardize societies and put an end to the dualism that separates the more traditional economic sectors from the more modern ones, indigenous self-development or development with identity values the preservation of diversity, heterogeneity, plurality and socio-cultural difference as a guarantee of real economic development for societies, which is a guarantee of greater wealth when it comes to applying economic solutions.

In turn, as opposed to the unidirectionality and unidimensionality of the modernizing proposals, which ultimately conceive development above all as an increase in income from a certain economicist reductionism, the alternative proposals defended by the indigenous organizations will propose that economic development must be based on multidirectionality and multidimensionality and that they must complete, without abandoning it altogether, the economicist and merely materialistic dimension of development.

Development is much more than increasing the economic growth of a given society, much more than access to goods and services; it implies going beyond per capita GDP or income and even beyond the mere satisfaction of basic material needs. The proposal of the indigenous peoples cannot disregard the economic development of the maintenance of culture, the strengthening of autonomous governments and political-economic self-determination, the real possibility of applying traditional knowledge to improve productivity from the rescue of millenary practices and the improvement of the living conditions of the communities as a whole. And above all, economic development must be related to the assurance to human beings of an integral way of life,

⁵² On the link between culture and development, in the specific case of the Guatemalan indigenous peoples, although there are also some works outlining the general theoretical proposal of self or ethno-development, see the excellent compilation by Demetrio RODRÍGUEZ, *Cultura Maya y Políticas de Desarrollo*, Departamento de Investigaciones Culturales, COCAD, Guatemala, second edition, 1992.

sustainable, respectful, creative life in contexts of fulfillment and balance with their cultural tradition, with the community of which they are a part and with the natural environment in which they must feel integrated.

On the other hand, from the perspective of indigenous peoples, the subject or beneficiary of this economic development can no longer be the homo economicus of the traditional and market economy, an isolated, privative and hedonistic individual producer and consumer, acting under the logic of cost/benefit. In the indigenous sphere there is individuality, differentiated features and even private property, as well as particular interest, but there is no consumer individualism, typical of homo economicus, but the community subject, which develops its activity from a dense organizational network that adapts mechanisms of reciprocity and economic complementarity, from criteria of community valuation of goods, social control of accumulation, ritualization of surplus, logics of exchange values and harmonization of economic activity with the environment. We are then faced with a new subject of economic development, the community subject that differs from the individualistic subject of capitalist modernization and the traditional market economy⁵³.

Nor does the locus of development, i.e. the social and historical space in which the subject of development deploys its rationality, pursues its ends or achieves its purposes, coincide between the modernizing, external, traditionally imposed vision and the self-management vision of the particular and specific model defended by the indigenous peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean as a whole. Thus, for the former, the locus of development will be none other than the market, self-regulated or intervened, depending on the chosen orientation, and which in any case explains the realization of freedom and individual initiative, the basis of personal enrichment. In contrast, the proposals of indigenous self-development value the community locus based on economic self-determination, free, prior and informed consent, reciprocity, redistribution of surplus, mutual aid, intercultural economies and the ethics of solidarity.

Nor should we forget the different conception of land and the environment in each of the two visions. Indeed, while for modernizing development, the land offers resources for development, natural wealth to be exploited, for the self-development model, territoriality plays a structuring role in the life of the community, and while pursuing economic and multidimensional development for human beings, the preservation of the ecosystem must be sought, including the

⁵³ Marcos MATÍAS ALONSO in the working materials "Desarrollo con identidad. Aspectos teóricos, conceptuales y epistemológicos sobre la noción de desarrollo", 2004, Fondo Indígena, pp. 26-28.

The indigenous people live with all the natural species and feel part of a whole.

Another difference between the two models should also be noted. If on the one hand, modernizing integrationism implies a proposal in which policies, programs, strategies and development objectives for indigenous peoples are generally defined from outside the indigenous community (indigenist agencies) and responsibility for project design falls to non-indigenous specialists and technicians, self-development, on the other hand, stresses the importance of the participatory aspect, community dialogue and autonomous management. In short, the need for the beneficiary populations to set their own objectives, to supervise and be directly involved in each of the phases of the development projects to be carried out in their grassroots communities.

Indigenous self-development thus links up with some of the new conceptions of development, later assumed by multilateral cooperation or the new aid architecture (Paris Declaration), based on demand, participation, appropriation and control of the programs by the beneficiaries, as well as on the alignment of cooperation agencies and multilateral organizations, and which have sought to put an end to relations of inequity and disadvantage or the imposition of foreign models with which the communities did not traditionally feel identified. Thus, in the face of an exogenous and intransitive model, which comes from outside and does not value the participation of the beneficiaries, the self-development of indigenous peoples as an alternative proposal for change, gives priority to an endogenous development model that must take into account the active participation of the beneficiaries in the identification of their economic needs and the management of their own productive and entrepreneurial initiatives.

Finally, it should be noted that for the first model, in any case, individual rights must be prioritized, which allow indigenous people to acquire citizenship, see their fundamental freedoms assured and integrate into society; while for the second model, collective rights tend to be prioritized, which will ensure the insertion of indigenous peoples from the recognition of the value of difference and multiculturalism and from the acceptance of the community as a moral subject and subject of rights in the global economic dynamics, without losing their particular identity.

Table: Two opposing conceptions⁵⁴

INTEGRATIONISM	SELF-DEVELOPMENT
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⁵⁴ Own elaboration.

MODERNIZER / Model promoting traditional and market economy	SELF-MANAGED / alternative model of indigenous peoples
Instrumental conception of culture	Conception of culture as a foundation for economic development.
Tradition as an obstacle to the economic development of indigenous peoples	Tradition as a potential for the promotion of different indigenous economic and productive developments.
Diversity as a challenge for the economic development of indigenous peoples	Diversity as a guarantee of pluralistic economic development capable of meeting the particular needs of indigenous peoples
Unidirectionality of economic development / Development as westernization and integration into traditional and market economy	Multidirectionality of Development/ Autonomous Development layer of maintaining the differentiated identity of indigenous economic proposals.
Unidimensionality of development / Developmental economics	Multidimensionality of development / Economic development is inseparable from and feeds back into the political, social and cultural development of indigenous peoples.
Exogenous Development / Economic needs and patterns of action defined from outside the community.	Endogenous and participatory development. Active participation of community members, indigenous organizations or companies and their legitimate representatives in all matters related to economic development processes.
The individual and self-interested homo economicus as a subject of development	The community subject as a subject of economic development
The market as the primary or sole mechanism for economic development	The reciprocity as mechanism economic development mechanism for communities

Land and natural resources as elements to be harnessed for development	Nature as an integrating whole, generator of resources and life plans.
economic	rooted in particular worldviews
Indigenous peoples as the object of development practices and strategies, public policies and economic growth programs.	Indigenous peoples as political subjects defining their own economic development on the basis of participation, consultation and free, prior and informed consent.
Individual economic and social rights of persons of indigenous origin	Collective rights of indigenous peoples projected at the level of development and economic self-determination

The alternative proposal of self-development states that development is not a linear, uniform path, marked by the evolutionary schemes assumed by developmentalism and still present in many international programs, but that each people, on the basis of its identity, must have the opportunity to shape its own endogenous development. An endogenous and participatory development that should not mean an autarchic development. Self-development, as an alternative proposal that establishes a close relationship between identity and economic development, and that values culture as a structuring element for the advancement or improvement of societies, presupposes the potential of one's own, requires empowerment and confidence in the specific economic possibilities of indigenous peoples; however, this must not entail isolation, but is perfectly combinable with openness to that which is foreign.

Self-development based on the value of cultural diversity, as an alternative proposal, appreciates intercultural dialogue, equitable and on equal terms, between indigenous and non-indigenous people, and assumes that international cooperation from international organizations, governments, multilateral agencies and NGOs, is an instrument that favors economic, human and more integral development.

In short, self-development provides us with a perspective of analysis and a renewed proposal for intervention in relation to the economic development of indigenous peoples, which is having a great impact on the demands of their organizations at present, as well as on the development projects or programs that they themselves, sometimes with the help of governmental or non-governmental, national or international agencies, are putting into practice. All this in areas of intervention as significant as the planning and management of traditional territories, initiatives that recover the original modes of

production and reclaim traditional systems of economic exploitation, the strengthening of community capacities for the initiation of particular economic enterprises, the adoption of technological models of sustainable use, the

bilingual and intercultural training focused on productive processes, the strengthening of indigenous organizations and enterprises, or the sustainable inclusion of indigenous producers in local, regional or national markets.

In all these areas of intervention linked to economic self-development, or economic self-determination as you prefer, the ethnic, identity and community dimension must be very present and the aspect of participation or democratization of development practices plays a structuring and essential role. From within the framework of their own cultural peculiarity, from the enhancement of their particular heritage, choosing alternative paths within the framework of community participation and actively rejecting the imposition of models, without renouncing to the advice and technical assistance that are fundamental and well oriented (i.e. aligned with their particular interests and visions), indigenous peoples can achieve a real, autonomous, meaningful and effective economic development.

All of this directly challenges public agencies, non-governmental organizations and, of course, multilateral organizations to reorient their action and must start from very different guiding principles. A reinforced model of action with indigenous peoples that must be based on the recognition of their indigenous communities, political and administrative units within state frameworks (autonomy), on the legitimization and recognition of their legal personality, on cultural freedom and the recognition of customary law or indigenous law⁵⁵. In this way, cooperation agencies or multilateral organizations should favor the participation of indigenous peoples, the recognition of their specific rights and the capacity that these groups have to decide where they want to go.

⁵⁵ This new model should include the main demands of indigenous peoples related to land (an element of concern for the communities since their identity, culture, religion, etc. are linked to it); culture (linked to the land and to their own existence as indigenous); language, which is the vehicle of culture, so that indigenous languages should be preserved; the adequate transmission of history (which does not respond to their reality because it was not made by themselves), which would allow them to acquire awareness of their being, of their development, in short, of their constitution as indigenous); the economic aspect (which makes evident the exploitation to which they are subjected, so they seek to acquire new financial support for their development); the political aspect (the denial and contempt of ethnicity; only by joining indigenous movements and organizations, that is, by being recognized and participating, can they make their voices heard, otherwise they remain isolated); the religious aspect (the Christian faith has served, since colonial times, as a tool of oppression and imposition); racism (discrimination against indigenous people is evident, as well as their contempt for an alleged lack of capacity to adapt to the technological development of the rest of the population, as if they were second-class beings incapable of developing); and finally, ethnic identity (this is one of the main issues without which indigenous organizations assimilated into peasant organizations would not exist). The process (...) proposes, therefore, an integral development from all fields, including the technical level, that is to say, the need for training within the indigenous communities. It also seeks to strengthen the areas of indigenous culture in which both indigenous and non-indigenous people participate and, on the other hand, to provoke a change in the correlation of the different social forces, a political change (...) It is an incitement to change that leads to a dignified life and to the national participation of the indigenous communities. See NUÑEZ LOYO, V. *Crisis y redefinición del indigenismo...* op. cit., pp. 71-72. and BARRE, Marie Chantal, "Políticas indigenistas y reivindicaciones indias en América Latina 1940-1980" in ROJAS, *América Latina...* op. cit., 1982.

their destinies, as well as the possibility of managing their own cultural, economic and political resources. From the proposal of self-development, as a fundamental political proposal, the imposition of models is systematically rejected and the problem of progress and indigenous economic development is situated from a renewed perspective of human rights, where ethnicity, identity, the right to difference, self-determination and the collective dimension of existence complement an alternative vision to the prevailing development models⁵⁶.

It is not, therefore, a question of promoting policies for the economic development of indigenous peoples or cooperation for the development of indigenous peoples, but of a policy with indigenous peoples and international cooperation with indigenous peoples that must develop within a framework of autonomy, aimed at promoting their economic self-determination.

The autonomous development of indigenous peoples has been forged as an alternative to a model that in the eyes of its forgers led to the cultural and social destruction of indigenous ethnic groups and which has generated so much resistance, mistrust and reticence among these groups when it comes to assessing the opportunities and benefits that the market economy and business ventures or initiatives can bring them.

Multilateral institutions and organizations must also generate new frameworks of mutual trust and become involved in the search for development alternatives and the promotion of intercultural coexistence of a pluralist nature, where the advantages of the market economy can feed back and strengthen intercultural-based indigenous economies based on collective interest and reciprocity.

All this necessarily refers to a renewed legal and political framework based on the normative consecration of the right of indigenous peoples to define their own development from their own socio-cultural peculiarities, which has had a clear projection in the United Nations, the OAS and other multilateral forums such as the Indigenous Fund. These frameworks have been advancing in the configuration of a particular status of protection for indigenous peoples (with clear economic implications) of which the rest of the international organizations (including the IDB and the

⁵⁶ Bonfil Batalla, masterfully highlighted this relationship between indigenous development, self-determination and differentiated identity "Ethno-development can be understood as the autonomous capacity of a culturally differentiated society to guide its own development. This autonomous capacity, in complex and plural macro-societies such as the one that integrates Latin America today, can only be achieved if these societies (indigenous peoples) constitute political units with the real possibility of self-determination, that is, of governing themselves, of making their own decisions in a series of matters that constitute the scope of their ethnodevelopment, in other words, the expansion of their own culture, both in its autonomous and in its appropriate modality." BONFIL BATALLA, *El etnodesarrollo...* op. cit. p.142. For Bonfil, ethnodevelopment would be achieved through two main lines of action: strengthening the autonomous decision-making capacity of indigenous peoples and increasing the use of foreign resources, subject to their cultural control, by indigenous organizations. Cultural control linked to ethnodevelopment is "the social capacity to decide on cultural resources, i.e. on those components of a culture that must be brought into play to identify the needs, problems and aspirations of society itself, and to try to satisfy, resolve and fulfill them" *ibidem*, p. 135.

MIF), subjects of international law or other international actors (such as companies or NGOs) can no longer disengage.

5. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT: THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF THEIR SELF-DETERMINATION

As we have previously stated in this report, indigenous peoples, throughout history, have been victims of the imposition of development models alien to their culture and distinct identity. These models had a unidirectional conception of development, that is, a development focused solely on the objective of westernizing indigenous communities and eliminating all pre-modern forms of organization, which were considered a hindrance to development and modernization. At the same time, development was seen as a one-dimensional development, that is, limited to developmentalist economicism that undervalued the social, cultural, (properly speaking) economic and political multidimensionality of development. Development was defined from outside the community, of which indigenous peoples were mere objects, over whose strategies it had no capacity to intervene and which valued the traditions and cultural diversity represented by indigenous peoples as a problem. All this entailed a planned acculturation, an action induced by factors of social change, with specific objectives and means, alien and foreign to those that could be intended or available to the indigenous groups concerned⁵⁷.

The ethnocidal effects of these development strategies were denounced by the first indigenous leaders who had access to the frameworks for participation in the United Nations and, faced with this imposed development model, demanded the application of ethno-development models, self-development or development with identity, based on a conception of economic development that valued culture, tradition and cultural diversity, that overcame the unidirectionality and unidimensionality of the models described above and in which the active participation of indigenous peoples as defining subjects of their own development had to be taken into account. All this began to shape a doctrinal construction around the right of indigenous peoples to self-development.

In turn, we should not forget that different human rights bodies, such as the UN Human Rights Committee or the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination have established empirically verified correlations between

⁵⁷ Pablo PALENZUELA and Mario JORDI, "Antropología y Etnodesarrollo: El caso de las organizaciones indígenas en el occidente de Guatemala" communication presented at the *VIII Congreso de Antropología*, Santiago de Compostela, 1999, p. 75.

indigeneity and poverty in its observations on the reports of various countries⁵⁸ ; that the Indigenous Fund was created with the founding mandate to reverse these situations, guarantee the right to development of indigenous peoples and avoid the imposition of foreign models⁵⁹ and that the World Bank itself⁶⁰ , the Inter-American Development Bank⁶¹ or the

⁵⁸ Reference to the concluding observations of the Human Rights Committee on the periodic report submitted by the USA, published in UN CCPR/C/79/Add.50, 7 April 1995, paragraph 26 and the concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on Peru's 12th and 13th periodic report (published in UN CERD/C/298/Add.5). The observations appear in UN CERD/C/304/Add.69 and were published on April 13, 1999.

⁵⁹ This is set forth in the Constitutive Agreement of the organization adopted at the II Summit of Ibero-American Heads of State and Government, Madrid, 1992.

⁶⁰ It should be recalled that the World Bank, through its *Operational Guideline on Indigenous Peoples (OD 4.20)*, had already in 1991 been self-critical of some of the Bank's policies and programs that had had terrible consequences for indigenous peoples, creating a line of assistance, promotion and support that was intended to be respectful of the traditions and cultures of the beneficiary populations. As early as 1998 and under the impetus of the First International Decade, the Bank revised (again) its policy on indigenous peoples, as part of a general restructuring of its strategy, moving from the Operational Guidelines (OD) format to the current Operational Policies/Bank Procedures (OP/BP) format in which policies and procedures, both mandatory, are more clearly distinguished from those aspects considered non-mandatory best practices. There are several important differences between draft OP/BP 4.10 and the previous Operational Directive 4.20, in terms of strengthening the mandatory provisions. On the one hand it sets out clear provisions for early and substantive consultation and informed participation of affected groups. The borrower and the Bank must take the results of the consultations into account when deciding whether to proceed with the processing and implementation of the project. At the same time, mechanisms are established, not only to avoid negative effects, but also to adapt the benefits to the indigenous peoples. In addition, a comparative study shows that the new strategy adds new mandatory requirements with respect to the commercial use of natural resources (including forestry, mining and hydrocarbon resources) existing on lands belonging to or traditionally used by indigenous groups. Although these recognitions and new Bank guidelines on indigenous peoples are of unquestionable importance, they confirm the consolidation of an institutional framework linked to the protection of the rights of indigenous peoples (rights such as prior consultation, the right to territory, self-development, etc., are at stake here), the fact is that indigenous peoples are still not able to exercise their rights in the Bank's projects.) the truth is that indigenous peoples have expressed their disagreement and have proposed that the improved social and environmental functioning of World Bank operations can only be achieved with appropriate domestic policy norms together with effective institutional mechanisms. Vid. Tom GRIFFITHS, "The World Bank, Indigenous Peoples and International Development: A Step Forward or Backward?" in *Indigenous Affairs*, "International Processes: Perspectives and Challenges", IWGIA, No. 1, 2002, pp. 54-63. On the World Bank and the right to development of indigenous peoples, see the work *Pueblos Indígenas: una visión de Naciones Unidas y la Banca Multilateral*, Fondo Indígena, La Paz, 2007. I have worked on this organization and its strategy of aid to indigenous peoples in J. Daniel OLIVA, *La cooperación internacional con pueblos indígenas: desarrollo y derechos humanos*, CIDEAL, Madrid, 2005, *op.cit.* and also in "Políticas de estado en cooperación internacional para la promoción del desarrollo de los pueblos indígenas", in the book coordinated by Mikel BERRAONDO, *Pueblos indígenas y derechos humanos*, Universidad de Deusto, Bilbao, 2006, pp.359-398.

⁶¹ Anne DERUYTTERE, "Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development: The Role of the IDB," Indigenous Peoples and Community Development Unit," Washington D.C., June 1997, pp. 9-16. The IDB expanded and improved its strategy of cooperation with indigenous peoples. In 1997, the IDB's Indigenous Peoples and Community Development Unit began to review its work with indigenous peoples. The Bank now has a renewed strategic document for Indigenous Development, based on a diagnosis of the specificities, demands, limitations and opportunities of indigenous peoples and a review of the experience of the Bank and other institutions over the last two decades. The formulation of the new Strategic Framework, which was carried out in collaboration with indigenous peoples and specialized NGOs, is part of the set of international mandates assumed by the IDB, including the United Nations Millennium Development Goals and the Action Plans of the Durban and Johannesburg Conferences (Racism and Sustainable Development, respectively). The IDB Strategy made the organization focus on three areas of action: 1) strengthening land, territory and governance (including actions in crisis situations); 2) reducing marginalization and exclusion; and 3) strengthening the comparative advantages of indigenous peoples based on their natural, cultural and social capital to take advantage of the intercultural space as a basis for improving the quality of life of the communities. The strategic axes make the organization focus its work on the visibility of indigenous peoples and their specificity, the empowerment of indigenous autonomy, the improvement of access to and quality of social services and the improvement of opportunities for economic development, the promotion of rights, regulations and security, and the promotion of the rights of indigenous peoples.

The Asian Development Bank⁶² has taken this issue into account in the elaboration of its guidelines and in the implementation of its programs among indigenous peoples.

Certainly, over the decades, the imposition of development models -inspired by the hegemonic paradigm- on indigenous communities has led to socio-cultural destructuring and high levels of poverty. All of this has generated an alternative proposal that has attempted to articulate ethnicity, culture and economic development within the framework of vindicatory processes that have been demanding new legal, political and organizational premises and that has ended up reinforcing the concept of self-development, which, according to Bonfil Batalla, is a "process of social transformation sustained by the social capacity of a people to build its future, taking advantage of the lessons of its historical experience and the real and potential resources of its culture, in accordance with a project defined according to its own values and aspirations"⁶³.

Ethnodevelopment or self-development⁶⁴, means "looking inward: it means finding in the group's culture the resources and creative force needed to face the challenges of the changing modern world. It does not mean autarky or self-imposed isolation, still less retreat into a museum of "tradition", although those ethnic groups that may wish to remain isolated (such as some tribes in the rainforest of the Amazon basin) should certainly be free to enjoy the fundamental human right of isolation (...) Ethnodevelopment is not the same as self-development.(...) Ethnodevelopment does not mean fragmenting existing ones and subverting the process of nation building, but rather redefining the nature of nation building and enriching the complex multicultural fabric of many modern states, by recognizing the legitimate aspirations of the culturally distinct ethnicities that make up the national whole (...) Finally, ethnodevelopment means reconsidering the nature and objectives of development projects at the local level, from hydroelectric dams to the introduction of plantation crops (...).

communities. Vid. *Strategy for Indigenous Development of the Inter-American Development Bank*, Department of Sustainable Development, Indigenous Peoples and Community Development Unit, March 22, 2006, Washington. Vid. J. Daniel OLIVA, *La cooperación internacional con pueblos indígenas: desarrollo y derechos humanos*, CIDEAL, Madrid, 2005 and "Políticas de Estado en cooperación internacional para la promoción del desarrollo de los pueblos indígenas", in the book coordinated by Mikel BERRAONDO, *Pueblos indígenas y derechos humanos*, Universidad de Deusto, Bilbao, 2006, pp.359-398.

⁶² *Report of the Asian Development Bank to the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues*, Third Session, New York, 10-21 May 2004. E/C.19/2004/9.

⁶³ Bonfil BATALLA, "El etnodesarrollo, sus premisas jurídicas, políticas y de organización" in VV.AA *América Latina: Etnodesarrollo y etnocidio*, 10-17, FLACSO, San José de Costa Rica, 1982.

⁶⁴ Despite the differences in terminology and the different historical origin (although close) of both concepts, we use them as synonyms on this occasion. We have differentiated between the two concepts in the aforementioned book J. Daniel OLIVA, *La cooperación internacional con pueblos indígenas: desarrollo y derechos humanos*, 2005.

keeping in mind, first and foremost, the needs, desires, cultural specificities and grassroots participation of the ethnic groups themselves"⁶⁵ .

In view of the above, it seems that we can affirm that there is a common nexus between self-determination or self-determination of indigenous peoples and self-development⁶⁶ , since both constitute factors favoring the autonomy of peoples, both feed back, interrelate and reinforce each other, there can be no autonomous economic development without self-determination and self-determination of peoples is impossible if their economic development does not take root in their own historical and cultural reality. Self-determination means "the opposite of integration or assimilation, that is, the right of indigenous peoples to defend and preserve their very particular and special cultural, social and economic identity within the national community of which they are a part. Indeed, the term self-determination... may encompass their right to provide for their own economic development, their own cultural development, the application of their own legal system and their own social organization"⁶⁷ .

We would therefore speak of a close linkage, of a dialectical and complementary relationship, between the right to self-determination⁶⁸ and the right to autonomous development insofar as this right is a necessary condition for the realization of the former, without necessarily undermining the integrity of States. We are faced with two rights that feed back on each other, reinforce each other and appear to us as interrelated and complementary. This linkage was to a large extent already reflected in the Declaration on the Right to Development adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1986.

If by development of indigenous peoples, autonomous, with identity or with an ethnic dimension we mean a broad and open concept, which incorporates the *participatory and appropriative aspect* - since only through the democratic participation of the beneficiaries can the development of indigenous peoples be achieved.

⁶⁵ Rodolfo STAVENTHAGEN, "Ethnocide or ethnodevelopment: the new challenge" in *World: problems and confrontations*,

Year II, No. 1, Winter 1988, p. 69.

⁶⁶ The 1981 *San José Declaration on Ethnocide and Ethno-Development* itself establishes this relationship in its paragraph 3) "We understand by ethno-development the expansion and consolidation of the spheres of its own culture, through the strengthening of the autonomous decision-making capacity of a culturally differentiated society to guide its own development and the exercise of self-determination, whatever the level considered, and implies an equitable and proper organization of power. This means that the ethnic group is a political-administrative unit with authority over its own territory and decision-making capacity in the areas that constitute its development project within a process of growing autonomy and self-management".

⁶⁷ Midori, PAPANÓPOLO, *El nuevo enfoque internacional en materia de derechos de los pueblos indígenas*, Universidad Rafael Landívar, Guatemala, 1995, pp. 61 and following.

⁶⁸ From this approach, as OLE HENRIK MAGGA points out, "the principle of self-determination has an internal impact on the State, which must guarantee to all peoples living on its territory the right to participate in the management of their own economic, social and cultural development" in "Derechos culturales y poblaciones autóctonas. La experiencia sami" *Informe Mundial sobre la Cultura 2000*, UNESCO and Ediciones SM, Madrid 1999,

p.80.

This is a *culturalist perspective*, understanding that economic development must start from the heart of each culture, and that in turn is related to *a complex conception of the development of peoples*, which also incorporates social, cultural, legal, political and social dimensions in addition to the economic dimension, religious, political and everything that has to do with the management of land and resources, the environment, the media or health⁶⁹ - we can assure that the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 2007 enshrines rights with different weight and projection but that move in this direction.

Even the preamble itself refers to the issue by expressing concern "that indigenous peoples have suffered historical injustices as a result, inter alia, of the colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, preventing them from exercising, in particular, their right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests"⁷⁰ .

Several articles of the United Nations Declaration are devoted to this issue, and they affirm this right to development. Specifically, Article 21.1 states that "indigenous peoples have the right, without discrimination of any kind, to the improvement of their economic and social conditions, including, inter alia, in the areas of education, employment, vocational training and retraining, housing, sanitation, health and social security". The notion of self-development is reinforced by Article 23, which provides that indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the exercise of their right to development. In particular, indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop all health, housing and other economic and social programs of concern to them and, as far as possible, to administer these programs through their own

⁶⁹ The *Note by the Secretariat on indigenous peoples and their right to development, including the right to participate in development affecting them*, Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.4/2001/2 of 20 June 2001, highlighted this multidimensionality of indigenous peoples' right to development: "One of the main strategies for the realization of the right to development of indigenous peoples is their full and equal participation in national development, including benefit-sharing. At the political level this entails the representation of indigenous peoples in all democratic institutions, including government, parliament and the judiciary. At the socioeconomic level, it entails the implementation of measures to end discrimination in the labor market, access to social security, education and credit. With respect to cultural rights, full and equal participation would mean that indigenous populations could use the language, follow their social customs and that certain state services, such as the school system and the administration of justice, could be provided in their language and with respect for their culture. Another strategy proposed by indigenous organizations is the exercise of their right to development through some form of political autonomy or self-determination. Self-governance rights usually include control in one way or another over their territory and natural resources, as well as their own education and communication systems. This strategy is often coupled with some form of decentralization, through which indigenous communities can create districts in which they are in the majority, establishing their own social and cultural practices and their own forms of public administration", paragraphs 23 and 24.

⁷⁰ Preamble of the United Nations Declaration, paragraph 5.

institutions⁷¹ . The right to their own autonomous development, which is reinforced by the distinctive reality of indigenous peoples, is clearly stated.

1. The peoples concerned shall have the right to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions and spiritual well-being and the lands which they occupy or otherwise use, and to control, to the extent possible, their own economic, social and cultural development. Furthermore, these peoples shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of national and regional development plans and programs likely to affect them directly. The improvement of the living and working conditions and the level of health and education of the peoples concerned, with their participation and co-operation, shall be a priority in the plans for the overall economic development of the regions in which they live. Special development projects for these regions shall also be designed to promote such improvement"⁷² . Thus, although Convention 169 does not recognize that indigenous peoples are entitled to the right to development, it does at least establish that States and, by extension, other subjects of international law, such as international organizations, have the legal duty to ensure it.

As we have shown, there is a fundamental component in the economic development of indigenous peoples and societies: control over land, territories and natural resources⁷³ . This is enshrined in various international instruments. An example of this interrelationship is Article 32 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which states that indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands, territories and other resources.

As we can see, free, prior and informed consent, or at least consultation, is closely related to autonomous development and control over the territory. Thus, Article 15.2 of ILO Convention No. 169, Article 15.2, has a bearing on this issue by stipulating that governments shall establish or maintain procedures for consulting indigenous peoples before undertaking or authorizing the exploitation of resources existing on their lands. This link between autonomous development and consultation appears in turn in other international instruments such as the recently approved American Declaration (June 2016) on the rights of indigenous peoples.

⁷¹ A similar provision appears in Article 7(1) of ILO Convention 169.

⁷² Convention 169, articles 7.1 and 7.2

From a comparative perspective, special mention should be made of Article XXIX of the aforementioned Declaration, which is devoted entirely to the right to development:

"Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and determine their own priorities regarding their political, economic, social and cultural development, in accordance with their own worldview. They also have the right to be guaranteed the enjoyment of their own means of subsistence and development and to engage freely in all economic activities.

2. This right includes the elaboration of policies, plans, programs and strategies for the exercise of their right to development and implementation according to their political and social organization, norms and procedures, their own worldviews and institutions.

3. Indigenous peoples have the right to participate actively in the elaboration and determination of development programs affecting them and, as far as possible, to administer such programs through their own institutions.

4. States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources.^{74/}

5. Indigenous peoples have the right to effective measures to mitigate adverse ecological, economic, social, cultural or spiritual impacts of development projects affecting their rights. Indigenous peoples who have been dispossessed of their own means of subsistence and development have the right to restitution and, where this is not possible, to just and fair compensation. This includes the right to compensation for any harm caused to them by the implementation of plans, programs or projects of the State, international financial organizations or private enterprises."

As a whole, the American Declaration assumes throughout the preamble and the operative part a modern conception of the rights of indigenous peoples (despite the fact that it is below the standards set by the United Nations Declaration) from an individual and collective perspective, where participation in their own affairs is a strong idea that is consolidated in many of the articles. But it is

^{74.} The State of Colombia departs from the consensus with respect to Article XXIX, paragraph 4 of the OAS Declaration on Indigenous Peoples, which refers to consultations.

especially in the article reproduced above, which explicitly assumes the idea of self-development and development as a collective human right of indigenous peoples.

Due to its regional projection, there is no doubt that the American Declaration has and must have in the future as a normative document of reference and inspiration of good practices for all those actors, including international organizations working to promote the economic development of the indigenous peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Regarding the role of States in promoting indigenous development, mention should be made of Article 21.2 of the United Nations Declaration, which states that States shall take effective measures, and where appropriate, special measures, to ensure the continuous improvement of the economic and social conditions of indigenous peoples. Article 39 (also of the United Nations Declaration) refers to the role of international cooperation, stating that indigenous peoples have the right to financial and technical assistance from States and through international cooperation to achieve the purposes of this Declaration. Article 41 reinforces this provision by stating:

"The organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations system and other intergovernmental organizations shall contribute to the full realization of this Declaration through the mobilization, inter alia, of financial cooperation and technical assistance. Ways and means of ensuring the participation of indigenous peoples in matters affecting them shall be established".

In many cases, indigenous peoples do not have access to credit, financing or trade facilities and are deprived of public investment, social services and the equipment and infrastructure necessary for their progress; these are the real bottlenecks that prevent their generalized economic development from their intercultural perspective. Cooperation for the development of States and the International Community, including of course the action of organizations such as the MIF, is therefore fundamental and must be multiplied in order to promote the right to self-development of indigenous peoples, in this sense it is very important that indigenous peoples have access to public and private tenders that can favor their development and have knowledge of the possible sources of financing.

In turn, as we have pointed out in previous pages, autonomous development, promotion of Good Living, economic development with an ethnic dimension or differential approach, are not equivalent to autarky or encapsulation. Promote economic and productive development, entrepreneurship and business initiatives based on indigenous peculiarities.

from its own socio-cultural substratum, from the potential of its own culture, does not mean denying the possibilities of development that may come from international financing or technical cooperation. Therefore, favoring self-development implies that the indigenous community must feel that it is the beneficiary, protagonist and participant in the processes and phases that structure the project cycle (identification, planning, execution and evaluation), knowing how to balance the indigenous culture and the possibilities it offers with the benefits that can surely come from the outside.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the United Nations Declaration assumes this reality and therefore, throughout its preamble and its operative part, articulates principles and rights in favor of indigenous peoples' own development and autonomy, but in its final part it calls for international responsibility, advocating that international organizations and, of course, States, ultimately responsible for the development of their societies, commit themselves in practice to the principles set out above.

The truth is that the right to self-development (and its link with the right to self-determination) of indigenous peoples, although not explicitly stated, was already pointed out in the Declaration on the Right to Development of the United Nations General Assembly of 1986⁷⁵ whose first article stated "1. The right to development is an inalienable right by virtue of which every human being and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, enjoy and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized. The human right to development also implies the full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination which includes, subject to the relevant provisions of both International Covenants on Human Rights, the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources".

It should be noted that the right to development, as set forth in this Declaration, is presented to us as a right to progressive realization, inalienable, individual and collective, that integrates and reinforces other fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual and the right of peoples to self-determination, and that incorporates the capacity to participate in and contribute to multidimensional development⁷⁶. Despite the fact that the concept of peoples is a statocentric concept and that, despite attempts to do so, indigenous peoples were not finally incorporated as holders of the right to development⁷⁷ in the 1986 Declaration, the fact is that this aspect of the right to development was not included in the 1986 Declaration.

⁷⁵ General Assembly resolution 41/128 of 4 December 1986.

⁷⁶ And I follow here the interpretations of Professor Fernando M. MARIÑO in his work "El marco jurídico internacional del desarrollo" in F. MARIÑO and C. FERNÁNDEZ LIESA (ed.), *El desarrollo y cooperación internacional*, Universidad Carlos III / BOE, Madrid, 1997. FERNÁNDEZ LIESA (ed.), *El desarrollo y la cooperación internacional*, Universidad Carlos III / BOE, Madrid, 1997.

⁷⁷ As Felipe GÓMEZ ISA informed us at the *Third Meeting of Researchers on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* held at

the University of Deusto in September 2003, the truth is that, despite the fact that in the

We believe that the concept of participation and contribution is extremely important, as it has undoubtedly inspired subsequent normative and doctrinal developments.

All this is closely linked to the concept of the right to development with identity, self-development, good living or self-development of indigenous peoples, which also presupposes a fundamental element, that of the participation of indigenous peoples from cultural control⁷⁸, as collective subjects of change, who must participate in the design, implementation and evaluation of economic development strategies that contemplate them as beneficiaries.

In short, the right to self-development as an emerging collective right, reinforced by general and specialized instruments, is related to the need for governments, international organizations, NGOs and international cooperation agencies, when implementing their economic, productive and other development strategies, to ensure that indigenous peoples, through effective consultation methods, actively participate in everything related to their development.

Basically, we are witnessing not merely the rhetorical recognition of a hypothetical right to development of indigenous peoples, but the generation of an international norm, reinforced by some domestic laws⁷⁹, which is calling into question the unilinear, evolutionist conception, as a step from the simple to the complex, from the archaic to the modern, which has traditionally been handled in relation to indigenous development. With this, to a large extent, the international community is beginning to recognize indigenous peoples as collective subjects called upon to define how they wish their economic future to be based on their own cultural identity or on the basis of what they want, always respecting the limits related to ensuring the individual human rights of indigenous or non-indigenous persons and the territorial integrity of the States.

This is the material content of the right to development of indigenous peoples that is beginning to take shape in international law, a very different question is related to the political and factual capacity that indigenous peoples actually have.

In the Working Group in charge of drafting the Declaration on the Right to Development, there were explicit proposals to incorporate indigenous peoples as holders of the right to development, but this was not possible in the end due to the clear opposition announced by Latin American countries.

⁷⁸ It should be recalled that *cultural control* is understood as "the social capacity to decide on the cultural resources that should be brought into play to identify needs and attempt to resolve and satisfy them" Bonfil BATALLA, *Pensar nuestra cultura*, Alianza, Madrid, 1991, p.49.

⁷⁹ The more or less explicit recognition of the right to development of indigenous peoples in the political constitutions of Guatemala (art. 2), Mexico (art. 4), Panama (art. 104 and 108), Nicaragua (art. 44, 89 and 90), and Ecuador (art. 3) should be noted. Reference should also be made to Chilean Law No. 19253 which established the National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI), the body responsible for promoting the self-development of indigenous peoples, and to the foundations and regulatory basis of the *Origins Program* in the same country. Finally, we must not forget the Costa Rican Law of Indigenous Autonomous Development.

The right of indigenous peoples to exercise this right and the States responsible for guaranteeing it, in an international context marked by global economic dynamics that do not always facilitate its protection and implementation.

The extension of economic internationalization processes associated with the globalization of a hegemonic development model whose bases and foundations, according to indigenous peoples, are individualism, large-scale exploitation of natural resources, consumption of non-renewable energies, constant increase in productivity and high levels of consumption, all in clear contradiction with the backbone of indigenous development, complicates for many peoples the real exercise of this collective right.

If we take into account that, beyond the particularities, these backbones are linked to solidarity, controlled exploitation of resources, sustainable and non-utilitarian management of the land, the collective nature of property, community work, solidarity, redistribution, reciprocity and mutual cooperation, we can conclude that the recognition of the right to development of indigenous peoples, as has occurred in international law, generates a set of responsibilities for States and international organizations related to the generation of different economic dynamics in favor of these peoples, we can conclude that the recognition of the right to development of indigenous peoples, as has occurred in international law, generates a set of responsibilities for States and international organizations related to the generation of different economic dynamics in favor of these peoples, who will necessarily have to seek formulas for articulation with the traditional and market economy.

In short, indigenous development (from their own vision and particularity), as we have analyzed, is recognized as a right for these peoples by the international community, which in parallel generates duties in the field of cooperation and intervention with a differential approach for the States and important responsibilities for other international subjects and actors. Among them are the multilateral organizations themselves, whose programs, also in the field of promoting economic development, must necessarily be aligned with the objectives and demands of indigenous peoples.

6. BARRIERS, CHALLENGES and WEAKNESSES IN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

6.1 Ecosystem: main factors by sector

Considering the scope of the objectives of the study, different stakeholders were selected on the basis of previously identified categories. This allowed us to build an ecosystem in which we have included different stakeholders who share common problems in relation to the implementation of economic and productive development of indigenous peoples but in which we have also been able to identify particular problems faced by each of them on the basis of their particular identity.

The opinions gathered through the interviews and focus groups conducted with/with the different actors integrated into sectors or categories have allowed us to systematize their views on the main barriers, challenges or weaknesses in relation to the promotion of development with identity in each of the countries in which the research has been carried out. Always according to their perspective and experience.

6.1.1 The research sector

The research sector, which included universities, academic centers, researchers and professors who, due to their area of specialization in the field of teaching and research, have stood out for their interest in issues related to the development of indigenous peoples, showed a fairly coinciding opinion when it came to pointing out the problems they face.

Thus, the academics and researchers interviewed highlighted some difficulties and shortcomings:

-First of all, it should be noted that they often have problems in incorporating new epistemological and methodological visions related to economic development with identity in their academic centers of reference. Academic curricula, university undergraduate or graduate programs or research strategies and reports contain hardly any content or guiding and operational principles related to the necessary differential approach. These topics are not of priority interest nor do they have a high presence in the curricula.

-Secondly, they highlight the scarcity of resources available internally for the implementation of research focused on development.

economic development of indigenous peoples with a differential approach. They also regret the non-existence of external funding sources -or if they exist, they do not have access to them- for the implementation of multidisciplinary research projects that can focus on this field of study and research. On occasions, even when funding does exist, since the public universities - in this case - do not have adequate capacities and competencies for research, a large part of the resources have had to be returned - in a percentage that is striking (close to 75%).

On the other hand, due precisely to the above-mentioned shortcomings, there are no departments or research centers specialized monographically on the issue, and interested academics and researchers face serious difficulties in forming multidisciplinary research groups with adequate research capacity and skills to undertake studies -even basic ones- on such a complex field in which so many dimensions and factors are intertwined.

-We have also identified that there is no sustained articulation and real collaboration between research centers and indigenous reference organizations or indigenous companies working in this field. There is a lack of public-private or multisectoral alliances that would allow interested researchers to have a permanent and stable relationship with other key actors to understand how the particular mechanisms associated with the generation of indigenous economic development models with a differential component work.

-Another major difficulty has to do with the lack of specialized postgraduate training in the study of development with identity and economic development of indigenous peoples, which prevents the training of experts in this field with the capacity to intervene in the field and to carry out applied research.

One issue that has become commonplace in the work with academics and researchers (an issue that has partly inspired this research) is the absence of a bibliographic and documentary base capable of supporting more in-depth research. In fact, there is a lack of empirically contrasted studies that allow, from a multidisciplinary perspective, to identify shortcomings and problems in the field of economic development of indigenous peoples, as well as those good practices that can inspire other interventions and be replicable.

-Despite some progress in this area, the academic and research fields continue to show a lack of integration in the reference teams of professors, researchers and social scientists (anthropologists, sociologists, economists, social workers) and indigenous jurists who can, from their own experience and expertise, contribute to the development of the indigenous peoples of the region.

individual identity and particular collective references to ensure a true and authentic differential approach in the daily work of research.

-It is therefore essential to incorporate new epistemological and methodological visions and new curricular frameworks focused realistically and with cultural relevance on the development of studies and research on the economic development of indigenous peoples.

-It is necessary to incorporate, through scholarships and public policies in the field of education and specific training, indigenous social researchers who should be trained in the process of study and knowledge of indigenous markets, value chains and production with a differential approach.

It requires the development of well-founded protocols and outlines for research, with very clear diagnoses that not only rely on national macro figures but also take into account intra-regional inequality gaps, rural-urban differences and gender issues⁸⁰.

6.1.2 Indigenous organizations

The indigenous organizations studied were those that have a classic political profile and are assuming an important role within their countries in the field of struggles for the implementation of efficient consultation mechanisms or collective resistance for the preservation of their territories, in an almost permanent conflict with extractive companies. For these organizations, the issue of economic self-determination, excluding the territorial issue, is neither part of their catalog of demands and claims nor the object of special concern. However, we have also worked with other organizations more focused on the promotion of economic enterprises or even with those constituted in multi-ethnic networks or confederations that play such an important role at the national, regional or sub-regional level in Latin America and the Caribbean.

-Indigenous organizations generally state that it is difficult for them to incorporate the issue of economic development of their peoples in their work agendas.

⁸⁰COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the aforementioned reports.

with the institutions of their governments and that they do not usually have their support when it comes to obtaining differentiated treatment in their ventures.

-Particular problems have been detected in relation to the impossibility of exercising their territorial rights and specifically to the demarcation and titling of their lands. All of this from the perspective that their economic projects require external financing that can only be obtained when they can present guarantees or assurances that their lands are recognized.

-On the other hand, indigenous organizations show their reticence towards the market economy and oppose it to their community logics and forms of production. This worldview confrontation is linked to the contradiction between thinking about profit and assuming a logic of individual interest that tends to break the associativity of their organizations.

-There is no training in the communities and commonwealths that offers guarantees for improving production processes. Many of those interviewed highlighted the lack of information and basic knowledge about the production chain, the strategic actors with whom to trade, market expansion or administrative management.

There are still complaints regarding the problems that persist with non-governmental organizations that maintain welfarist policies, which generate dependency relationships and do not respect or promote real economic self-determination processes.

There are difficulties related to the non-acceptance (by external actors) of the necessary differential approach and the lack of knowledge of the elements that characterize their economic models and the lack of sensitivity to the differential and intercultural approach.

-Some solutions would be related to the development of exchange and training programs on the complex process of the production chain for indigenous organizations, but also to raise awareness among public officials and other actors involved in promoting economic development.

-It is also necessary to generate policies to support the promotion and marketing of indigenous products, aimed at raising awareness of their origin and nature and creating a greater identification of possible allies when it comes to marketing indigenous production at the national and international level.

-Indigenous organizations consider it essential to strengthen their presence in working groups, exchange forums and public entities focused on promoting economic and productive development.

The State must in turn generate incentives that favor indigenous producers so that they can compete by reducing the disadvantages caused by deep-rooted attitudes of economic discrimination and so that they have greater access to the value chains of fair and solidarity-based trade models.

-They specifically call attention to the generation of training programs that include interrelated components on the process and management of the production chain from the indigenous regions, access to good quality inputs, management of financing and technology tools and machinery that allow them to increase production, applying quality control criteria and using techniques for collection and marketing preparation.

-It is also proposed to generate short courses at the national level to raise awareness among public officials whose work has an impact on the economic development of indigenous peoples.

It is necessary to apply development policies focused on the rural or urban sector in indigenous contexts and with specific components on indigenous economies that promote economic self-determination⁸¹.

6.1.3 International Public Organizations and Funds

In this case, multilateral agencies and international cooperation agencies were included. Some of these have assumed, at least programmatically, elements that can be linked to the differential approach and the more identity-based vision of development.

-In general, the actors interviewed are sensitive to the differential approach and understand that it is impossible to succeed with interventions with indigenous peoples if they do not

⁸¹ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the above-mentioned reports.

The differentiated approach is necessary to understand the different rhythms and times and the different priorities and processes that characterize the indigenous economy.

-They are also aware of the role they play as mediators and actors that generate spaces for meeting, understanding and agreement between government institutions, the private sector and indigenous organizations.

-They highlight as a general problem and challenge, the scarce training of indigenous entrepreneurs in business models, accounting management and marketing.

-In turn, indigenous producers have problems of articulation with the value chains in which these enterprises can be inserted and the scarce connection with intermediaries or product suppliers.

-International organizations and public funds coincide in pointing out the poor access and communication routes that still persist in many areas inhabited by indigenous peoples and the lack of infrastructure, which seriously hampers projects to support projects with these groups.

-They also consider problematic the limited political weight of indigenous peoples, who, despite the progress made, do not have real opportunities to influence major public development policies in the countries in question.

-This is in addition to the limited sensitivity of the States to incorporate policies with a differentiated approach in public actions and the low visibility of indigenous demands, priorities and needs in the field of economic development, especially in rural contexts.

Some of the interviewees in this sector are committed to promoting and developing replicas of successful development experiences of indigenous peoples in the tourism sector or community production⁸².

-In this line, they also consider it relevant to provide greater visibility to the economic enterprises of indigenous peoples and the context in which they are

⁸² An example from Peru is the case of the promotion of tourism in Lake Titicaca, specifically Peru's Community-based Rural Tourism Program, known as the UROS experiences, which are already linked to the chain of tourism agencies working in Puno and connections with Cuzco. There is also the experience of Loreto in the buffer zone of the Pacaya Samidia National Reserve where a successful project has been implemented to raise Paiche, an Amazonian fish, in the lagoons that are managed by the community. MARTÍNEZ, M. *Peru Report*...Already cited.

The development of these communities shows the shortcomings they face, the effects in terms of development greater than those of the rest of the population, but also their capacity for resilience and entrepreneurship.

-They also consider it essential to provide support to public institutions and associations of indigenous producers or cooperatives in order to strengthen partnerships, collaboration and mutual learning in the management of production chains and value chains.

As a call to action in view of the diversity that is evident in the methodologies that the different actors use in the contexts of intervention with indigenous peoples, they reaffirm (an issue that is also very widespread among the opinions of different types of actors) that it is highly desirable to deepen training on differentiated treatment and application with a focus on cultural relevance⁸³.

6.1.4 Organized civil society

Organized civil society has been another of the key actors that have participated in the research process. Civil society has been taken into account as the one involved in solidarity activities and promotion of the development of indigenous peoples, both national and international, with a secular or religious character, more or less ideologized or focused on a politically neutral work and with a mainly technical component.

The category "civil society" also includes, of course, foundations and non-governmental organizations which, with the withdrawal and weakening of state action in many contexts in the region, have taken on a leading role in the eradication of poverty and are in permanent contact with the indigenous peoples in whose territories they intervene to varying degrees in terms of development models with identity and a differential approach.

-The various civil society actors note the progress that has been made with regard to differentiated treatment to empower organizations and associations that

⁸³ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the above-mentioned reports.

They also point out the need to deepen this type of approach and consolidate it in the interventions promoted.

-They are aware that differentiated treatment requires an enormous effort, that it is not a simple matter and that it must be focused on incorporating initiatives at the indigenous level into the dynamics of general intervention.

As a fundamental problem, they continue to detect low self-esteem among the indigenous population and lack of cultural affirmation. This is one of the great challenges faced by civil society organizations when working with indigenous peoples. Indigenous empowerment is still pending in many intervention contexts.

-In addition, misgivings continue to be detected in the relationships with other cultural groups in the process of economic development of their communities. Partly as a result of the fact that assistance-based approaches or approaches that generate clientelism among service providers are still present, as opposed to horizontal models based on the recognition of indigenous peoples and their valuation, which would be much more appropriate, better received and therefore more effective.

-Mistrust between the parties continues to characterize the economic relationships between community representatives and those external actors with whom they collaborate for the development of productive undertakings and initiatives. It is necessary to build bridges of understanding and trust, based on the recognition of differentiated identities and renewed frameworks of trust and accountability.

In many grassroots communities, internal disintegration has been detected as a result of peasantization policies, co-optation of their leaders and corruption.

-Indigenous producers require specific and differentiated facilities to link up with the services required to join the production chains, from the initial production process and the generation of products or services to their marketing.

Indigenous peoples must gradually gain, with the support of civil society, spaces for economic self-determination and gradually dispense with the almost generalized presence of internal or external intermediaries, who take advantage of the weakness of traditional producers, appropriate a large part of the surplus value obtained and ultimately prevent communities from accessing fair market conditions⁸⁴.

⁸⁴ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia*; CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A.

6.1.5 Indigenous Peoples' enterprises

Indigenous Peoples' enterprises that, despite the difficulties they face, play a leading role in the

or less successful ventures in the fields of tourism, agricultural production or territorial management were identified as key players in the promotion of indigenous economic development and as concrete examples of indigenous enterprises.

-In almost all cases, they consider that beyond symbolic acknowledgements and rhetorical incorporations in the case of public programs, the differentiated approach is not fully consolidated and is a major challenge when it comes to linking in practice the solidarity economy, fair trade networks and indigenous visions of what should constitute autonomous development.

-In the face of the willingness of indigenous companies to incorporate identity factors in their entrepreneurial processes, the competition rules of the globalized economic model make it not an easy task. In spite of this, alliances with private institutions offer services with some favorable conditions and with NGOs that provide economic support and specific training with differentiated elements.

-There are great difficulties in competing and placing products on the market. These two interrelated issues are one of the major problems faced by indigenous companies, which report a lack of training, a poor understanding and identification of the competitive elements of any business activity and a real problem when it comes to distributing and placing products or offering their service portfolios with guarantees.

-The indigenous companies regret (an issue that was absolutely present in most of the interviews) that they do not have the guarantees required by financial institutions. Therefore, there is no access to productive credits. Land titles are not clearly registered and, in addition, work on community lands is classified as functional use. The traditional use of cultivation, as a specific demonstration of autochthonous processes and the rescue of ancestral practices, which should be positively valued as an example of clear incorporation of the differential approach, becomes a double-edged sword, as many financial entities claim that because they have

Final Report Chile; MARROQUÍN A. Final Report Guatemala. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the aforementioned reports.

the characteristics of traditional farming systems do not guarantee their productivity.

-Although there is a whole network of local lenders (financially replacing traditional entities that are reluctant to deal with indigenous peoples), the fact is that these lenders grant loans at high interest rates. This, although it represents an initial financing, ends up having negative consequences for the real economic empowerment of the communities, since many producers have difficulties to pay, which affects the sustainability of the productive process.

-There is a high gender gap in relation to indigenous entrepreneurship. Although there are women entrepreneurs and the role of indigenous women as producers is indisputable, there is still little participation of women in leading activities for the economic development of the communities.

-There are, of course, associations of women producers, but they are the exception that confirms that the rule is to find associations, cooperatives or community enterprises integrated and above all directed by indigenous men.

-As other stakeholders have pointed out, the managers of indigenous companies are also aware of the lack of generalized training and education to understand and assimilate the complexity of the elements and factors that make up production chains.

-There is no access for indigenous companies to the technology, communication, marketing and quality certification of their products or services that would be necessary and important to facilitate their commercialization at the national, regional or international level.

-General support is required for the strengthening of indigenous business association models within the communities, which, taking as a reference the classic association models of the business world, can at the same time reinforce their own identity elements on the basis of the recognition of indigenous economies. Economies that are first and foremost solidarity economies based on reciprocity.

-Indigenous entrepreneurs in the framework of some of the interviews conducted propose holding meetings under the logic of exchanges of experiences and learning and marketing that could include topics such as market research for indigenous products (especially organic products), textiles, and handicrafts,

pharmacopoeia or services linked to ethno-tourism or the sustainable exploitation of the cultural or environmental heritage of indigenous peoples. All this within the framework of initiatives of the "indigenous business fair" type, whether in national, sub-regional, regional or international modalities⁸⁵.

6.1.6 Financial Entities

This category included mainly those focused on microfinance activities, sometimes constituted in savings cooperatives or community funds through non-governmental financial organizations. The opinions of some traditional financial entities and some others linked to the financing of fair trade business modalities were also taken into account.

-In general, the differential approach is not very present in the actions of traditional financial entities and, in any case, there is some kind of initiative aimed at peasant and rural communities. Only a few entities with an indigenous matrix, local savings cooperatives or community funds show sensitivity to the distinctive aspects in terms of identity.

-Beyond this initial finding regarding the lack of a differential approach, the fact is that indigenous peoples are not eligible for financing because they have economic initiatives with low productive yields and little capital accumulation.

-Indigenous peoples do not have sufficient guarantee factors in the opinion of financial entities. This is due to scarce technical assistance, lack of training, difficulties in entering commercial circuits beyond the community, local and restricted to their small areas of influence, and problems in obtaining guarantees.

-Despite the fact that indigenous peoples have a very important territorial heritage, as we have pointed out in different parts of this study, the truth is that the problems of the indigenous peoples are not always the same.

⁸⁵ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the aforementioned reports.

The difficulties encountered by indigenous peoples in exercising their territorial rights recognized internally and in the international legal system and, fundamentally, the difficulties related to the titling and demarcation of their lands, mean that in this area too, indigenous peoples do not generate sufficient confidence in the financial entities, as they understand that their lands do not generate the necessary security as concrete elements of guarantee. Only through their own savings initiatives in very localized contexts can they overcome these problems.

-There are still important prejudices about the quality of products and services obtained and offered, respectively, by indigenous peoples from traditional financial entities. There is a generalized distrust in relation to these quality standards and the products and services mentioned are often stigmatized as it is understood that they cannot compete with guarantees in the national market and even less in international commercial circuits.

-Some of the solutions proposed by the financial entities consulted would involve strengthening the levels of training and competence of indigenous producers, improving their access to information and new technologies, consolidating indigenous associative business frameworks, and promoting technical assistance in the communities and marketing focused on sales. All of this is aimed at improving the processes related to the production chain and the portfolio of services offered.

Another major field of action is the creation of financial cooperation frameworks within the communities, the creation of savings groups (such as those promoted by OXFAM in Guatemala, for example), community banks, solidarity collectives, the extension of micro-credits and, in parallel, the improvement of connections with domestic and international commercial circuits, where appropriate.

Traditional financial institutions demand greater knowledge of the logic of indigenous associations and collective entrepreneurship (mutual, cooperative, corporatist, family, solidarity, reciprocity, mutual aid) about which they continue to express some confusion, which is linked to the reservations they express when it comes to financially supporting their initiatives⁸⁶.

⁸⁶ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the aforementioned reports.

6.1.7 Private Sector

This category includes non-indigenous companies that are working with these peoples or those entities with a business component that participate in roundtables or forums for dialogue or intercultural encounters.

-There is no real knowledge of the issues related to the differentiated approach. The consulted businessmen are sensitive to the needs of indigenous peoples in terms of economic development and show solidarity with their general situation. Willing to collaborate and work in the field of cooperation and integrate dialogue initiatives (Intercultural Forum Guatemala) But there is no business policy projected in the development with identity of indigenous peoples.

-There are still some prejudices or fears about the lack of competence of indigenous entrepreneurs, their informality, their lack of productive diversification, the poor quality of their products and services offered and the different objectives they have in relation to productive development.

Non-indigenous entrepreneurs stress the need to improve financial, economic and business skills and training among indigenous peoples and modernize their practices to make their economies more productive. Progress must be made in access to technology and ultimately in optimizing their assets with realistic approaches, effective interventions and acceptable results.

-Partnerships between the private sector and indigenous peoples have not been developed.

-It is necessary to promote the consolidation of meeting forums between representatives of the private sector and indigenous peoples, in order to dialogue and contrast opinions and experiences of models (market economy versus indigenous economy) that have traditionally been perceived as opposites. These dialogues can lead to generate rapprochement and in many occasions to an understanding of the dynamics of each model, the basis for any approach aimed at the generation of intercultural matrix economies, based on the principles of transparency and equity and supported by a process of real participation⁸⁷.

⁸⁷ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the above-mentioned reports.

6.1.8 Public sector

This category includes national programs, reference public institutions and institutional and financial contributions made by the region's governments to regional cooperation structures. Although we are aware that in principle they have a strictly normative dimension, we have also been sensitive to the analysis of reference laws (mines, natural resource extraction, etc.) because of their implications in the generation of adequate or inadequate frameworks for indigenous development.

The public entities that centralize indigenous peoples' development policies in each of the countries studied are very different, ranging from CONADI in Chile to the Vice-Ministry of Interculturality in Peru. In general, these entities do not specialize solely in the issue of economic development, but carry out different activities and have diverse and complementary strategies focused in a broad sense on the protection of the rights of indigenous peoples and the promotion of development. Set of rights, including the right to economic development of indigenous peoples, which to a greater or lesser extent, at a national or international level, the States have recognized in different legal instruments and have developed through different secondary laws.

From this perspective, we can affirm that within the different countries we have institutions that are sensitive to the indigenous issue and that try to articulate policies, also in the field of indigenous economic development, with a differential approach. In spite of this, the policies applied are very sectoral and lack a central approach, except perhaps in the case of Bolivia, capable of transversalizing the cultural relevance approach. Thus, many public policies or national development plans and strategies lack the necessary cultural relevance approach despite the fact that the institutional and normative framework of reference is theoretically consolidated. For this reason, public policies and programs designed by governments require greater specificity in terms of their orientation towards indigenous peoples.

An effort is required to mainstream, extend and integrate public policies in a reinforced manner and to put into practice, through their application, the cultural relevance approach, related to the self-development needs of indigenous peoples.

Even though the aforementioned public policies exist, on many occasions they do not have the necessary budgets capable of economically boosting the processes of accompaniment and induction of the participatory self-development of indigenous peoples. This is an important challenge facing both public institutions and their most sensitive leaders, as well as the indigenous movement itself, which requires economic cooperation in order to promote their own entrepreneurial processes within their communities and expand their economic and productive self-determination through concrete initiatives.

The shortage of specialized personnel with sufficient anthropological sensitivity and training to lead public policies in the field of economic development with a differential approach should also be highlighted. This is directly related to the absence of curricula on the subject that characterizes the curricula and research strategies, shortcomings referred to by academics and specialists and which we have included in the relevant category at the beginning of this section. In the absence of specialized content in the field of teaching and research, despite some existing specialization programs or courses, the fact is that there are not enough specialists to lead the public policies in question.

If the problem is significant at management and responsibility levels, it is even more so at the level of lower-level or intermediate-level civil servants, personnel who are not generally sensitized (the exception could be the Bolivian case) to the implementation of the cultural relevance approach. At the municipal level and in the spheres of state, autonomous or regional public intervention, the training of public officials is even lower and there is a lack of sensitivity for the implementation of initiatives aimed at promoting productive development among indigenous peoples based on their own development priorities and the reinforcement of their differentiated identity.

Although there is a certain presence of officials, technicians or those responsible for public policies on economic development who are of indigenous origin, the percentage is nevertheless low, so that for obvious reasons of identification with the particular models of intercultural economies, it would be desirable for there to be many more. This requires opening the public career to indigenous peoples and favors the integration of people of indigenous origin in positions of responsibility on the basis of merit and training.

Representatives of this sector argue that one of the challenges they face is the complexity and difficulties of dialogue with indigenous peoples and their representatives. As we know, the indigenous movement is very diverse and within countries there is no single political-organizational articulation, which creates problems when it comes to identifying legitimate leaders and interlocutors capable of negotiating and transmitting the collective will of indigenous peoples. The situation becomes even more complicated when we go down in the levels of representation at departmental, regional or local levels.

The actors of the public entities express their concern about the shortage of qualified indigenous personnel capable of directing the processes of economic development and entrepreneurship promoted by the State. As we have seen, this issue is highlighted by different actors interviewed, and not only those in the category studied here.

As solutions, it is proposed, among other complementary ways, to count on the support and technical accompaniment of international cooperation, which has lines of support for indigenous peoples to improve the institutional action of the States in the field of the development of indigenous peoples, to strengthen the preparation of civil servant or contracted personnel at the managerial, technical and administrative levels of the different public entities involved and thus contribute to the training in the field of business management and the effective and productive development of indigenous people.

Generate public-private partnerships to involve the private sector in promoting the economic development of indigenous peoples, as a basis for the overall development of the societies in question, by financially supporting some of the state programs or interventions.

Strengthen the capacity for dialogue and support for greater professional development of members of the indigenous population in different fields and mainly in the management of production chain processes and in the success factors for marketing products with guarantees and in a fair manner, avoiding abusive intermediaries. As we can see, this is a recurring issue that is proposed as a solution by different categories of actors interviewed, not only the one referred to here.

-Strengthen the specialized institutions of the public administrations with the necessary resources and trained personnel with the necessary competencies and include in the university curricula and the curricular frameworks aimed at the training of

public servants, specialized content on the economic and productive development of indigenous peoples and the strengthening of their entrepreneurial capacities⁸⁸.

6.2 Cross-cutting factors

The gathering of information from the consultants' in-depth interviews in the different countries has certainly allowed us to systematize the levels of identification and application of the cultural relevance approach in each of the categories of actors or sectors.

We have also been able to learn through the empirical work developed and the qualitative study perspective related to the interviews and focus groups, what are some of the problems or challenges that the actors included in each of the categories identify in the development of their work in favor of the economic development of indigenous peoples.

And of course we have information on what kind of solutions should be taken into account and what calls for attention are necessary on those issues that are of particular concern to these interviewed actors and that are the protagonists from within (indigenous companies or organizations) or outside (universities, civil society, public agencies, non-indigenous companies, financial entities or international and cooperation organizations) the action related to the promotion of the economic and productive development of indigenous peoples.

But this information gathering has also allowed us - beyond the specific work on each of the actors - to **identify cross-cutting factors** which, in the form of problems/difficulties and identification of solutions, allow us to better characterize the work in the field of indigenous peoples' economic development.

6.2.1 Training and education problems

⁸⁸ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the above-mentioned reports.

One of the major concerns identified in practically the vast majority of the interviews conducted has to do with this issue, which any future intervention in this area of international cooperation or public policy must take into account.

This general problem can be subdivided into three interrelated fields or problems that reinforce each other to make intervention in this area more complex.

On the one hand, there are generally no consolidated university studies on the economic development of indigenous peoples, beyond a few specialized courses, without much continuity over time. The existing research groups in traditional universities do not have the necessary support. Thus, from an epistemological and methodological point of view, it is very difficult to efficiently address the promotion of this type of development processes.

Nor do the intercultural indigenous universities (those created by the indigenous peoples themselves) generally have training or lines of research that meet the demand for training in relation to the economic development of indigenous peoples. They are much more focused on training and research in the area of autonomy and political or territorial rights but leave aside the issue of economic governance and productive self-determination⁸⁹.

In the absence of training, consolidated research frameworks or truly specialized forums, there is no up-to-date information or trained professionals to take responsibility for public, private or cooperative strategies and programs aimed at strengthening indigenous economies.

Linked to this is the lack of training of those responsible for public policies, technicians or officials of the competent ministries, or the lack of training and information also among many people responsible for cooperation or working in the private sector, whether in service, productive or financial companies, on the functioning of indigenous economies, their shortcomings, their potential and mechanisms of articulation.

This problem is directly related to frustration and failure. Frustration among indigenous peoples, their organizations and entrepreneurs who are aware that their communities are being intervened in without the necessary knowledge and cultural sensitivity. Frustration also among the external actors themselves, who see how projects fail and how the initiatives or efforts coming from outside are not well integrated and sustained by the communities themselves.

⁸⁹ . CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Mexico*.

But surely the factor on which all the actors interviewed agree as one of the main problems is the lack of training and education of indigenous peoples in basic issues for the activation of any indigenous or service economy such as: value chains, the phases of any production process, standards and quality control, business management, advertising and marketing issues, the management of new technologies, market research, openness to export, etc...

For this reason, an adequate level of training is required in terms of indigenous human resources, taking into account the ethical values of indigenous peoples while improving their technical training and introducing, respectfully and without colliding with the modalities of redistribution, certain logics of moderate accumulation for investment.

Therefore, one of the ways of intervention for international actors such as MIF interested in this field of cooperation and other international entities, is necessarily to intervene in the improvement of capacities and procedures from the protagonist indigenous participation and always maintaining the approach of cultural relevance. Without properly trained and qualified indigenous human talent to face the challenges of carrying out productive and commercial activities and providing services in the context of a globalized economy, it will be difficult to make a qualitative leap in the development of indigenous peoples.

In this regard, it is essential to adapt training to ensure the existence of culturally and linguistically relevant business training materials and to address the strengthening of indigenous business organizations through formulas that are surely better suited to their cultural reality, such as community enterprises, associative enterprises, production and service cooperatives, family businesses, groups of companies by economic activity and others that may be relevant⁹⁰.

6.2.2 The problems associated with the lack of financing

⁹⁰ See, for example, the types of enterprises proposed by the actors interviewed for the Nicaraguan case. CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final report Nicaragua*. In general for this transversal axis see COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the aforementioned reports.

As we have shown, many of the actors interviewed in different categories have pointed out the important shortcomings faced by indigenous peoples when it comes to financially boosting their enterprises. The credit system does not have specialized products and services to finance the development of indigenous community economies. This has allowed us to confirm some of the initial hypotheses and predictions.

There are four main reasons for this lack of access to financing:

a) Of course, the scarce culture of saving for investment, typical of the traditional family and indigenous community economy models, something that we already pointed out when we characterized this type of economy.

b) The lack of confidence that many financial actors still have in the capacity of indigenous peoples to successfully carry out their businesses or enterprises due to their lack of training and the contradictions that they detect between their economic conceptualizations and those of the market economy. There is of course some discrimination and prejudice in this and also surely an objective cause that has to do with the significant number of failures in many indigenous enterprises or those that even if they are maintained, barely go beyond generating a minimum subsistence economy, which is not the best letter of introduction to a possible financing entity.

c) The impossibility of offering guarantees to financial entities susceptible of supporting indigenous enterprises with reimbursable resources, due to the fact that the main indigenous patrimony, their original territories, are not titled or demarcated and it is difficult to prove their ownership or, if this is possible, the land is collectively titled, which makes financing for individual enterprises difficult since they are not subject to seizure.

d) The scarce presence of savings associations or community banks with an indigenous matrix capable of articulating an alternative to the action of traditional financial agents.

Faced with this finding, which undoubtedly has an impact on the possibilities of entrepreneurship and dynamization of the indigenous economies and hinders any generation of productive or service initiatives, the cross-cutting solution, in the opinion of our research team, involves interventions of a complementary nature that can reverse the situation in the medium term.

As a first step, it is necessary to generate -without breaking the patterns of reciprocity and communitarianism typical of indigenous cultures- a certain culture of microsavings within the communities, always in agreement with the legitimate authorities of the communities and based on the prior understanding and acceptance of the indigenous partners.

It is therefore necessary to activate and replicate initiatives such as the community savings banks mentioned above, which have been successful in some contexts, or the associations of indigenous savers, as well as the solidarity groups promoted, for example, by "Zero Usury" in Nicaragua.

On the other hand, it is essential to collaborate in the process of securing and effectively protecting the territorial rights of indigenous peoples, which are the real guarantee of their real development and, in addition, linked to the titling and recognition of their collective titleholders, represent the best guarantee for potential financiers. Without legal security in this area, without the conviction on the part of the financial companies that in the event of problems or non-payment the indigenous peoples will be able to respond with their lands, it will not be possible to make progress in the area of financing. We will return later to the territorial issue, which is another cross-cutting issue.

Finally, it is essential for financial operators to be aware of the potential of indigenous enterprises and to realize that there have been very successful experiences that are worth replicating and taking as a reference. The dissemination and public awareness of these successful initiatives is key. At the same time -thanks to training and education- indigenous producers should gain visibility and generally offer a greater and better image of solvency and good management⁹¹.

6.2.3 Territories and the governance of their resources

One of the cross-cutting concerns, one of the topics and commonplaces present throughout the study has been the question of the original territories of the indigenous peoples. For the indigenous organizations and the companies that have emerged within the movement, there can be no real economic and productive development for the indigenous peoples.

⁹¹ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the aforementioned reports.

indigenous peoples if their territorial rights are not preserved and communities are not able to manage resources autonomously and on the basis of their own visions and conceptualizations of development. For indigenous peoples, their most important capital is precisely related to the preservation and control over their territories.

It is clear from the interview process that indigenous peoples maintain a close relationship with their historical lands and territories that covers important social, cultural, spiritual but also economic aspects. This relationship is basic for the economic possibilities of indigenous peoples and for their survival as distinct peoples. It should not be forgotten that territoriality, the attachment to the lands of the ancestors, are directly linked to their own beliefs, customs, traditions and particular worldviews that have a direct projection in their way of understanding economic activity from parameters of complementarity, reciprocity, mutual aid and intra-community solidarity.

Holism plays a decisive role here, understanding that the indigenous territory is a fundamental framework for the differentiated cultural existence and, therefore, for the autonomous development of indigenous peoples. Also the inalienability related to the original occupation of that territory that questions the right of States to dispose of natural resources without the acceptance of indigenous peoples. Finally, the collective responsibility that indigenous peoples have over their lands, which of course does not mean that the individuals particularly taken, cannot own lands, as in fact they do in many communities, for their own use and enjoyment, but their use for business purposes and exploitation for the generation of surpluses and expansion to other markets, is usually based on a sort of collective consensus.

Therefore, we can establish that the recognition, exercise and effective protection of the territorial rights of indigenous peoples is a fundamental aspect for the validity and vitality of indigenous economies, a condition of possibility for their self-determination as differentiated ethno-cultural communities and for the economic development of these peoples from their autonomous and particular visions.

The indigenous interviewees emphasize these aspects and also many of the non-indigenous actors (academics and researchers, civil society organizations, heads of international agencies...) have reinforced in interview after interview the central idea that access to territorial control, legal security to exercise their territorial rights and governance over their resources are core and essential aspects for their differentiated development options.

On the other hand, territorial rights are not political claims of indigenous peoples or the associated demands of their allies and the most committed civil society, but are today norms of international public law that also affect domestic legislation and establish a series of obligations for States and responsibilities for other actors (companies, NGOs, international organizations, cooperation agencies) that may eventually interact with indigenous peoples or intervene and invest in their territories. This is something that many of the actors interviewed are aware of.

These norms are integrated into ILO Convention 169 of 1989, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of 2007 and the recent American Declaration on the same subject adopted by the OAS in June 2016. These rights, in turn, have been reinforced by the reports and conclusions of different United Nations committees or the Inter-American Commission itself, and consolidated from the jurisprudential point of view by several rulings of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

The issue of indigenous territories (and their associated rights) is extremely complex and is linked to a paradox that is worth bearing in mind when intervening or working with indigenous peoples, and that is the soil/subsoil opposition, whereby the State usually grants rights over land but reserves for itself the right to subsoil resources.

As is known in practice, the implementation of policies and legal protection of indigenous territories is limited. This is due to the reservations of the authorities who in many occasions do not recognize the indigenous peoples as competent to define what their lands are (let's not forget that many are not titled and duly registered) or that sometimes other external obstacles and interests of other entities, persons or business groups with eagerness and objectives linked to the extraction of natural resources interfere.

It is therefore very important to ensure that indigenous peoples have the right to ownership and substantial control over their lands and resources that have traditionally sustained their respective traditional economies. To this end, it is essential to guarantee the delimitation and demarcation of ancestral territories in order to guarantee, under conditions of legal security, the possession and use of these territories on the basis of property titling and registration. Where indigenous peoples have been dispossessed of their lands or have lost access to natural resources through coercion, fraud or discrimination, appropriate procedures must be established to enable indigenous peoples to recover their lands and access to resources.

On the other hand, any development or investment project, for example, those aimed at promoting entrepreneurship, improving indigenous economies or opening them to markets, must prevent environmental damage, mitigate any impact and previously carry out environmental or social impact studies and, of course, count on the interest and identification of the communities with the objectives of the project⁹².

6.2.4 Lack of understanding and identification

One of the worrisome elements that both indigenous and non-indigenous actors have highlighted is that they do not understand each other when interacting, planning or developing joint economic activities or when promoting undertakings with concrete support and cooperation from outside the communities.

Non-indigenous stakeholders, unless they have the differential approach very much internalized, argue that beyond the technical or administrative shortcomings of indigenous producers, the truth is that they do not have a culture of entrepreneurship or savings and that the economic bases of indigenous peoples do not fit easily into the mechanisms of expansive and market economies because they do not usually generate surpluses or, if they do, they are not accustomed to reinvesting them and thus feeding back into the production chain.

For their part, indigenous peoples understand that the economic dynamics of the outside world are largely alien to them. They therefore have many reservations about importing models, because even if they have been successful in other contexts, they start from the premise that they are largely contradictory to their values of reciprocity, mutual aid, community solidarity and family and redistributive economy. There is a clear distrust and reticence within the indigenous movement towards the market economy and the concept and practice of entrepreneurship. All this can be summarized in the contradiction between collectivism and individualism⁹³.

This lack of communication, prejudices or clearly opposing and differentiated views in relation to market and indigenous economic models, as can be easily imagined, do not facilitate collaboration. Many are the reservations, mutual distrust and precautions that characterize economic relations between indigenous and non-indigenous people.

⁹² COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the aforementioned reports.

⁹³ CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Mexico*.

This necessarily has repercussions on understanding and shared successes. In territories where indigenous peoples, but also other actors, are economically involved, we find economic models that are reproduced endogenously and that function by turning their backs on each other, like watertight compartments avoiding feedback, which in practice prevents the real dynamization of the economies of those areas.

All of this, of course, also has repercussions on the financing problems mentioned above for indigenous peoples, based on the logic that, in the opinion of many financial entities, indigenous economies are not part of the market economy and therefore it is not worthwhile or risky to finance them.

And of course, this distancing, which is transversally present in all the countries studied by our consultants, does not facilitate either the expansion of indigenous economies or the opening of new markets beyond local or, at best, regional ones.

Only by overcoming these barriers can indigenous economies be successfully articulated within the framework of market economies, fostering the generation of a truly intercultural economy. It is therefore necessary to promote forums for dialogue and meetings between indigenous entrepreneurs and non-indigenous businessmen, between indigenous productive organizations and the private sector in an autonomous format or under the intermediation of cooperation agencies, public institutions or international organizations. In order to advance in this way -from the recognition of the value of differentiated identities and respect for their own models also in the productive economic sphere- towards the generation of meeting points that in the practice of economic activity can benefit one and the other and ultimately the whole of their national societies of reference⁹⁴.

6.2.5 Persistent discrimination

It is evident, and this is acknowledged by all the actors interviewed when addressing the issue, that the situation of indigenous peoples has improved within the countries and that their leading role in the economic and social spheres, together with their presence in international fora, is becoming increasingly important.

⁹⁴ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the above-mentioned reports.

political decision making has increased and continues to do so compared to what happened in the past, even in the more recent past.

Despite this, representatives of indigenous peoples, indigenous entrepreneurs and reference organizations that articulate their participation and seek to revitalize their economic situation (and also some academics or more aware civil society actors) say when interviewed that they continue to face ethnic contempt and discrimination.

In what is clearly a response from the emic perspective of anthropological studies and sociology of culture, the main protagonists of the study, i.e. the indigenous theoretical beneficiaries of the interventions aimed at improving their level of economic and productive development, feel, perceive and subjectively state that they are discriminated against.

In effect, they feel ethnic discrimination in access to credit (a structural problem for the take-off of their economies), and are also discriminated against by intermediaries who often offer them conditions that are not offered to other economic-cultural groups, be they peasants, rural population or others.

For indigenous people, the problems they face in accessing markets beyond their local or regional spheres are the result of discrimination and, of course, they consider the absence of policies and programs aimed at indigenous peoples in many countries to be discriminatory, while other social sectors feel that they are better protected at the institutional and public policy level.

They also consider the treatment they receive from local governments or private companies to be discriminatory. And they feel the shadow of discrimination in the invisibility of their productive and entrepreneurial activities, which, although they are successful and useful for the societies as a whole - including non-indigenous societies - of reference, are not considered, recognized or valued. Indigenous entrepreneurs are not really taken into account as agents of development despite the benefits they bring⁹⁵.

It is true that many non-indigenous actors who work with indigenous peoples, or could eventually work with them, do not have the same type of feelings or impressions. Thus, they attribute the lack of financing for indigenous enterprises or the limitations of access to markets to problems associated with the lack of resources.

⁹⁵ CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Mexico*. Interviews conducted in Guatemala and Chile also revealed this perception among indigenous entrepreneurs that they are subject to some type of discrimination.

In no case are they aware of having been discriminated against in any way, whether in terms of infrastructure, lack of access to new technologies, transportation and communication problems, low production or marketing capacity, or the low quality of the production or services offered by indigenous companies.

Beyond this type of individual or collective responses that are opposed on the basis that some feel discriminated against and others do not feel discriminated against at all, the truth is that our consultants, based on participant observation and in the research process itself, have been aware that direct discrimination and especially indirect discrimination, less visible and perceptible, do exist.

The latter have to do with practices such as bureaucratic difficulties, documentary requirements or administrative capacities that many indigenous communities are known to lack, or complicated operating conditions that are a significant constraint⁹⁶.

The problem is fundamentally one of substance and has to do with the deep-rooted structures of discrimination that, although they are gradually crumbling, still persist in many areas of social and economic life in the societies where indigenous peoples live.

This is a field of action in which public policies and civil society interventions, including the media and educational actors and managers, must act to deactivate the prejudices, stigmas and stereotypes on which ethnic discrimination in Latin America is still based, thus collaborating in the creation of true policies of cultural recognition, as well as in the valorization of indigenous intercultural economies and the benefits that these, if well managed, can bring to societies as a whole⁹⁷.

⁹⁶ . CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Mexico*.

⁹⁷ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the above-mentioned reports.

6.2.6 The shortcomings of public policies for economic development with identity

While it is true that in each of the countries analyzed, public policies focused on indigenous peoples have been established, the fact is that they are full of shortcomings that many of those interviewed during the research process have highlighted. This inadequacy of public policies related to national productive development means that on many occasions the special needs of local indigenous peoples are not taken into account.

These shortcomings are directly related to the real lack of protection of the rights of indigenous peoples and the failure to promote true economic and productive self-determination capable of linking indigenous economies - without losing their identity - with the traditional or market economy.

First of all, it should be noted that many of these policies are excessively generalist and are not particularly focused on the economic development of indigenous peoples. Once again, we find that the issue of the economic development of indigenous peoples, especially from the perspective of productive development and the generation of enterprises, is not a priority, in this case in the framework of public policies, just as it was not a priority in the field of research and university teaching, or is not a priority for the indigenous movement.

When they are more focused on the objective of promoting the economic development of indigenous peoples, they often do not have sufficient cultural and linguistic relevance. Nor do they have the necessary comprehensiveness and multidimensionality. It should not be forgotten that the economic development of indigenous peoples and their entrepreneurial possibilities integrate a set of factors that must be addressed in a way that takes into account their variability and takes into account the particular situations and needs at the local, regional, departmental or state level.

Moreover, they have been prepared without sufficient involvement of the indigenous movement in the countries, beyond sporadic consultations with some more or less representative organizations (perhaps again Bolivia is the exception), and have not taken into account the particular needs related to the structural problems of indigenous peoples in terms of economic and business development.

Thus, development policies for indigenous peoples do not address problems such as financing, lack of diversification of production and services, lack of access to markets, lack of resources, and lack of access to the market, among others.

The problems of accessibility to technologies, those related to the lack of business culture, strategy and management, with the management of corporate communication or the difficulties related to the articulation of visions that are presented as opposing (indigenous economy versus market economy).

Contact with the communities, communication and dialogue are not always the most appropriate, so once again we find that the active participation of indigenous peoples in the identification of needs, the formulation of intervention proposals, the implementation of policies and programs and the evaluation of results is conspicuous by its absence.

Other "non-indigenous" continue to design public policies without taking into account the real reality of indigenous peoples or at least without their full participation. As some interviewees from the indigenous movement point out, public policies for indigenous peoples may continue to be made "from the desk" or perhaps even "from a distance".
-without ensuring the active participation of the communities.

On the other hand, the lack of institutional capacities is evident. To begin with, policies for indigenous peoples, except in the Bolivian case, which has a more cross-cutting approach, are incorporated into secondary institutional spaces within ministries ranging from Education (in the case of Peru) to the Interior (as in Chile). Therefore, there are no first-level institutional frameworks capable of bringing together the work in favor of indigenous peoples and their economic, productive and entrepreneurial development with high management capacity. This is directly related to the lack of access to basic services and limitations in terms of investment in infrastructure in indigenous territories.

As has also been shown in general terms, these policies are not endowed with sufficient resources, even more so if we take into account the structural problems and budgetary needs of the indigenous economies in this always complex relationship process with the traditional and market economies.

Finally, bureaucratization can still be detected, and perhaps even worse, a lack of political will within some governments and problems of access to high levels of management for indigenous professionals or technicians. Although it is true that little by little indigenous managers and technicians are beginning to assume certain positions of responsibility at intermediate levels within what were once indigenous institutions, now revamped and rearticulated under new, more inclusive and identity-respecting schemes, the fact is that top management and positions of maximum responsibility continue to be held by non-indigenous personnel, personnel whose approaches to development are still in the hands of non-indigenous professionals.

The economic situation of indigenous peoples does not always coincide with the priorities and needs expressed by the communities.

Therefore, top-down approaches have not completely disappeared and, in general, in the absence of the direct participation of indigenous peoples in the design and implementation of policies and programs, although they have helped to promote some initiatives, they have not been effective or favorable to the economic and business development of indigenous peoples. Their practical applications have often been a permanent source of conflict within the communities destined to be the beneficiaries, creating a framework of opposition between individual and collective interests, which has had a negative impact on the generalization of a development model that is felt, accepted and culturally relevant within indigenous peoples.

We must also point out the lack - with exceptions - of programs of cooperation agencies and specialized international organizations that are well oriented to the economic development of indigenous peoples. When they exist, they still contain shortcomings and structural defects that can sometimes be assimilated to those of public policies⁹⁸.

6.2.7 Problems associated with leadership and its legitimacy within indigenous organizations.

One of the issues pointed out in the interviews by different actors external to indigenous peoples belonging to different categories (civil society, international organizations, international cooperation, public administrations, businessmen and non-indigenous private sector) is the problem they face when working with indigenous peoples' communities, organizations or companies and their respective leaderships.

They consider that it is very difficult to successfully manage when it comes to articulating collaborations in the complicated network of organizations, producers' associations, federations or indigenous confederations in which the indigenous movement is articulated at the political-economic level within the countries. And they show difficulties in identifying the true representatives of the indigenous movement.

⁹⁸ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the aforementioned reports.

The company has a number of legitimate stakeholders who can serve as interlocutors or take on the management of ventures induced through cooperation or external investment.

Certainly, we must recognize that the indigenous movement is a political-economic subject of poorly defined development, somewhat informal and with a diverse institutional framework. It is generally organized outside political parties, trade unions, NGOs, civil society organizations and business associations of reference in the societies of their respective countries. This is one more sign of their autonomy and differentiated identity, which must of course be respected and reinforced by public policies, but it undoubtedly places us before an added complexity.

The indigenous movement is plural, heterogeneous and is based in areas that are not always stable, without representative and participatory structures that are sometimes well defined, with a territorial base of action that is sometimes also diffuse and with spokespersons who may have difficulties in certain contexts to establish and disseminate the collective will of their communities with guarantees of representativeness.

This realization that we are dealing with diffuse collective subjects is therefore linked to the problem faced by some external actors when interacting with indigenous representatives who are not sufficiently guaranteed to be truly legitimate actors in this area of leadership. This is extremely important for any entrepreneurship or economic empowerment processes within the communities.

All this has a projection in the actual practice of interventions in indigenous communities, which includes the problems that have been pointed out in some interviews in the sense that once contracts or collaboration agreements are signed, they are denounced by the communities, who claim that the authorities did not have the authority to do so. Or the concrete problems that have arisen when different leaderships have competed among themselves, which has generated confusion and insecurity in the external actors predisposed to collaborate.

Undoubtedly, this type of problems may arise and in fact, as we have stated, we have gathered information related to coincidental situations, given the peculiarities and organizational and leadership specificities of the indigenous movement.

However, the truth is that there are also clearly well-established indigenous leaderships on the basis of participation frameworks that are not diffuse and well

The political traditions are institutionalized or based on long-established political traditions, which no one within the communities questions or disputes.

It is not possible, of course, for external actors to have detailed information on the organizational peculiarities and participation models of indigenous peoples before collaborating with organizations or associations of indigenous entrepreneurs. Requiring something like this or even recommending it, as a starting condition, could discourage cooperation or investment because it is costly and complicated. But it is necessary and pertinent - as in other fields of intervention in the economic development of indigenous peoples - to foster spaces for encounter and reciprocal knowledge between indigenous and non-indigenous actors that promote intercultural dialogues and reciprocal knowledge. And that in this specific area of intervention allow non-indigenous actors to better understand the political and leadership context with which they will eventually interact. On the other hand, the indigenous movement will have to continue maturing and strengthening itself, in order to also offer guarantees of continuity and solid leadership to those external actors who are willing to support the economic and productive development processes and undertakings within the indigenous peoples from the public policy level, the private sector or international cooperation⁹⁹.

6.2.8 The Gender Issue: Women and Indigenous Economies

Addressing the issue of the role of indigenous women and gender issues in relation to the economic and productive development of indigenous peoples and their entrepreneurial possibilities brings us face to face with a paradox that has been recurrent in part of the interview work that our team of consultants has carried out. It is the paradox that we can call the *double discrimination / and the leading role of women* in the processes aimed at promoting the development of indigenous communities.

After analyzing the information gathered and systematizing the results of the individual interviews and focus groups, in addition to the previous documentation work and the experience gained over many years of research in this field, we have no doubt that indigenous women face a double discrimination. And that it is precisely the fact of being women and being indigenous that greatly hinders their activity.

⁹⁹ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the above-mentioned reports.

in the field of productive development, at least as far as the assumption of roles of responsibility and management positions is concerned.

Indigenous women in all the countries studied, regardless of the geographical context (Central America, Andean region, Southern Cone) have more problems than men in accessing credit. They also suffer from the effects of rejection, mistrust and ethnic discrimination from non-indigenous sectors and have greater difficulties in obtaining training and education for the acquisition of productive and entrepreneurial skills. Indigenous women also face difficulties in accessing appropriate technologies and, since their social visibility is lower, they are not usually taken into special account in the design of public policies or specific interventions in the framework of productive development in their communities by most external actors.

The double discrimination is explained by the fact that within the communities there is an additional discriminatory treatment of men. This internal discrimination is the product of patriarchal and machista patterns, which, beyond the idealizing discourses on complementarity (male/female) typical of indigenous societies, the truth is that in the daily reality of community life, they end up shaping structures of relationships based on inequality and domination. This makes it very difficult for indigenous women to have the same opportunities as their peers when it comes to making decisions, influencing community development processes, assuming an entrepreneurial role or forming associative frameworks focused precisely on the generation of economic initiatives. In this way, the traditional situation of internal discrimination of indigenous women has a whole projection in this specific field of development and entrepreneurship.

However, the truth is that (and this brings us to the other component of the paradox announced) indigenous women in many community contexts, little by little, with great effort and an active and responsible attitude, are beginning to break the barriers of this double discrimination, internal and external, both in its direct and indirect, express or implicit dimensions. In fact, throughout the research, our team has been able to detect collective experiences of community development in which indigenous women assume a leading role, share decision-making spaces with men, and even organize and associate among themselves and successfully manage their own enterprises.

This has undoubtedly been possible because many of these women have undergone a process of empowerment that has balanced and therefore transformed their lives.

The gender roles within the communities - not without difficulties and internal contradictions - are not without difficulties and internal contradictions.

This process of empowerment has had to do with the acceptance and appreciation of their role as reproducers and producers of indigenous cultures and economies, by themselves and by their peers. It has also had to do with the collective assimilation of the discourse and demanding practice of the rights of indigenous peoples, with a whole interesting variable related to the rights of indigenous women themselves. At the same time, little by little, certainly in dribs and drabs, but as a phenomenon associated with exponential growth, many indigenous women are accessing training courses.

As a result of these advances, indigenous women have been gaining, more in some contexts than in others, collective self-esteem, and have slowly assumed a greater role in decision-making, including in the economic sphere. At the same time, they have come to form transnational organizations and alliances and, perhaps more interestingly for the topic under study, there are many indigenous women's associative processes with a productive approach in the countries analyzed, which can be related to successful initiatives in entrepreneurship and the opening of markets.

In fact, many non-indigenous external actors (public administrations, international organizations, cooperation agencies, civil society, the private sector) have highlighted the capacity of indigenous women for economic and productive activities when they feel empowered and recognized within their communities.

Thus, it is emphasized (sometimes in contrast to the attitude of indigenous men) the business management capacity of indigenous women, their willingness to save and reinvest, their commitment to the quality standards of their products or services and their good predisposition for public relations and communication tasks, key aspects for the possibilities of opening markets.

The path to follow is therefore none other than the empowerment and strengthening of the capacities of indigenous women. In all of this, external collaboration becomes fundamental to help this group continue to overcome barriers, thus contributing to their own development and that of their communities¹⁰⁰.

¹⁰⁰ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the aforementioned reports.

6.2.9 By way of recapitulation. And not forgetting some of the structural problems of indigenous economies and their relationship with the environment

We have systematized - taking as a reference the information gathered throughout the elaboration of the interview phases and the previous research - some of the main problems faced by the development of indigenous peoples.

Most of them are related to the external difficulties faced by indigenous peoples, such as the reluctance of financing entities, the lack of access to credit, the non-existence of financial instruments aimed at indigenous peoples or, in the best of cases, the scarce initial financing available to them when starting up their enterprises.

We have also highlighted the absence or limitations of public policies aimed at the development of indigenous peoples, the scarce public investment in their territories and the application of development theories, anti-poverty models or programs and inadequate projects, without cultural relevance or that have not taken into account the participation, demands and needs of the supposed beneficiaries.

We have also discussed the persistence of discrimination and stereotypical views and prejudices regarding the backwardness of indigenous economies that are directly related to the general perception that their enterprises are not efficient, which has a decisive influence on the difficulties of expanding their markets.

We have also identified as problems related to external actors or actions the violation of their territorial rights and lack of legal security, land titling problems, lack of control over resources, loss of their original territories and invasion, use or expropriation of these territories.

Some other problems have more to do with fundamental issues, such as the lack of communication and the clash of models between indigenous economies and market economies. This issue is directly related to the resistance of indigenous peoples to the institutions and practices of the market economy, which they relate to the ethnocidal effects they suffered in the past as a result of the imposition of models they considered foreign and which questioned their foundations.

and worldviews, as well as those related to their economic development.

We have also highlighted the problems of external actors in identifying and relating to well-legitimized indigenous leadership. From a more concrete level of analysis, the double discrimination suffered by the group of indigenous women and the opportunities that come with their necessary empowerment.

However, in addition to this set of problems already systematized, we must refer to others of an internal nature, specific to the indigenous economies, which of course have a lot to do (although not only) with the difficulties in the field of training and technical education, an issue already discussed at the beginning of this section.

In fact, a detailed analysis and study of the information gathered by our team of consultants confirms the starting hypotheses of this study, which identified a series of shortcomings or structural problems that, in the current context of the global economy, have a special impact and can damage or prevent the take-off of indigenous economies.

The first of these has to do with the internal dynamics of decision-making, based on the principles of communal participation and the search for consensus. This type of dynamics must of course be valued and recognized and are part of the communitarian values of indigenous cultures. The problem arises when, in the name of participation, the communities and/or associations of indigenous producers, including family businesses or community cooperatives, fall into long processes aimed at making the final decision, which delays the decision, sometimes losing important business opportunities. On many occasions, economic actors or external cooperants interpret this type of dynamics as the result of bureaucratization processes or even indigenous sectarianism, which discourages them and finally discourages their investments or aid programs.

It would be desirable that in the objective of adapting indigenous economies to market economies in the search for intercultural solutions satisfactory to all, the communities and groups of indigenous entrepreneurs adapt - without losing their distinct identity - their time and speed up their decisions to favor external collaboration or the exploitation of business opportunities.

The second problem detected is linked to the persistence of a sort of "subsidy culture" within the indigenous movement in the countries studied.

that does not promote an entrepreneurial attitude. This is a particularly delicate issue because it is undoubtedly not attributable to the indigenous peoples themselves, but is probably the product of years of poorly focused support programs of an integrationist or assimilationist nature. Something that we have studied in some chapters of this report previously. Regardless of the ultimate causes or origins of the problem, if we compare, for example, the attitude of indigenous people in other geographical and cultural contexts such as those of the United States or Canada or the Sami people of the Nordic countries, the contrasts are significant. As opposed to a general attitude of waiting for the opportunity that a cooperation program, philanthropic aid or public policy aimed at indigenous peoples may offer, which is very typical of the indigenous movement in Latin America, in other contexts such as those mentioned above, without renouncing, of course, this type of external collaboration, the truth is that collective attitudes tend to be more focused on business initiative or entrepreneurship. Without losing their differentiated values and identities.

Surely the solutions to this problem require a sincere dialogue with and within the indigenous movement and its most representative organizations, especially those led by young leaders and cadres, so that they first become aware of the situation and collectively search for alternatives that will ensure that their economic self-determination as a people is not conditioned to the aid or subsidies that may come from outside.

Another major problem is the lack of administrative and business management skills in many indigenous economic and productive initiatives. This general problem is associated with other specific problems such as, for example, that due to the integrative conception of indigenous economies, entrepreneurs sometimes do not differentiate between personal accounts and company accounts, which prevents them from having a clear financial vision of the business. Sometimes they do not establish good accountability systems and also have difficulties in integrating good quality control mechanisms. In addition, they generally do not focus carefully on marketing activities, marketing and communication work. They also have internal difficulties in establishing strategic commercial alliances and generally find it difficult to diversify their business, production activities or service portfolio. Due to their lack of knowledge of the relevant regulations, their enterprises sometimes remain in the informal or submerged economy, which undoubtedly weakens their possibilities for expansion and places their employees (generally indigenous) in a situation of vulnerability in terms of protection of their labor rights. Corrupt practices and tax evasion sometimes occur, and tax evasion is a major problem.

quite widespread. Of course, these shortcomings are not intrinsic to indigenous entrepreneurship and are shared by other economic and productive sectors, especially in the rural areas of the countries under study, but the truth is that within the indigenous movement focused on economic-productive tasks they are particularly intense.

These problems lead us to the starting problem, incorporated at the beginning of this epigraph, related to the main cross-cutting challenges for indigenous economic development, and hence we must once again stress the need to increase training proposals for indigenous peoples. Always with the objective of offering them, through courses, workshops, seminars, scholarship programs, etc., the training and acquisition of the necessary skills to undertake productive initiatives or quality service economies, diversified and consolidated in expanded and intercultural trade patterns and flows. Also the necessary sensitization and awareness of what is involved in launching an economic-productive initiative and the social responsibility associated with the work of companies, including indigenous companies of course, which can contribute so much - beyond individual or collective profits - to the whole of their societies of reference. Always so that indigenous peoples can ensure the success and sustainability over time of their undertakings, while maintaining their identities and differentiated development modalities focused on the configuration of community states characterized by good living¹⁰¹ .

¹⁰¹ COLQUE, J. *Final Report / Bolivia* CUNNINGHAM, M. *Final Report Nicaragua, Final Report Mexico*; MALDONADO, L. *Final Report Ecuador*; MARTÍNEZ, M; *Final Report Peru*; MATA. A. *Final Report Chile*; MARROQUÍN A. *Final Report Guatemala*. And in-depth interview and focus group sheets associated with the above-mentioned reports.

7. PROMISING SOLUTIONS. CASE STUDIES: INNOVATIONS AND SUCCESSFUL MODELS

The purpose of this section is to systematize and analyze case studies from Mesoamerica (Mexico, Guatemala and Nicaragua), the Andean-Amazon Region (Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador), and the Southern Cone (Colombia and Chile), in order to identify the main challenges faced by indigenous enterprises, as well as good practices in linking them to the market, establishing guidelines for the formulation of proposals for economic development with identity for indigenous peoples in the region and reference models that can be replicated in other contexts.

This is based on one of the hypotheses of the study, consisting of the possibility of identifying factors that affect all the indigenous peoples of the region, despite the existing differences between them, which the study seeks to analyze, and which in turn connects with another of the study's hypotheses, which is that despite the difficulties faced by indigenous enterprises, public and private initiatives can be identified that have overcome the barriers and difficulties traditionally faced by the development of indigenous peoples, obtaining successful results that constitute good practices worth identifying, studying and systematizing.

The selection of the case studies was based on the focus areas of the regional study, namely: 1) Environment, 2) Services, 3) Agricultural value chains and territorial economic development, and 4) Financial inclusion, which correspond to the MIF's areas of interest. Likewise, the criterion for the final selection of the cases to be studied was the presence of tangible elements in the internal organization of each entity that reflect a differential approach aimed at promoting the economic development of indigenous peoples, which has been proposed as the first hypothesis of the study. These tangible elements are those directly related to respect for indigenous identity, reciprocity, care for the environment, knowledge of indigenous economic and organizational dynamics, among others that derive from respect for the specific rights of indigenous peoples as set forth in the applicable legal norms in each country, with special interest in those of a collective nature.

All of the above is in line with the "Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples and Strategy for Indigenous Development"¹⁰² , applicable to IDB and MIF projects and activities, which has as one of its guidelines the support of development with identity of indigenous peoples, whose adoption through its differentiated development concepts implies the acceptance of the economic objectives of indigenous peoples, which, as analyzed in previous sections, do not necessarily coincide with the development paradigms derived from national and international agendas that are not strictly indigenous.

The methodology for conducting the case studies has respected the intercultural focus of the study, having selected the structured interview as a tool for data collection. The information needs required that for each case study two interviews were conducted, one directed to a managerial level employee and the other to a technical level employee. It was also a requirement that in each case study one indigenous and one non-indigenous employee be interviewed, either at the managerial or technical level. For the purposes of this study, the names of the people interviewed will not be disclosed in order to protect their personal data.

Likewise, the systematization of the information gathered through the interviews was carried out taking as main reference the IDB's document "Guidelines for the preparation of Case Studies", oriented to the identification and documentation of lessons learned, facilitating their subsequent dissemination, all of which constitutes a key input for the effectiveness in the development of the IDB's activities, decision-making processes, and results-focused management.¹⁰³

The eight case studies presented here reflect experiences of successful development of indigenous enterprises through which it is possible to visualize innovative models that manage to bring together, in a socioculturally appropriate manner and based on human rights standards, the identity of indigenous communities and the demands of the market to which they are directed.

Each case study reports on nine aspects of indigenous entrepreneurship that have been considered key to the generation of knowledge on the articulation of development with identity and the demands of a market that is based, fundamentally, on notions of economic development in which ethnic diversity, and even of rights, is a key factor.

¹⁰² IDB (2006). Operational policy on indigenous peoples and strategy for indigenous development. IDB: Washington, D.C.

¹⁰³ IDB (2011). Guidelines for the preparation of Case Studies.

The following are concepts that are absent or scarcely considered. These aspects, namely:

- 1) Organizational model: reflects basic aspects of the venture's activities, its internal administrative organization, the forms of indigenous participation in its structure, as well as respect for the forms of community organization of the indigenous peoples that are impacted by the venture's activities and communication with its members and representatives.
- 2) Financial model: gathers information on the forms of financing that the enterprise has had since its beginnings, the challenges derived from them, the successful experiences, as well as the role that indigenous peoples have played in obtaining, managing and benefiting from financial resources and their products.
- 3) Historical analysis of the organization: this provides information on the origins of the initiative and the elements that contributed to or hindered its implementation, as well as the participation of indigenous peoples in this process and the actions carried out with the aim of internalizing development with identity in the entrepreneurial model.
- 4) Governance of the organization: it deepens the analysis of the intercultural forms of operation of the venture, based on the interweaving of general organizational knowledge and indigenous organizational knowledge. It also details the existing dynamics between the local indigenous communities, the venture and the markets to which it is directed.
- 5) Knowledge: sheds light on the ways in which the assets or territories of the local indigenous communities participating in the venture have been valued as part of the venture, as well as on the types of knowledge that the venture has required for its start-up and consolidation, the use of traditional knowledge for its operation, and the areas in which there is the greatest knowledge deficit.
- 6) Indigenous identity: clarifies the notion that exists in the company about the indigenous identity, its recognition and respect in the forms

organizational structures of the enterprise. Elements such as intercultural management at the internal level and kinship networks or indigenous forms of governance at the external level that have an impact on the operation of the enterprise have been collected.

7) Networks: This provides information on the types of actors with which the enterprise has been able to establish relationships and alliances to improve its operation, both public and private, at the local, national or international level, and the role that indigenous communities have played in promoting them.

8) Weaknesses, strengths, opportunities and challenges or threats to the growth and/or sustainability of the organization: as a traditional matrix for the analysis of the organizational functioning of the enterprise, these elements make it possible to identify the main success factors or obstacles that each case study reflects, and provide guidelines for the generation of general recommendations for this regional study, which are complemented by the previous phases of the study.

9) Relevance of the organization: it takes into account the relations that the enterprise has with its environment, its relevance for society in general and for the local indigenous communities, as well as the strengths that it possesses and that can be replicated in other organizations with indigenous participation, and the contributions that can be considered innovative to support the development with identity of indigenous peoples or Buen Vivir.

In order to simplify the systematization of the information gathered in the interviews, the items have been grouped under the following five categories: I. Administrative and financial model (items 1 and 2); II. Context of the initiative and intercultural governance (items 3 and 4); III. Contributions to development with indigenous identity (items 5, 6 and 7); IV. Success factors and obstacles of the venture (item 8); V. Impact of the venture on local indigenous communities (item 9). This organization allows a more agile analysis and reading of the findings of each case study, which have a practical purpose, starting from the general knowledge of the structure of the venture, towards a deepening of the materialization of elements of development with identity, and the contributions of these experiences as good practices to be replicated by other actors interested in promoting ventures based on respect for the rights of indigenous peoples, with emphasis on the economy of these groups.

The purpose of this systematization is to frame the answers to the three research questions posed for the study, based on specific cases, and to identify patterns common to all the enterprises analyzed. It is worth recalling here the questions guiding the study, derived from the hypotheses:

- a) Do the actors working with indigenous peoples in the promotion of their economic development take this differential element into account, and do they incorporate the indigenous peoples' rights approach?
- b) Are these challenges and complexities really the ones that affect Latin America's indigenous peoples as a whole in terms of their economic development, can they be confirmed in the research process, and are there any additional ones?
- c) Can these good practices constitute reference models to be replicated in other contexts, and to be taken into account by governments, cooperation agencies, specialized international organizations, the private sector or the actions of indigenous organizations or companies that focus on economic and productive development?

It should be noted that one of the limitations in the systematization of the information on the case studies is the absence of some data related to the nine previous items, which reflects some of the premises from which the study is based, such as the existence of important deficiencies in the field of entrepreneurship and the great disparity existing between the different types of entrepreneurship. These difficulties are included as part of the results of the analysis of these successful experiences, and serve as input for the formulation of project proposals by the actors interested in promoting development with identity, aimed at overcoming the technical barriers of the ventures reflected here.

7.1 SYSTEMATIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES WITH IDENTITY IN MESOAMERICA

7.1.1 Mexico - Community forestry enterprise in the community of Nuevo San Juan Parangaricutiro, Michoacán

I. Administrative and financial model

The Empresa Comunal Aprovechamientos Forestales de la Comunidad de Nuevo San Juan Parangaricutiro is located in the state of Michoacán, in central-western Mexico, and formally began operations in 1981. The company has 1,254 permanent and 300 temporary employees, grouped into approximately 700 companies in the indigenous community, which belongs to the Purépecha people.

Its main activity is the industrialization of forestry resources, and together with another integral development company, it is in charge of wood harvesting, including activities ranging from the collection of tree seeds to the production of finished products such as staves for floors and walls, and a whole series of industrial processes.

The mission of the Communal Enterprise is to conserve and defend the communal perimeter as well as the territorial integrity, through the human development of the community members, the sustainable use of natural resources, the conservation of the ecological balance and the realization of projects in accordance with their own policies to strengthen their integral development.

To achieve its objectives, the Communal Enterprise is organized administratively in a scheme articulated with the general organization of the indigenous community, which has as its highest body the general assembly of community members, supported by a Communal Council that is composed of people with extensive experience in the community, usually equivalent to a Council of Elders, which is the representative figure of the Purépecha indigenous region. The members of the council represent the six neighborhoods that make up the community, and which constitute the administrative base of the indigenous organization itself.

The board takes part in the company's decision making process, being part of the requirements for the adoption of a decision its final vote, as for example, in decisions on financial investments from external actors, when the amount exceeds a certain amount¹⁰⁴.

The position of general manager, which is the highest position in the company, is chosen by the community itself. Prospective candidates are considered according to the profile set out in the community document or statute, which takes into account the technical skills of the applicant as well as his or her background within the community, participation and status as a community member. The statute also includes other job profiles in the organization, defined by the community itself (see Annex 1).

¹⁰⁴ The corresponding interview refers to amounts equal to or in excess of one million Mexican pesos.

The company has had FSC certification¹⁰⁵ for seventeen years, which ensures its compliance with international environmental standards, in addition to endorsing its positive corporate social responsibility practices and good forestry practices, ensuring the least possible impact on the environment: flora, fauna, soil, and sustainable forest management. The company's goal is that over time, the form and volume of production will allow them to continue to have more than ten thousand hectares of forest in the community.

The company has a high participation of members of the local indigenous community, due to its own constitutive nature as a communal company. Indigenous people participate in all areas of the organization, and one of the responsibilities of each member of the community is to participate in the general assemblies held every first Sunday of the month, a practice that has been carried out uninterruptedly for thirty-two years, which is an important pillar that has strengthened decision-making and has also allowed the monitoring of these decisions, which are governed by the forms of indigenous organization.

On occasions when the objectives of the community override the financial objectives, the community's objectives take precedence, as may be the case of generating employment over the company's profits, since if there is a deficit of employment in the community, greater profitability in the company's operations is sacrificed in order to benefit the families of the community members, always respecting the commitments acquired with the clients. This can sometimes lead to organizational difficulties in the company, which are resolved through the general assembly, which is the highest body. However, since everyone in the company is an owner, everyone is a member of the organization and everyone participates on an equal footing to give their opinion on matters that concern them and make decisions, complications or problems are minimal.

That is why there are great differences between the way of operating the Communal Enterprise, which is based mainly on the social implications of the operating methods it implements, when the common thing for a company is to base its decisions on the market implications. It is precisely this aspect that allows the Communal Enterprise, where all its employees are owners, to remain in operation, despite the fact that many times they do not implement measures for competitiveness in the market.

¹⁰⁵ Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) is a global NGO whose purpose is to promote environmentally appropriate, socially beneficial and economically viable management of the world's forests. To this end, it issues three types of certifications: Forest Certification, Chain of Custody and Controlled Wood, each according to the different stages of production and the situation of the forest product in its production/distribution chain.

the market given the high social cost for the workers, or they make changes only when they have decided how to channel the negative impacts that this implies for the workers¹⁰⁶. In this sense, such channeling has meant for the community the generation of new sources of employment, so that in 35 years of operation of the company, 10 new community enterprises have been generated.

Another form of community involvement is support activities in areas such as firefighting, reforestation brigades, pruning (December to February) and some other activities indicated and coordinated by the community authorities (commissariat and oversight council), which are voluntary activities. Finally, indigenous people from the community participate in the work activities, according to the spaces offered by the company based on the profiles established in their communal statute.

II. Context of the initiative and cross-cultural governance

The participation of the indigenous people of the community in the Communal Enterprise was ensured through community assemblies and a census¹⁰⁷ house by house in the six neighborhoods that make up the indigenous community, in order to decide in each family who would participate in the enterprise. Each of the holders of the communal census represents a family, and when the holder dies, a process of substitution of the holder by another member of the family, who will represent the whole family nucleus, is carried out. As it is a traditional scheme, in most cases the communal census holders, mainly males, are substituted by the eldest son of the family, although the wife can also take his place.

The operation of the Communal Enterprise, given its composition closely linked to the indigenous community from which it was formed, keeps a broad respect for the ways of life and identity of the Purépecha people. An example of this is the respect for the *Cambites*, communal figures that represent the neighborhoods, and through whom the decisions are followed up and participation with the cabildos is carried out.

¹⁰⁶ An example of this is the changes made in what is considered the most important process of the company, the lumber sawmill, which, being the first economic activity carried out by the organization, is considered an icon for everyone. Therefore, changing the process with automated machines, which means less labor intensity but greater possibilities of competing with other companies, required a process in which the company's technicians, together with the management and the Community Council, had to develop a plan to generate new jobs for all those sawmill operators who would no longer be required as labor after the modification of the processes.

¹⁰⁷ This census, as reported in the interview, is updated periodically to ensure that all families represented in the census continue to be taken into account, replacing the head of the family in case of death.

represent each of the barrios. For their part, the elders participate in the Grupo de Cabildos, a traditional Purépecha authority scheme, which brings together people who know well all the traditions of the people, such as the meanings of the rites, customs and other elements of the Purépecha cosmovision.

The traditional ways of life of the Purépecha people, including the forms of community organization and leadership described above, as well as the community's own celebrations, are present throughout all activities at all levels within the organization¹⁰⁸, which is a tangible example of the implementation of the self-determination of indigenous peoples, through respect for their cultural and social identity, customs, traditions and institutions¹⁰⁹. Likewise, the organization provides economic support to its member companies for their participation in the community's patron saint festivities and other celebrations, as well as offering discounts on the purchase of materials¹¹⁰ or permission for workers to be absent on holidays.

Although these community practices are mostly beneficial for the development of the enterprise, one of the negative aspects pointed out by the interviewees is that sometimes community activities overlap with work activities. However, the rootedness of the Communal Enterprise in the indigenous community makes it possible for the Purépecha people's ways of life and identity to be respected, without posing great difficulties at the organizational level, since the programming of the functions, goals and objectives of the Communal Enterprise is carried out taking into account the cultural particularities of the community, which positively impacts the environment of coexistence,

¹⁰⁸ In this regard, a technical employee mentions the celebration of Corpus Christi in the community: "[...] the Wednesday before, all the offices make an entrance that we call it. We all go to the entrance of the town with music for each office and the custom is to visit the traditional authorities of the town. That day we visit the General Manager, the communal authorities, three members of the commissariat, the surveillance council, the parish priest, the municipal President, the people who are in the hospital chapel headed by the Mayordomo. The joke of the visits is that the office arrives to the houses of these traditional authorities, they play the music and offer them a souvenir allusive to that tradition, emblematic or allusion to the office to which it belongs. This is where all the creativity of our people unfolds: they have even made models of the processes. And it is all a time of celebration, of coexistence. The next day some other local trades, who do not belong to the organization: the hairdressers, the photographers, the gardeners, the bricklayers, the bricklayers, who also visit the authorities, even those of the community. That day is the official day that the parade of the trades is held and it is pure dance and fun, Corpus Thursday."

¹⁰⁹ As indicated in ILO Convention 169 on the Duty of States to Respect, Protect and Guarantee the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Article 2.2 (b): (b) to promote the full realization of the social, economic and cultural rights of indigenous peoples, respecting their social and cultural identity, customs and traditions, and institutions. Although the article refers mainly to actions undertaken by States, in the case of private enterprises it is also important to analyze the ways in which the differentiated rights of indigenous peoples are articulated in daily practice, such as economic enterprises with indigenous participation. ¹¹⁰ The support for the purchase of wood offered to the Cambites for the elaboration of altars for the community's patron saints is mentioned above all.

which is very different from the work environment of companies without a culturally differentiated approach.

On the other hand, in the productive area of the Communal Enterprise, such as controls, standards, requirements, goals and objectives, technical and administrative aspects, are not based on traditional knowledge, but on forms of production adapted to the market. The only part that respects the traditional in this area is in relation to the treatment of older personnel in training and sessions to adjust objectives or goals, respecting the lessons learned in the community.

III. Contributions to development with a distinctly indigenous identity

The most important assets for the Communal Enterprise are the land and the natural resources of the community: the forest, the agricultural lands, the trees, the springs, all the structure that is inside the communal territory; as stated in the mission, which is to conserve and defend the community's heritage and territory. Therefore, caring for the biological environment of the community is an intrinsic part of the organization's activities, which is part of the Purépecha people's own cosmovision.

The area in which the company has the most knowledge is forestry, because it has been the activity it has carried out for the longest time; timber and non-timber harvesting, as well as resin harvesting, is where they have the most extensive knowledge. On the other hand, there is a lack of knowledge in the area of financial evaluation, because although there has been training of employees in this area, there are only one or two people in charge of financial operations, considering that it would be beneficial for decision making to have more people trained in financial evaluation.

On the other hand, the organization has incorporated traditional knowledge in a very fluid manner, since having emerged from the community environment and maintaining its operations guided by its own forms of operation, it has not been necessary to generate highly specialized training schemes, but rather the knowledge is transmitted by word of mouth, from parents to children or from grandparents to grandchildren, allowing continuity in the forms of work based on their own knowledge and practices¹¹¹. Under this methodology

¹¹¹ Regarding these practices, one of the interviewees stated the following: "Last week when we were auditing, this year we included the use of resin in the Certification. It is a new part where we are the first community in the whole country. We will be the first organization to certify resin for the first time. Part of the evaluation process consisted of the resin harvesting technique and they told us: let's see, San Juan Community, tell me what your resin harvesting technique is, what is the method and what are the norms that apply; then the team of forestry technicians goes out and presents the method, the norms that apply and already, the auditor was very happy to go to the field and interview three of your resin harvesters, they chose where to go.

This is an element that, as mentioned above, constitutes one of the bases of community articulation, where it is precisely the grandparents who guide many of the community decisions, and in this case business decisions, through their advice.

Likewise, this dynamic of training from elders to young people has allowed the rescue of the Purépecha language in the community, which for various sociological reasons, among them the discrimination suffered by the speakers in areas outside the community, had been relegated. However, it is through the economic activities of the community itself that there has been a revalorization of its learning, also promoting its strengthening through the establishment of a bilingual school by the community authorities, which has been adding new generations that have been trained in an indigenous process.

This form of training is in itself a model of community education through the economic activities they carry out, which has even been an attractive model for other actors outside the community, such as public institutions of the State of Michoacán, some of which have sent groups to be trained by the community on issues of sustainable management of natural resources, such as the hydrological network that is generated from the collection of water from the community's forests.

A very relevant aspect of the company's economic development model is the integration of a purely community value chain in terms of suppliers and production and marketing processes. One of the community's philosophies is that when a process or service is required that is unknown, an expert on the subject can be consulted, but is only hired for the purpose of training someone from the community with a profile that is as close as possible to what is needed. If this is not possible in its entirety, at least in the most basic aspects, and it is in this way that the community has appropriated all the processes. That is why there are no non-indigenous personnel permanently hired in the company.

The good results of the Community Enterprise have allowed it to establish networks with other actors in the public and private sector, both at the local, national and international levels.

We arrived in the field and they saw that the whole resin plan complies with what the technicians presented and the most interesting thing was that the resin workers they saw in the field were under 35 years old, practically all of them (except one) and the interesting thing here was that the way of resinning was the same as it was done 50 years ago or more, because the people of our community, before organizing themselves for companies, before working with wood, resinated: it is a clearly traditional trade for us, since many, many years ago. So they said: if the younger ones have done it, it is because the traditional training scheme they are following is effective."

These have improved the company's performance through joint advocacy and management of relevant issues, such as certification and improvements in regulation, or the promotion of its own initiatives. The company's power to coordinate stakeholders has led it to form and preside over the Alianza de Ejidos y Comunidades Certificadas de México, an initiative of the community together with its certifying body, which has enabled the company to obtain training, market studies and analysis, and marketing. The alliance with the Unión Nacional de Organizaciones de Forestería Comunal (UNOFOC) has helped position the company nationally in the forestry sector, improving its capacity to buffer and address legislation and regulation issues.

IV. Entrepreneurship success factors and obstacles

Success factors

- The company is made up of members of indigenous communities, so its internal management has been favorable for economic development with identity, especially because they are in possession of the natural areas from which they obtain the resources they commercialize.
- Holding FSC certification has opened up new market opportunities for Empresa Comunal's products, as it is a guarantee of their quality and has generated consumer confidence.
- The large number of NGOs and entities that support the development and growth of community enterprises, especially through financing, which are complemented by the support of government agencies in economic issues and government programs.
- The geographical location of the company, relatively close to Mexico City, Guadalajara, Estado de México, Querétaro and Guanajuato, which have shown high rates of market development and growth, favors the economic activities of the Empresa Comunal.
- The Communal Enterprise has invested in the vertical integration of its value chain, so it has greater control over the production and commercialization process of its products, gaining visibility in the market.

Obstacles

- There is pressure from public policies for an intensification of the regulation of the sector, but under standards that are inadequate for the proper functioning of economic activities, since they show a lack of knowledge about their requirements, which results in the fact that far from combating illegality, smaller or more vulnerable groups are led to non-compliance with the regulations.

- There are many illegal loggers in the area, which generates unfair competition in the market because they are able to offer lower prices to the market.

V. Impact of entrepreneurship on the local indigenous communities.

The community has been considered the pioneer in the scheme of employment generation at the indigenous community level, being an example of high social impact and good practices in social entrepreneurship, so it is a model of both organization and business generation that can serve as an example for other indigenous and non-indigenous enterprises.

In this sense, it is important to mention that because it is an enterprise that moves large economic amounts, and because it involves a large number of local community members, it has a strong impact on the economic development of the community in general. This, of course, has both advantages and disadvantages¹¹², which can be balanced through the diversification of employment sources, which in this case is driven by the community members themselves, when there are gaps in the Communal Enterprise, as described above.

Perhaps the most relevant aspect of the company is its sustainable management of the environment, since forestry is one of the region's economic activities and its harvesting techniques are remarkable, contrasting with the practices of neighboring communities that, after irrational use of natural resources, are currently deforested and have a very different climate from what they had thirty years ago.

One of the novel elements that the organization contributes to the development of an economy respectful of the identity of indigenous communities is precisely the integration of indigenous identity with a market-oriented business model, as well as respect for nature and natural resources based on the Purépecha worldview of love for nature, plants, water, rain, the resources that emanate from it, which has allowed its sustainable use and has allowed the community to superimpose this work scheme above the economic, in the face of

¹¹² Regarding the disadvantages that the strong economic linkage of the local community with the Communal Enterprise may entail, the following experience was mentioned in one of the interviews: "The economic impact is very broad, for example in 2013 when the insecurity was so serious and we had the problem of logistics, because the shippers did not want to come to Michoacán, we had many stopped orders that could not reach their destination, and this generated a complication in the groups. As a consequence, payrolls decreased and the local economic flow was lost, there were complications in practically the whole town: tortilla sellers, shopkeepers, butchers, everyone; at a local level it is the economic flow and the participation of the community in relevant aspects: school and everything they do".

The Purépecha people consider the land, which they consider an intrinsic part of their being, to be an intrinsic part of their being.

The company has contributed to the Good Living of the community in the most important points for the families, as indicated by one of the interviewees: "economically we have seen an important economic development within our families, all the people who belong to the organization do not lack the basics, we have a good lifestyle, we do not have basic needs. All the social welfare schemes that other communities have lost to maintain their families, which we consider as basic social welfare: medical services, even psychological, support for chronic diseases, for people who have some vice, and we are very clear that the mere fact that people have the possibility of employment allows us to speak of support against family disintegration. Before the community had such a wide option, they used to go to the United States, many families stayed half there and the other half here, the migration at that time was complicated because many did not come back, others after many years with problems, a series of situations that arose and now that the community has the opportunity of employment, people stay here, they no longer have to look elsewhere, take care of their children, talk to them. That is definitely important to us.

7.1.2 Nicaragua - Pana Pana

I. Administrative and financial model

Pana Pana is a term that comes from the Miskito language and means mutual aid or solidarity, and is a financial organization oriented to the development of the indigenous communities of the Northern Caribbean of Nicaragua, which offers support through two programs: a microfinance program that provides loans for home improvements, purchase of solar panels, and inputs for agricultural and livestock activities; and a second program oriented to the promotion of community development programs.

It is a small company with thirty-four employees, whose main bodies are the presidency, vice-presidency, secretariat, treasury and a member, each with a representative. The members are mainly indigenous, especially in management positions, since it is a company that was born in the Miskito community environment of the Northern Caribbean of Nicaragua. Therefore, its forms of internal organization are indigenous, especially in the areas of credit approval, project formulation and execution, as well as the hiring of employees, where the interest in hiring people from the local indigenous communities prevails.

The company also has protocols aimed at achieving constant communication with community members and their representatives, consisting of periodic visits by promoters¹¹³, who are part of the company, to learn about their needs and maintain a dialogue with their leaders. This information serves as input for the formulation of company projects, which are mainly guided by the initiatives proposed by the communities themselves, and which, once in the development phase, are closely monitored by the company's management bodies, through community visits by management and the board of directors, in order to measure the impacts of the project on the lives of the indigenous communities.

Such practices of joint project formulation between the Miskito communities and the company have contributed to the improvement of organizational performance and the strengthening of leadership structures in the communities, as well as an organizational development of the company with a differential approach in its business practices, allowing the articulation of intercultural practices in its structure. This mixed organizational model is possible because, although the company has made the influx of information from the communities and their demands an intrinsic part of its operation, where respect for identity and notions of indigenous economic development based on sustainability are an essential part, it has also sought to incorporate state-of-the-art technology from the microfinance industry into its structure.

In its early days, when the company was in its infancy, the financing it obtained for the start-up of its operations came entirely from international development cooperation funds through projects. Among the funding agencies are: Plenti Canada, Manos unidas (Spain), Ingeniería Sin Frontera, Inter-American Foundation, CODESPA Foundation, FORD Foundation, Red Cross, and United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

At present, 70% of the financing for its operations comes from the organization's own resources, and only 30% comes from international cooperation funds, and it is considered a self-sustainable enterprise, since most of the financing comes from its microcredit programs for human development.

The financial situation of the company has definitely improved compared to its beginnings, allowing its consolidation in the market, with an average annual growth of

¹¹³ Community visits by the promoters are indicated on a biweekly or monthly basis, depending on the objective set internally in the company.

of 20% of its finances, and the generation of surpluses that make possible the accumulation of additional income annually, destined for the sustainability of the organization. This has changed the initial scenario of Pana Pana, which in its early years worked under the management of funds through project formulation, requiring constant renewal of the same to avoid running out of funds.

These first steps were undoubtedly important for the company's growth, and adequate internal projection allowed the creation of a solid framework for self-financing through the company's own operations, making it competitive with others in the same sector. On the other hand, given the current architecture of international cooperation for development, in which priority countries and issues have been established, it is becoming increasingly difficult to manage this type of funds, which is why, although there is currently 30% of this type of financing, the idea is to progressively reduce this percentage.

The external financing that has been most beneficial for the company's growth is microcredit, the first of which was granted to the company by the Ford Foundation, followed by others such as OIKO Credit of the Netherlands, ADA-MDLF Luxembourg, ENVEST United States, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and KIVERT United States. Since obtaining positive results with respect to the financing granted is one of the main concerns of organizations of this type, it has been Pana Pana's prestige and the good evaluations of its audits when receiving on-site visits from the organizations that grant the loans that have allowed it to create good financing networks with good social capital.

This good management of the company's microcredits brings benefits to the local indigenous communities, who can obtain greater access to microcredits for financing productive activities, such as housing improvement, commerce, services, livestock and agriculture, water and sanitation, artisanal fishing, consumer microcredits, solar panels and other forms of clean energy. The projects approved for financing are selected with the approval of the community leader, and it is the community members themselves who establish the segment or segments of the population that will benefit within the community, according to their needs. The role of the organization, in addition to granting microcredits, is reinforced through technical assistance to the communities to carry out their projects, for example, in agricultural production, artisanal fishing and livestock.

II. Context of the initiative and cross-cultural governance

Pana Pana emerged as an initiative and formally began operations in 1990, having been driven by indigenous leaders and repatriated families who had been displaced during the civil war and returned to Nicaraguan lands after its end. The idea was driven by a group of about five indigenous Miskitos who aimed to address the multiple needs they faced in this post-war context, such as inputs for agriculture and fishing, housing construction, transportation, among others, so they began to channel projects as marginalized and displaced communities.

The members of this group were the managers of the funds obtained for the basic demands, with the participation of local communities that were consulted for the implementation of the initiative, among them Sandi Bay, Tuapi, Krukira and Awastara. Since then, the key actors for the undertaking have been the indigenous communities, considered the basis of its existence, its main cooperators and members of the technical staff, which is why they are fully committed to the vision and mission of Pana Pana.

During the company's lifetime, the Miskito communities of the Northern Caribbean region have faced numerous crises, and its role as the driving force of the local economy has been fundamental to improving their living conditions. In addition to the difficulties of a post-war context, the effects of Hurricane Mitch in 1998 were particularly devastating. Hurricane Mitch demolished large extensions of the forest areas used by the communities for hunting, increased the pollution levels of the rivers where they practiced fishing, destroyed their agricultural crops and homes, and caused the death of domestic animals (pigs, backyard poultry and cattle) and flooding. All of these affected areas therefore became a priority for the organization, a situation that deepened after Hurricane Felix in 2007.

The proper management of the company's operations has had a positive impact on the local Miskito communities, since the projects carried out have enabled indigenous families to settle in the communities after the crises they have faced: building houses, providing access to financing, providing training in environmentally friendly agricultural production, among other actions. This in turn has allowed the strengthening of the communities' own structures, with the role of women in decision-making processes within the community leadership structure and in the home being especially relevant.

This close relationship between the company and the local communities has facilitated respect for the ways of life and identity of the indigenous communities at the operational level.

that all its operations and interventions are based on values such as respect for community customs, their forms of communal government, their own language, among other aspects contemplated in the framework of the specific rights of indigenous peoples, and which contribute to their self-determination. This is fundamental to be able to implement the projects financed by the company at the community level, since their success or failure depends to a large extent on their socio-cultural adaptation to the local environment.

Such an approach to the company's operations, based on local indigenous communities' own ways of life, can be seen in activities such as rice production, for which the traditional indigenous technique of rose and weed burning is used and passed down from generation to generation. This traditional knowledge is combined with other non-indigenous knowledge, such as the use of continuous irrigation systems and fertilizers to nourish the soil, which allows the regeneration of soil nutrients lost after burning. The promotion of intercultural practices, both in the projects and in the company's own internal organization, has resulted in growth and financial sustainability benefits.

With respect to the adaptation of the company's organizational forms to the institutions of the indigenous communities, it should be noted that both the Miskito territorial and communal forms of organization are decisive for the elaboration of joint projects based on the basic needs of the population, as well as for making decisions on their implementation and subsequent monitoring of their operation.

An economic aspect that the company has considered exploring, but for which it faces serious difficulties, is the commercialization of products produced by the local communities to external markets. However, this has not been possible so far because the road conditions are inadequate, the means of transportation are insufficient and the communications infrastructure is in poor condition, and during the winter the rivers overflow. However, this has not been an obstacle for the company to continue growing in the area of its competencies, despite the obstacles to diversifying its operations.

III. Contributions to development with a distinctly indigenous identity

The appropriation of the projects promoted by the company, so that they feel that they are their own and really promote their development with identity, begins at the project formulation stage. In these steps prior to their implementation, consultations are held with local communities to detect their needs and establish, through their own forms of organization, the characteristics of the project and the details for its execution. Likewise, people participate in a much more active way, since

They may even voluntarily contribute assets to projects, such as agricultural inputs.

This active involvement of the communities has been of vital importance for the support of indigenous development, especially taking into account the context in which the company was born, having had to work with very basic means and making use of the skills of the people of the community, as victims of a prolonged conflict that left practically all the families of the region homeless, without sufficient food, without their land or economic income; in other words, a conflict that violated their rights in a profound way, threatening their physical and cultural survival.

Therefore, covering people's basic needs was the starting point from which capacities for autonomy were built. The impulse to community development with identity that the company assumed for its environment is an excellent example of support, through a company of this type, of the right to self-development of indigenous peoples, included in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples¹¹⁴, which allows establishing good practices on the role of companies in the respect, protection and promotion of human rights.

A very important actor in the promotion of development with identity at the local level has been international cooperation for development, since it is through the financing granted through projects, especially in the initial stage, that has made possible the permanence of the company in the market, especially taking into account the enormous difficulties involved in starting up a business in an area impoverished by war, and whose restructuring has been slowed down on several occasions by the incidence of natural disasters. Other alliances that have favored, albeit to a lesser extent, the development of the company, are those with local public sector actors, NGOs, private companies and foundations.

The proactive role of the local indigenous communities has allowed the networks with these actors to remain and grow stronger over time, with the networks of international cooperatives being especially relevant to the company's operations, as they have placed their trust in the company precisely because it demonstrates that the local indigenous communities are part of its structure.

¹¹⁴ Article 20 of this Declaration states that "indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development. In particular, indigenous peoples have the right to participate actively in developing and determining health, housing and other economic and social programs affecting them and, as far as possible, to administer such programs through their own institutions".

IV. Entrepreneurship success factors and obstacles

Success factors

- The company has a multiethnic and multidisciplinary team (personnel with careers in business administration, public accounting, agroforestry, etc.) with more than 10 years of experience working in different areas such as human development, microfinance, water and sanitation, gender mainstreaming, strengthening of territorial and community structures, which has led to the rapid growth of the company and ensured its permanence in the market.
- Numerous families have improved their living conditions, as well as their know-how in agricultural production, livestock, and artisanal fishing, which demonstrates the good practices of the projects undertaken through Pana Pana. This is especially relevant considering that the company was born with the objective of addressing the adverse living conditions of the population of the North Coast, and to generate resilience after the armed conflict.
- Indigenous women have been strengthened and empowered, making decisions in positions of territorial and municipal trust.
- The company has managed to increase its social capital, which allows it to have greater access to projects with international cooperation agencies, which collaborate with this organization through their loans, to develop the Microfinance program, in which families have played a very important role for the sustainability of the organization, paying their monthly dues in a timely manner.
- The formulation of projects from the context of the communities, collaborating as a team from the organization's workers, territorial, communal and community indigenous leaders, has been key to formulate a profitable, sustainable and beneficial project for the indigenous communities.

Obstacles

- Although good relations have been fostered with some international cooperation agencies, many have moved away and have taken other countries as a priority, which implies the need for greater efforts on the part of the company to maintain its financing levels.
- Deficit in public policies for the improvement of indigenous communities, in areas such as: market studies for the commercialization of agricultural, livestock and fishery products, and processed products; improvement of

road, land and marine infrastructure; more effective response to natural disasters; etc.

V. Impact of entrepreneurship on the local indigenous communities.

The results of the company's operations in the indigenous communities of the Northern Caribbean region can be measured through the improved living standards of the families that have received microcredits, which after three or four years have increased their production and sales, generating a source of employment and income that allows them to become self-sufficient.

Another company activity that has benefited the communities is technical assistance to strengthen knowledge in agriculture, livestock and fishing, allowing the revitalization of traditional indigenous knowledge and complementing it through an intercultural approach.

Regarding the organization of the company, it is important to point out that the respect for the indigenous institutions of the communities, through which they participate in the formulation of projects, as well as the enhancement of the territorial and communal structures¹¹⁵ and the indigenous participation in their implementation, has contributed to the regeneration of the community social fabric. It should be noted that one of the most valuable aspects is the participation of indigenous women in decision making, which year after year becomes more solid.

7.2 SYSTEMATIZATION OF EXPERIENCES FROM DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES WITH IDENTITY IN THE ANDEAN-AMAZONIAN REGION

7.2.1 Bolivia - Production of high quality organic Amazonian cocoa in the North of La Paz Department

I. Administrative and financial model

¹¹⁵ Respect for territorial and communal structures is very important when granting loans, because unlike private banks, the company takes into account that lands in indigenous communities are collectively owned, and therefore cannot be mortgaged. This aspect often prevents individuals or organizations with collective land tenure from accessing credit.

The political division of the Plurinational State of Bolivia is organized into departments, provinces, municipalities, and indigenous and aboriginal peasant territories¹¹⁶ each with its respective governmental administration. La Paz, which is the second most populated department in Bolivia after Santa Cruz, with approximately 2.8 million inhabitants¹¹⁷, has five ecological levels: snowy heights, altiplano, valleys, tropical yungas and Amazon jungle; consequently, its agricultural production is extremely varied.

The provinces located to the north (Iturrealde, Larecaja, Caranavi, Franz Tamayo and Sud Yungas) are part of the Bolivian Amazon, within which there are three protected areas: Madidi National Park and Integrated Management Natural Area; Pílon Lajas Biosphere Reserve and Communal Land of Origin; and Apolobamba Integrated Management Natural Area.

The region is also home to several indigenous and aboriginal peasant nations and peoples¹¹⁸ (NyPIOC), including the Leco, Tacana and Chimán Mosestén, who live in harmony with Mother Earth and carry out their activities in an ecological and nature-friendly manner. Among the main economic activities are the production of coffee, incense, wood, handicrafts, tourism, cacao, hunting and fishing, meat and lizard leather.

These activities are mainly part of Bolivia's agricultural sector, which represents 13% of GDP and is the main economic source of the country's rural population¹¹⁹, so their articulation in the market is essential to promote economic development. Given that the logic of the sector is based on geographic diversity, such as the aforementioned ecological zones from which its potential and natural productive vocation derives, its sustainable management is essential to ensure its adequate yield, which according to statistics from the National Statistics Institute (INE) of Bolivia for the period 2004 - 2013, has been lower than the average for the period 2004 - 2013.

¹¹⁶ Article 269 of the Political Constitution of the Plurinational State of Bolivia (2009), Part Three on the structure and territorial organization of the State, Title I, Chapter 1.

¹¹⁷ National Institute of Statistics. Total population projection and demographic indicators, 2012- 2020. Revision 2014.

¹¹⁸ Indigenous and aboriginal peasant nations and peoples is the term used in the 2009 Political Constitution of the Plurinational State of Bolivia. Article 30, corresponding to the Fourth Chapter on the rights of the NCIP, defines them as follows: I. An indigenous native peasant nation and people is a ny human collectivity that shares cultural identity, language, historical tradition, institutions, territoriality and cosmovision, whose existence predates the Spanish colonial invasion.

¹¹⁹ According to the 2012 National Census, the rural population in Bolivia corresponds to 32.5% of the total. INE (2015). *Population and Housing Census 2012. Population Characteristics*. INE, United Nations Population Fund -UNFPA-: La Paz.

compared to other countries in the region, mainly due to low productivity levels.¹²⁰ Similarly, the agricultural sector plays an essential role in the food security of the Bolivian population, for which small producers are decisive because of their contributions to food from family farming, which in Bolivia's development model is assumed as a right¹²¹, so the strengthening of the sector's activities, especially those focused on organic agriculture, is a priority and has the NIPIOCs as protagonists.¹²²

In this sense, the economic activities of these groups, especially those that combine the uses and customs inherent to their origin with the modern logics of contemporary business societies, that is, those that have an intercultural organizational model, contribute to the strengthening of the agricultural sector and therefore to sustainable economic development, as well as socio-culturally appropriate.

Cocoa plantations are also an important source of income for the NyPIOC, which are, especially in the case of wild cocoa, managed through collective property systems, both communities and Community Lands of Origin (TCO), also known as indigenous native peasant territories, which are legally recognized, and which are part of their right to ancestral domain over their territories, which guarantees their self-determination within the framework of the unity of the State, consisting of their right to autonomy, self-government, their culture, recognition of their institutions and the consolidation of their territorial entities, as stated in Article 2 of the 2009 Constitution.

Among the successful experiences in intercultural family farming is the initiative to produce quality wild cacao and native Amazonian ecological cacao of the Leco, Tacana and Chimán Mosestén NIPIOCs. Both varieties are appreciated in international markets, where it could be said that three main types of cocoa are marketed: i) criollo; ii) forastero; and iii) trinitario. Bolivia produces the

¹²⁰ Social and Economic Policy Analysis Unit, UDAPE (2015). Sectoral Diagnostics. Agropecuario. Volume 8. According to this document based on statistical data provided by the INE for the period 2004-2013, there are different factors why the performance of the agricultural sector has presented low levels in the reference period, among them: low availability and qualification of labor; inadequate access to land both in quantity and quality; insufficient provision of productive infrastructure and tools; insufficient levels of investment in research, irrigation and extension; excessive smallholding; high dependence on climatic factors; soil degradation; low access to the financial system, etc.

¹²¹ Article 16 of the 2009 Constitution, contained in Chapter 2 on fundamental rights, states that: I. Everyone has the right to water and food; II. The State has the obligation to guarantee food security through healthy, adequate and sufficient food for the entire population.

¹²² Ibid.

The corncobs sprout once a year on trees that are 15 to 20 meters high.

This variety is called wild cocoa in the country, and its adaptation without genetic modifications and grown under identical conditions, but in family agroforestry plots with trees 4 to 5 meters high, is called cultivated cocoa. Both modalities involve organic production and are internationally recognized for their organoleptic characteristics.

The initiative to cultivate both varieties of cocoa by the Leco, Tacana and Chimán Mosetén peoples has been supported by two international NGOs with a presence in Bolivia, Helvetas Swiss Intercooperation Bolivia and Wildlife Conservation Society Bolivia, the former focused on development and the latter on nature conservation. Both organizations, through their respective projects "Quality Bolivian Amazonian Cocoa" and "Plan de vida: Cadena de cacao silvestre cultivado", have contributed to improving the production and marketing conditions of wild and native Amazonian ecological cocoa, having generated synergies between them to better achieve their objectives.

The strategic alliance between the community producers and a well-known national private company, Solur S.R.L., created in 1990, which produces chocolates under the "Para Ti" brand, and whose participation in the initiative was the result of the "Quality Bolivian Amazonian Cocoa" and "Life Plan: Cultivated Wild Cocoa Chain" projects, has also contributed to the development of this economic activity. The company's final products are sold in domestic and foreign markets, including a bitter chocolate bar with 75% organic cocoa, whose main input is supplied by indigenous Lecos, Tacanas and Chimanés Mosetén producers.

Helvetas Swiss Intercooperation Bolivia provided approximately US\$878,316 in the first phase of its project between 2012 and 2015, which aims to catalyze significant changes that will improve the income of Bolivian Amazonian cocoa producing and harvesting families, while contributing to the conservation of protected natural areas. This first phase was dedicated to strengthening technical, organizational, productive infrastructure and marketing aspects.

To this end, it has joined forces with Wildlife Conservation Society Bolivia as the project's executing partner, which has extensive experience in promoting projects in Bolivia aimed at promoting the economic and sustainable development of indigenous peoples, as well as their territorial management. Its work in collaboration with

The first cocoa producer associations began in 2003, especially with the Consejo Indígena del Pueblo Tacana (CIPTA), and since 2009, together with Helvetas Swiss Intercooperation Bolivia, collaborates with the Asociación de Productores de Cacao Nativo Ecológico del Municipio de Mapiri (APCAO Mapiri) and the Asociación de Productores de Cacao Nativo Ecológico del Pueblo Leco de Larecaja (CHOCOLECO)¹²³

A second phase, initiated in 2016, is financed by the same NGO with approximately US\$690,000, with the aim of strengthening the cocoa value chain, involving the various actors involved in both production and marketing through different markets, to improve their competitiveness and thus promote the improvement of income resulting from this initiative, allowing more people to take part in the economic activity.

The financing provided for the implementation of the initiative did not include the granting of money, tools or other goods to the producers, but they themselves covered part of the cost of their tools in kind with cocoa, thus preserving their assets as something that is the product of their work and not as a donation. In addition, in all the activities carried out under the initiative, consultations have been held with the producers in order to act within the framework of their consent.

II. Context of the initiative and cross-cultural governance

The production of quality Bolivian Amazonian organic cocoa began as a project in 2012 and concluded its first phase in 2015, involving 179 families belonging to the Leco, Tacana and Chimán Mositén NyPIOC, distributed in 9 communities on the banks of the Beni River, 3 communities downstream from Rurrenabaque and 6 upstream, being that in each community converge one or more associations of cocoa producers. The initiative was supported by Helvetas Swiss Intercooperation Bolivia, Wild Life Conservation Society Bolivia and the company Solur S.R.L..

The second phase initiated in 2016 seeks to expand the area of operations to the other bank of the Beni River, where the territories of the Beni department are abundant in cocoa, seeking to involve a total of 400 families, in addition to consolidating the alliance between all stakeholders and ensuring the sustainability of the project.

¹²³ WILDLIFE CONSERVATION SOCIETY BOLIVIA, 2016, Cacao Silvestre. Cacao production chain. In: *Wildlife Conservation Society*. Available at: <https://bolivia.wcs.org/es-es/iniciativas/manejo-de-recursos-naturales/cacao-silvestre.aspx>.

Among the aspects that have been considered for the operation of the initiative is the fact that in Bolivia, at a general level, land can be awarded to community members collectively or individually through various legal forms, including specific forms of tenure for the NyPIOC.

On the other hand, cocoa production occurs both in wild forests and in family agroforestry plots, and in both cases the work process is ecological and is organized according to the type of land ownership and involves all members of the family. According to the Political Constitution of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, the uses and customs of each NPyOC govern their productive and social life, which implies that some responsibilities, and consequently their benefits, can be assumed individually and/or collectively. This is why both aspects are intertwined, i.e., the forms of land tenure, and the dynamics of agroforestry production, in this case, of cocoa.

The cocoa production process is based on the care of the forest, understood as a totality that in the cosmovision of Lecos, Tacanas and Chimanes Masetén represents the mother earth, hence not only protects the cocoa itself but all existing biodiversity. The production process of quality organic Amazonian cocoa has three main stages: pre-harvest, harvest and post-harvest, none of which allow the use of any artificial chemical element.

In all of them, the competencies and obligations of each of the associated actors are clearly defined. The farmers produce the cocoa; the NGOs provide production tools, train the producers and manage a self-financed common fund (they do not buy or subsidize any product); and the private company buys the product under certain quality standards and at previously agreed prices.

In the pre-harvest, planting is done according to the natural cycle of the forest in the case of the wild variety, while for family agroforestry crops, the periodization of wild cocoa is taken from ancestral knowledge, which allows the production cycle of both modalities to be matched. The period of growth, care and preparation of the cocoa bushes, until they can bear fruits with the required quality to be marketable, takes at least four years.

Harvesting is done in a non-aggressive way with the forest, having two ways to collect the fruits, either by carefully climbing the trees to cut the cocoa pods with the help of hand tools, or by cutting them from a distance with long sticks with knives tied at the end, which allows cutting the pods from the tips of the trees without destroying the foliage, flower cushions and fruits of the cocoa pods.

the middle part of these, thus guaranteeing the sustainability of the fruit production of the cocoa tree.

The post-harvest process involves the washing, roasting, peeling and selection of the cocoa, which are activities that are also carried out with the help of manual instruments and in an almost artisanal manner. Once the fruits have been selected, they are prepared according to the buyer's requirements, put together in sacks and transported to the collection point where, depending on the prices and quantities previously agreed upon, the transaction with Sotur S.R.L. is carried out. Also, the wastes and fruit in good condition but not meeting the quality requirements are sold to other buyers in the domestic market.

Finally, the circuit is closed when the cocoa is transformed into bitter chocolate bars with 75% organic cocoa of the Para Ti brand, whose marketing in the domestic market accounts for approximately 3% of the total, with 97% destined for foreign markets, Switzerland being the country that buys about 93% of the total destined for foreign markets. To this end, the actors involved conducted a market study that identified the existence of an insufficient supply of quality organic cocoa in the domestic market and an excess demand for organic chocolate bars in foreign markets.

III. Contributions to development with a distinctly indigenous identity

The confluence of three types of institutions of different legal and social nature in the initiative guarantees the relevance of the ecological production of Amazonian cocoa, in terms of economic profitability, conservation of the indigenous-original cultures of Bolivia and of nature. It is therefore evidence that successful and beneficial alliances can be made between production with indigenous identity and production for the market, as long as all parties involved in the production and marketing chain benefit equitably.

In addition, a characteristic of this economic model is that, beyond compliance with market quotas, organic production under the parameters of the initiative has allowed NyPIOC producers and the communities to which they belong to improve their access to health services, training, water, food and other goods and services on their own merit and not as a result of welfare projects, which is a significant contribution to their autonomy.

The practices promoted in this sense, show the importance of supporting the NCIP's own forms of production, care for the environment and mother earth, as well as the importance of the environment in the development of the NCIP.

The importance of the competitiveness of their products in national and international markets as a mechanism for their sustainable economic development.

One of the keys to the management of the initiative is teamwork, as well as respect for each of the participants and their culture, for universal ethical and moral standards, and for the dignity of the work of each of the actors, based on the customs and traditions of each of the members.

The number of community members belonging to NyPIOC has fluctuated: at the beginning there were 30 members, then they dropped to 13 and now there are 22 producers. However, while the community members have exercised their freedom of movement between initiatives in order to compare alternatives, the NGOs have remained firm and supported the producers who have continued in the project, which has generated a great deal of confidence in all the actors, reaffirming the solidity of the project.

The initiative has created opportunities for practices that, although not directly related to cocoa production and marketing, have contributed to improving the economic relations of NCIPOCs in the area with external commercial agents, especially intermediaries. An example of this is the fund managed by Helvetas Swiss Intercooperation Bolivia, which functions as a store for school supplies and some foodstuffs, and which was created within the framework of the project.

Its purpose is to support the elimination of harmful exchange practices between NCIPOCs and external commercial agents, emphasizing the so-called *habilito*¹²⁴, which consists of the partial or total advance of an amount of money or goods to producers, so that they can satisfy their needs until harvest time, which is often the only period of effective work when there is no adequate articulation with the market. This mechanism condemns them to indebtedness and indefinite dependence. For this reason, the fund has helped many of the producers to have access to certain goods without having to depend on cocoa intermediaries who condition the prices and conditions of sale of cocoa through the pre-harvest delivery of consumer goods required by the producers.

Fulfilling the objectives of the initiative also means that all those involved achieve their own objectives: the NyPIOV community members improve their living standards; the NGOs support development and nature conservation; and the private enterprise

¹²⁴ Some experiences related to habilitation systems in cocoa production activities in Bolivia are collected in BAZOBERRI CHALI Óscar and SALAZAR CARRASCO Coraly (2008). *El cacao en Bolivia: una alternativa económica de base campesina indígena*. CIPCA: La Paz.

profits. All this without prejudice to the benefits for the country as it is a legal activity that complies with all the obligations established by law.

IV. Entrepreneurship success factors and obstacles

Success factors

- This type of project under a new vision of strategic alliance is beneficial for all participating entities.
- It is an ecological production with identity in a geographic space that is valuable for all forms of life on the planet.
- The key mechanism for the success of the initiative is that the NGOs do not get involved in the production chain or in the commercialization of the product, but only support with advice and training under a perspective of self-sufficiency and generation of alliances with mutually beneficial objectives.
- It is a legal activity that is framed within the precepts of global consensus and public policies established for the sector. Therefore, any other actor can be incorporated without any impediment, except for the objectives and conditions of organic production of quality Amazonian cocoa.

Obstacles

The difficulties in the production of quality organic cocoa in the northern Amazon of the department of La Paz can be divided into two groups, those that correspond to the natural conditions of production and those that depend on public policies to promote the activity.

Among the obstacles inherent to the natural conditions in which the production process takes place, we can mention the following:

- Difficulties in accessing the cocoa forests and nearby communities. The road infrastructure in the producing region is deficient beyond the main roads, particularly during the rainy season, a season that partially coincides with the harvesting period, the forests are flooded, forcing the use of small boats to penetrate them to a limited extent, and the possibility of walking is impeded by the conversion of the trails into mud flats and pits.
- Sensitivity to the effects of climate change because production depends on the natural cycle of wild cocoa. Floods or relatively intense droughts can significantly affect the harvest.

- The presence of other alternative extractive activities such as logging, gold mining, illegal hunting (including transportation and trade) raises the opportunity costs of productive factors, particularly labor and land, because in the short term they offer the possibility of higher income.
- Vulnerability to predatory activities that alter and contaminate the cocoa forest environment, particularly the timber industry and gold mining.

In turn, the difficulties derived from the policies implemented by the State to strengthen cocoa production through its three levels of government are the following:

- Lack of a technically adequate and detailed government policy for the development of the cocoa industry. Although there is a Law for the Protection of Wild Cacao, as well as other regulations and support programs involving funds amounting to several million dollars, the government's vision is wrongly focused on formal aspects related to marketing, but neglects the fundamental elements of the production chain.
- The State, through its relevant agencies (National Institute for Agricultural and Forestry Innovation -INIAF-, National Agricultural Health and Food Safety Service -SENASAG-, Ministry of Rural Development and Land - MDRyT-, etc.) has not yet managed to identify, catalog, register, characterize and patent one by one the different qualities of the great variety of cocoa seeds originating in Bolivia. These actions are essential requirements for a policy that aims to export quality organic cocoa.
- The State does not promote self-sustainable production chains that are based on research and technologies appropriate to the characteristics identified in Bolivia, and this prevents it from guaranteeing homogeneous quality; nor does it plan its support activities appropriately considering the specificities of the Bolivian Amazonian cocoa production chain, which is an obstacle to comprehensively addressing the main problems of the production chain, as well as those of infrastructure and adequate equipment.
- There is no coordination between the three levels of government (central, departmental and municipal) or between these levels and the producer communities. Consequently, the commonwealths or productive regions, which should be organized under territorial management components, according to the geographic location of the communities and their productive potential, are not efficient operators because the involvement of the different levels of government is not effective.

- The public administration does not accurately visualize the potential of the foreign market and, in spite of expressing its intention, there is little capacity to enter into alliances with the foreign private sector to take advantage of the commercial benefits that could result.
- The trade policy does not encourage the establishment of the domestic industry, allowing legal and illegal imports of inputs for the manufacture of inferior quality chocolates or chocolate bars of different qualities, hindering the consolidation of the organic cocoa industry in the domestic market.
- The country has an Agrarian Insurance Law to protect agricultural producers in the poorest municipalities from climatic disasters; however, this law is not effective in protecting cocoa because it is a commodity with a volatile price and a high risk premium.

V. Impact of entrepreneurship on the local indigenous communities.

Organic cocoa production has become an alternative economic activity to gold mining and logging in the area, which contributes substantially to environmental sustainability and, therefore, to the well-being of the people of northern La Paz.

It is also an activity that is included in the list of other activities that, in association with private companies, follow the path of ecological production with cultural identity, producing for solidarity or competitive markets, including coffee producers, tourism service providers, and livestock production activities, among others.

Likewise, it has contributed to improve public policy management in the producing regions, allowing them access to transportation and communication means for year-round access to the producing regions, which also affects other aspects of community life, such as the impact of this improvement in communications and transportation for the development of effective aid systems in case of natural disasters. Another aspect of the improvements in public policies is the improved capacity to control and combat pests, plant diseases and natural disasters by promoting the production of organic cocoa.

7.2.2 Peru - National Federation of Peasant, Artisan, Indigenous, Native, Native and Salaried Women of Peru (FEMUCARINAP)

I. Administrative and financial model

The National Federation of Peasant, Artisan, Indigenous, Native and Salaried Women of Peru (FENMUCARINAP) groups 126,000 thousand women organized in 19 regional organizations such as associations, federations, productive societies, unions, cooperatives, committees, among others; located in the South, Center, North and Jungle of Peru. At the international level, FENMUCARINAP is a member of the Latin American Coordination of Rural Organizations (CLOC) and Via Campesina, and belongs to the World March of Women (WMW).

This entity was born as an NGO, which in order to develop and maintain the organization with its diverse membership and cultural diversity, has been required to work on the basis of objectives built and agreed upon in a participatory manner, with the following as its main objectives:

- i) To represent the interests, promote and defend the rights of its members and of the organized women of the rural sectors in general, before all types of public, private, national or international organizations directly or indirectly related to agricultural and livestock activities.
- ii) Promote training for the empowerment of women in rural and urban sectors. Creating and collaborating in courses, workshops and all kinds of activities that tend to improve their technical intervention capabilities in agricultural and artisanal labor, improve their organization, as well as their intervention in the expansion of Citizen Control in the social and political sphere; and training in gender and identity issues that are common to them.
- iii) Encourage public debate on social and political proposals arising from the women's movement. To demand from the State and institutional powers, an adequate attention to the basic needs of women, in order to improve their quality of life and their insertion in society under equal conditions.
- iv) To promote solidarity among rural and indigenous women, both emotionally, socially and productively, carrying out welfare actions for them, their family groups, as well as for their communities as a whole.
- v) Promote the management capacity of a solidarity economy, defense of food sovereignty with an adequate management of natural resources.

vi) To achieve decent work without exploitation, good education without marginalization, good health, to achieve land and territory for women, and that they become authorities in their regions, provinces, districts, annexes, communities¹²⁵.

The creation of FENMUCARINAP, by women with organizational experience coming from different mixed social organizations of which they were leaders, is perhaps an indicator of the complexity of the agenda built and the plans promoted by this organization, in a political dimension from which derives the management of enterprises that promote the autonomy of women and the construction of good living as women, and the good living of their peoples, from a perspective of fair trade and solidarity economy. Agenda that shapes its strategic planning and instrument from which it deploys its actions.

The organization has a governing body, structured by 16 functional secretariats¹²⁶, an Advisory Council¹²⁷, made up of fraternal and solidarity organizations of FENMUCARINAP, linked to the theme of human rights, and a Social Council¹²⁸, made up of organizations linked to the theme of solidarity economy and fair trade: (i) Grupo Género y Economía de Perú, (ii) Grupo Red de Economía Solidaria de Perú, (iii) Confederación Campesina de Perú (CCP), (iv) Central Café & Cacao, (v) Confederación Nacional Agraria de Perú (CNA), (vi) Coordinadora Nacional de Comercio Justo (CNCJ-PERU) and, (vii) Central Interregional de Artesanos de Perú (CIAP).

Among the functions of this Social Council are the following:

- Propose research projects, systematization of experiences, promotion, participatory action research, joint projects to be carried out among the

¹²⁵ FENMUCARINAP. Our Objectives. Retrieved September 2016. Available at: <http://www.fenmucarinap.org/organizacion/nuestros-objetivos>

¹²⁶ Board of Directors FENMUCARINAP. President: Lourdes Huanca Atencio, AMUNIDE - Moquegua. Vice President: Rosa Ojeda Chávez, CRYM - Junín. Secretary of Organization: Mariza Marca Villaca, WIÑAY WUARMI - Cusco. Communications Secretary: Rosa Cachi Sacari, FEMUCARINAP - Puno. Secretary of Administration and Self-Support: Dyna Sardón Mamani, Tarata - Tacna. Secretary of Environment: Témpora Pintado Arévalo, ADIMTA - Piura. Secretary of Salaried Women: Gladys Campos Chirado, ATDANA - Libertad. Secretary of Human Rights and Social Affairs: Alejandra Tucno Cahuana, FRADEPA - Ayacucho. Secretary for the Defense of Peasant Women: Aide Poma Tinco, ASMUCORG -Huanca Sancos. Secretary for the Defense of Artisan Women: Zenobia de la Cruz, FEMUCARAY - Huancavelica. Secretary of Indigenous and Native Communities: María Sangama Fachín Sangama, FEMUCARINAP Nauta / Loreto. Secretary of International Relations: Maritza Peña de Ramírez, Association of Artisan Women Tumbes. Secretary of Minutes and Archives: Lucy Salas Grandes, FEPRIMO - San Martín. Secretary for the Defense of Youth and Girls: Teodora Velille Janampa, AMOROSA Madre de Dios. Secretary of Culture and Personal Development: Elsa Maruja Luis Pablo, FEMUCARINAP Cerro de Pasco, Secretary of Women's Health and Social Welfare: Esther Magdalena Bellido Castro.

¹²⁷ Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán, Asociación Aurora Vivar, DEMUS Centro de Defensa de los Derechos de las Mujeres, CEDAL Centro de Asesoría Laboral del Perú, PDTG Programa Democracia y Transformación Global, Calandria Asociación de Comunicadores, Sociales, Grupo Género y Economía, Forum Solidaridad Perú.

¹²⁸ The Social Council (created on March 20, 2014) is a collegiate body of the Seminar and Observatory of Social, Solidarity and Popular Economy of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, which plays an advisory role and facilitates dialogue, articulation and cooperation between the university and organizations and social movements of the social, solidarity and popular economy. The actors position and contribute their knowledge to the university, making their actions and proposals visible. <http://economiasolidarias.unmsm.edu.pe/?q=content/deferaci-nacional-de-mujeres-campesinas-cartesanas-ind-genas-nativas-y-asalariadas-del>

Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (UNMSM) and the organizations and social movements of the social, solidarity and popular economy.

- Promote capacity building and inter-learning processes (training, applied training, technical assistance, accompaniment, internships, discussions, forums, seminars, etc.) between the university and organizations and social movements of the social, solidarity and popular economy.
- To promote pre-professional internship experiences, social projection and community outreach, as well as volunteering between the university and organizations and social movements of the social, solidarity and popular economy.
- Promote technological innovation based on the recognition, dialogue and exchange of knowledge between university specialists and technicians and leaders of organizations and social movements of the social, solidarity and popular economy to contribute to the strengthening of their organizations.
- To encourage public policy advocacy processes among decision-makers, public authorities and officials, opinion leaders, civil society and the community in favor of initiatives of social, solidarity and popular economy organizations and social movements.
- To make visible, channel and disseminate the work, problems and proposals in favor of the social, solidarity and popular economy movement and organizations.

FENMUCARINAP has achieved sustainability through the solidarity of its fraternal organizations, both national and international, and the guarantee of the development of the enterprises carried out with the production and commercialization of handicrafts at national and international level, native gastronomy and natural resource management.

II. Context of the initiative and cross-cultural governance

Economic growth in several countries in the region in the last decade has been and continues to be highly dependent on natural resources and their international prices. The reprimarization of this economy has caused strong pressures on the territories of indigenous peoples and has unleashed numerous socio-environmental conflicts still unresolved¹²⁹, which have even criminalized claims and even led to the loss of lives that have not yet been clarified. On these matters, the

¹²⁹ CELADE/CEPAL (2014). Indigenous Peoples in Latin America. Advances in the last decade and pending challenges for the

guarantee of their rights. ECLAC.

The World Conference of Peoples held at the United Nations in September 2014 makes clear the great challenges to be resolved in terms of the fulfillment of the rights of Indigenous Peoples. Inclusion in the benefits of common goods, the intercultural nature of public policies, and the allocation of economic resources for the implementation of differentiated sectoral policies are part of the challenges to be assumed by the actors of indigenous economic development with identity¹³⁰.

It is in this context that a new generation of women created the National Federation of Peasant, Artisan, Indigenous, Native and Salaried Women of Peru (FEMUCARINAP) in 2006, when they realized that the mixed organizations led by men did not have specific spaces to deal with their agendas¹³¹ and did not consider the real problems of Peruvian rural women.

The founders, taking advantage of a Meeting of Women Trade Unionists of the CGTP¹³² and through previous efforts, obtained support from solidarity organizations and institutions such as: Aurora Vivar, Flora Tristán, Calandria, CEAS¹³³, Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana, to achieve greater representation in said event, to somehow promote the creation of FENMUCARINAP, initially with the creation of an Organizing commission of 9 members of a board of directors from nine Departments, Moquegua, Ayacucho, La Libertad, Piura, Cerro de Pasco, Junín, Cajamarca, San Martín and Lima.

The creation of the organization "was a hard birth". All the founders were involved in leadership positions in different mixed social organizations. In the brochure distributed by FENMUCARINAP¹³⁴ at the "Encounter of Knowledge and Movements" in Lima, it can be read: "The first year was very hard, because the mixed organizations did not understand and mistreated us psychologically, verbally they told us that we were traitors that we were betraying and dividing, all this gave us more strength to face and we formed the advisory committee where friends from the different institutions mentioned and feminist friends are present".

¹³⁰ We should remember the aspirations of the First and Second Peoples' Decade, the MDGs and now the renewed enthusiasm that the MDGs give us to influence with significant actions in the economies of the States of the region, in order to overcome the accumulated deficit of development and good living of IPs, before they end up losing their territories, cultural heritage and social capital that deepens their deterioration in very asymmetrical intercultural relations.

¹³¹ The other actor that has burst onto the scene with force is indigenous women. The reality of rural women is terrible: 22% of rural households are headed by women, but 50% of women living in the countryside do not have identity documents and only 4.7% have title deeds in their name. <http://www.cipamericas.org/es/archives/2523>

¹³² The General Confederation of Workers of Peru is the trade union confederation with the largest membership in Peru. Founded in May 1929.

¹³³ CEAS is the Episcopal Commission for Social Action, created on March 11, 1965, within the framework of the Second Vatican Council, the year of the promulgation of the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the World, known by its first words "Joy and Hope", "Gaudium et spes" in Latin. <http://www.ceas.org.pe/nosotros.php?n=1>

¹³⁴ Lourdes Huanca Atencio, current President of FENMUCARINAP. May 2010.

This is a new generation of women activists, fluent in Spanish and one or more native languages, who read, write and use the Internet. Not only do they have a close bond with the land, but they are also bearers of Andean-Amazonian spirituality, which is present in all the activities they carry out; with an important level of intergenerational development where the irruption of these women, both in social struggles and in movements, has created a new situation that can be felt when working within associations and organizations.

III. Contributions to development with a distinctly indigenous identity

In the efforts to achieve development with identity at the level of indigenous organizations, an important problem stands out, which is the lack of visibility and empowerment of indigenous women given their scarce participation in the economic and productive activities of the communities and productive associations, as well as abroad. This is a product of the intersectional discrimination that indigenous women face, which crosses all areas of their development, the economic one being one of the most visible, since they are one of the sectors of the population with the highest poverty rates.

The implementation of FENMUCARINAP is, therefore, a significant contribution to the empowerment of indigenous women, in association with women from other non-indigenous organizations that participate in the Federation. Likewise, the permanent contributions of solidarity organizations since the beginning of the Federation, and of national and international allied organizations, providing economic support for the development of handicraft, productive and food projects and presence in national and international forums, has been fundamental to make visible the reality of peasant, indigenous and working women. This has made it possible to deepen the bonds of association and solidarity for the sustainability of the economic undertakings of indigenous women.

The organizational model is based on a solidarity and fair economy, which allows indigenous peoples to maintain their economic institutions such as the aini and the minca, promoting legal security over their patrimony, with full participation of indigenous women on equal terms with indigenous men. Likewise, it helps to strengthen their links with the markets to which their products are destined.

In the 10 years of FENMUCARINAP's existence, the strengthening of collective identities has allowed indigenous women to maintain themselves in their territories, such as

heritage of the people, making visible the value of their economic contributions at the family, community and regional levels.

IV. Entrepreneurship success factors and obstacles

Success factors

- The autonomous political organizational development and associativity in the Federation, which allows us to maintain alliances with fraternal and solidarity networks at the national and international level.
- The sustainability and visibility of the organization, both politically and in the undertakings carried out by the Federation's grassroots organizations, allows them to make autonomous decisions.
- The development and continuity of a training process with the principles and convictions of management from the grassroots of the indigenous farming communities has been fundamental to strengthen, value and recover the teachings of the elders, opening the way to a better understanding of alternative development models in which women are protagonists, and in which an economy linked to the market and fair trade can be achieved at the same time.
- The Federation assumes with its efforts the support of logistical expenses, administrative expenses, and the accompaniment and technical assistance to the enterprises in their grassroots organizations through the association process.

Obstacles

- Weakness or non-existence of public policies aimed at the economic development of indigenous women, mainly in the regional governments, which are the ones called upon to install these capacities in order to guide plans, programs and projects aimed at supporting their economic undertakings from the institutional sphere.
- Linking the rural economy with the urban area is really a big challenge for indigenous women because they do not receive a fair price for their products.
- There is a generalized problem of discrimination against indigenous women in Peru, so their inclusion in economic activities depends not only on a change within the organizations that support them, to overcome the predominance of indigenous men in decision-making, but also requires general public policies aimed at reversing discriminatory practices in society in general.
- Most of the indigenous women affiliated with FENMUCARINAP experience obstacles in the production and value chain process due to their shyness and lack of knowledge of market rules.

- Women's participation in the design and co-responsibility in the execution of projects financed by organizations that support the Federation is low, since they are generally prepared on the institutions' desks.
- Educational barriers, given the low educational level of the indigenous women participating in FENMUCARINAP, as well as linguistic barriers, since most of them speak indigenous languages and are not fluent in Spanish, affect the marketing of their products, as they face a market that is not very receptive to these limitations.

V. Impact of entrepreneurship on the local indigenous communities.

FENMUCARINAP's policy of associationism allows it to grow with solidarity at the general level and within the grassroots organizations that develop their own enterprises, promoting the development of new niches of activity for women, not only indigenous, such as the production of organic products and their immersion in agroecological production.

On the other hand, ongoing training services and access to national and international events and forums for women producers, mainly in fair trade and solidarity economy events, have improved the positioning of local economic activities led by women in broader markets. This has been reinforced through the accompaniment of grassroots organizations through the management of their projects and technical assistance and access to economic resources from solidarity sources.

Finally, the Federation has played a key role in the creation of new social programs, especially in health and education, with a gender focus and for the political empowerment of indigenous rural women in the communities, provinces and departments.

7.2.3 Ecuador - Runa Tupari Native Travel

I. Administrative and financial model

Runa Tupari Native Travel is a community-based rural tourism operator organized under the legal form of a limited company, which mainly offers activities of coexistence with indigenous Andean families of the Kichwa Otavalo people of northern Ecuador, in the Province of Imbabura, Canton Cotacachi.

Runa Tupari means "Encounter with Indigenous People" in the Kichwa language and refers to the cultural exchange activities between visiting tourists and the population of the region, in which the company offers an experience based on intercultural coexistence and direct contact with nature. Profits from the company's tourism services are reinvested in their entirety to improve living conditions in the indigenous communities through the cabildos or UNORCAC and its projects.

Its organizational structure has as its highest body the Steering Committee, composed of the Union of Indigenous Peasant Organizations of Cotacachi (UNORCAC)¹³⁵, which concentrates 90% of the shares; as well as four communities that have 10% of the shares: La Calera, Morochos, Tunibamba, and Santa Barbara, each with 2.5%.

The company's board of directors is chaired by the majority shareholder, in this case the president of UNORCAC, who is in charge of the company's management information and informs all community members of the annual management accountability process. From this committee comes the management, which has a representative and is in charge of three technicians responsible for logistical operations, tour guides and marketing, as well as a person in charge of accounting services. The company therefore has five direct employees.

Service providers such as guides; food services for tourists; lodging; transportation; artistic, cultural, dance and music events; spiritual demonstrations such as shamanism and ancestral practices such as midwifery; among others, are within the organizational chart and under the operational part as internal clients, with the person responsible for logistical operations being in charge of coordinating actions and activities with tourism service providers at all levels. Contracting is done through work agreements signed by the community, the service provider family and the Runa Tupari company, which regulate aspects of the work relationship.

All of the company's participants belong to the indigenous communities in the area, and two regular meetings are held annually to discuss operational matters, with the participation of management, direct employees, and service providers. The purpose of these meetings is to report on the work and tourism activity. Extraordinary meetings are also organized based on the needs of the organization. On the other hand, the selection of new service providers

¹³⁵ It was created in 1977 to address the conditions of discrimination and poverty in which the majority of the indigenous peasant population of the Andean region of Ecuador lived. It is made up of 41 communities and various grassroots peasant, indigenous and mestizo organizations, located in the Andean area of the Cotacachi Canton, Imbabura Province.

Services are provided through general community assemblies and in a democratic manner, taking as selection criteria the active participation of the candidates in the community, that they do not have problems that affect the social and economic fabric of the community, and that they have respect for its members and authorities.

The company's financing comes 100% from its own resources, allowing total autonomy in its processes, in addition to being an example of business empowerment on the part of the indigenous communities that are part of the enterprise, since in its beginnings 80% came from international development cooperation funds and 20% from bank loans¹³⁶. The financial independence that the company has enjoyed since 2004, which comes from the resources generated by the sale of its tourism services, attests to the stability and sustainability of its management model.

Among the external support that helped launch the initiative was technical assistance¹³⁷. However, because the professionals in charge of training were unfamiliar with the reality of the communities and the philosophy of community tourism, and had an urban and hotel vision, the company had to develop its own training and technical assistance proposal, adapted to its reality and needs, from which the occupational profiles for the company were established.

Despite the company's healthy finances, capitalization through external financing is necessary to be able to grow the business, but because one of the requirements for obtaining loans from financial institutions is the availability of sufficient equity to guarantee the loan, the company has been limited in obtaining concessions, since as a small company its capital is not as strong.

The company has annual reinvestment resources, but more than 60% of the income is used to fairly pay for the services offered by the community's families, while the annual profits that would legally correspond to the shareholders are used as a contingency fund to cover the following year's budget. Of the income received by the families, 5% is paid to the community council for each client that visits the tourism operation, which uses it to cover the cost of management tasks.

¹³⁶ Two of these funds were as follows: 2001, Agriterra and European Union, US\$120 thousand; and 2001 - 2003, Execution of the Banco Pichincha SME Loan project, US\$16 thousand.

¹³⁷ Agriterra contributed with this component, and UNORCAC managed with national entities the formal and necessary training for the operation of the company, including the Catholic University - PUCE and the Esquel Foundation, in addition to the support received from community tourism networks and various courses offered by provincial governments and the Ministry of Tourism and the Environment.

This being the policy, therefore, the company does not seek economic growth and increased equity, but has chosen to maintain a redistribution approach. The benefits for the community are in terms of improving the quality of life of the families providing tourist services; generating complementary income; incentives to promote agricultural activities; generating new jobs and infrastructure; and boosting the community economy in general.

In line with the above, since the indigenous communities are the main beneficiaries of the company's economic activity and are the owners of the company, it is their members who make the annual budget decisions and approve the work plan. There are two annual auditing processes, one internal with members of the technical team, who are also delegates of the communities, whose report is presented to the UNORCAC auditing commission for a second process. The technical report of this commission is presented to the general assembly of the organization and the communities for approval.

II. Context of the initiative and cross-cultural governance

The initiative arose in 1999, with the main interest of overcoming the economic limitations in which the indigenous communities of the area lived, and thus avoiding migration to the cities where poverty was driving them. With this undertaking, an economic alternative was generated based on fair and solidary work opportunities in the local indigenous communities, placing value on the cultural and natural heritage.

The company was launched in 2000, coinciding with the dollarization of Ecuador's economy and the serious problems it generated for family economies, especially for the most disadvantaged sectors of the population, including indigenous peoples. The idea of creating a community-based tourism company arose from the fact that many private companies took tourists to the communities to take pictures, walk around enjoying the landscape, visit shamans, and other recreational activities in the area, but the local people did not perceive any social or economic benefit. This motivated local people to think that the communities themselves could offer tourism services and thus have a source of income based on their own assets, which until now were being exploited by other external actors.

Another motivation for creating the company was the frequent arrival of foreign tourists from Otavalo or Cotacachi to visit Cuicocha, the volcano's lagoon.

Cotacachi. As a result, the local people began to devise ways to attract them to their communities, which was feasible since visitors to Otavalo were attracted mainly by the culture and craftsmanship of the area.

Based on this, a project was developed by UNORCAC, the communities and the NGO Agriterria from Holland, the latter providing the necessary financial resources for the construction of the shelters, with UNORCAC as a counterpart, which also contributed to this task. This joint project lasted three years and each house built is owned by individual families. The company also established itself as a community tour operator and began participating in national and international trade fairs as part of its marketing strategy, as well as generating collaboration agreements with international tour operators.

To train members of the communities to provide tourism services, agreements were made with public institutions such as the Ministry of Tourism and Environment, and also with the Catholic University, to obtain native guide licenses, environmental licenses and recognition of service providers in the communities, from which the company was able to achieve the quality that characterizes its services.

This training has entailed a strong and constant work, since in some communities the people did not have the knowledge about what tourism is, as well as the interest in its promotion for the economic and cultural benefit of the communities, based on a knowledge of the market to be served, the benefits obtained, both economic and cultural, and how to combine this economic activity with full respect for the ways of life of the indigenous communities. To overcome this barrier it was necessary to train all the people of the communities, in order to offer a safe and quality service to customers, respectful of the Kichwa Otavalo culture.

In this sense, being a small-scale experiential tourism model, families have the right to decide when to receive tourists and when not to receive them, since one of the activities offered to tourists is the possibility of accompanying families in their daily activities and festivities, such as the celebration of Inti Raymi, marriages, social parties, sporting events, agricultural activities and community meetings. For this reason, it is of utmost importance to establish such conditions in the regulations agreed upon jointly by the community council, the family providing the service and the tour operator, through which the following is informed

visitors the rules of the community and the ways of life in the same¹³⁸. This emphasizes that it is the tourist who has to adapt to the ways of life of the community and not the other way around, despite the fact that the environment in which the service is provided has intercultural adaptations to make it attractive to the market, for example, the incorporation of forms of business organization, the use of new technologies in conjunction with local technologies, the linking of technical knowledge with traditional knowledge¹³⁹, among others.

The interpellation between the local culture and that of the visitors is extremely rich, since on the one hand it generates forms of respect and appreciation for the indigenous culture on the part of the tourists from first-hand knowledge, and on the other hand, it strengthens the indigenous identity of the communities, revaluing it from within, thus generating forms of continuity of their own practices. The indigenous knowledge put in value is the essential raw material for the creation of tourist products, which at the same time with knowledge and technical tools, plus the application of technology, are taken to one of the most competitive markets in the world, such as tourism.

The knowledge of biological diversity, plants, their properties and local consumption, serves on the one hand to share knowledge, but also promotes the production of food such as vegetables and fruits in the farms, recovering organic seeds without contaminants, in addition to reducing the purchase of products in other markets, which promotes community markets. This encourages the consumption of a wide variety of local products for healthy eating, which are used both to prepare different dishes for community consumption and for community tourism. In this way, the company also contributes to food security and sovereignty.

The business organizational model was created with the participation of the Canton's communities, who are partners of the company and therefore members of its Steering Committee, playing a major role in decision-making as owners of this organization. The model is governed by clear rules, avoiding the effects that could result from political disputes that exist in the communities¹⁴⁰,

¹³⁸ Among these rules are the ways in which tourists should greet members of the community, which is a sign of respect for the people; the use of energy; the moments in which they can take photographs; the need to have authorization from the families to participate in events; among others that are necessary for coexistence within the community.

¹³⁹ Technical knowledge: marketing, administrative, logistical, tourism products, etc. Indigenous knowledge: agriculture, traditional medicine, territorial knowledge and management, organizational knowledge.

¹⁴⁰ One of the political factors is the annual change of authorities in the communities, which has an impact on the company's actions, generating some difficulties, especially in the information and knowledge of the company's process, as well as in the changes of political vision.

understanding that the company develops a socioeconomic work that seeks the welfare of the communities and the community members who are actively involved in the provision of tourism services, which has helped the company to remain in the market.

In order to establish the company, consultations were held with the communities by UNORCAC, whose leaders convened the community authorities to consult on the community tourism proposal. Subsequently, with the positive support of the communities and the approval of UNORCAC's board of directors, the proposal was socialized through community assemblies in each community, where they were informed of its characteristics and then put to a vote in the assemblies, seeking community consensus or, if applicable, support by majority vote.

A second step was, through the same assemblies, to consult the members of the communities about their interest in being part of the network of family lodging, guides and other tourist services, and for whose selection criteria were taken into account defined criteria such as their sociability, their active participation in community activities, respect and interest in learning about other cultures, among other qualities.

The company currently holds regular meetings with the communities, where problems are solved and decisions are made to improve the company's operations and coordination. This has made it possible to overcome certain obstacles, such as the market's lack of confidence in the community's tourism offer, the lack of diversification of the tourism products offered, and difficulties in accessing new markets.

The company began operations in the communities where it currently provides services: Tunibamba, Morochos, La Calera, and Chilcapamba, which have the greatest potential for tourism development in the area, valuing the landscape, culture, security, basic services, and community collaboration with the parent organization UNORCAC. In the future, we plan to include the participation of other UNORCAC member communities.

The company currently offers very attractive tourism services, since its differentiation is based precisely on offering a unique experience of coexistence with the communities, in addition to the fact that the activities offered depend on the season and are very diverse. In terms of market linkage, the company operates through internet sales (10%); direct sales in the communities (30%); and through the operator and strategic allies (60%).

The market served is mainly foreign tourism, with 80% of the visitors being European (Germany, Holland, and Belgium), especially retirees and those interested in active tourism; 15% are tourists from North America (United States and Canada), mainly university students; and finally, 5% are national tourists, including university students and members of businesses interested in learning about the Runa Tupari experience. Despite the fact that most of the service providers do not speak English, the foreign market's interest in real and unique experiences has allowed the business to succeed.

Appreciation for the quiet community life and agricultural work are important elements that determine the type of tourists that can participate in the community-based experiential tourism offer. On many occasions, the local political, social or economic situation can be very shocking for a person who is not familiar with the situation of the indigenous peoples in the area, which can affect the relationship with the company's tourism offer. That is why the necessary precautions are taken to provide security to the tourist, while allowing him/her to experience the community reality in order to gain knowledge of it, through the life and work of its members, which is of great interest to the tourist who is looking for this coexistence.

III. Contributions to development with a distinctly indigenous identity

Since the beginning of the company's operations, the community and its cultural heritage have been taken into account and valued in the community territory, such as infrastructure, sacred sites, festivals, and ancestral knowledge. This heritage is strengthened and respected in tourism activities, always with the validation and evaluation of the communities through their institutions.

The company's activities have contributed to the generation of a supplementary economic activity for the families, which also contributes to the enhancement of the Kichwa Otavalo culture and the natural environment, to offer a tourist product of international interest. In this dynamic, the development of knowledge, skills and abilities of indigenous farming families has been promoted to incorporate them into tertiary economic activities such as services, with emphasis on the participation of women in their role as community leaders and heads of household.

On the other hand, it should be noted that there has been an improvement in family nutrition, since the tourist activity itself has encouraged the rescue and appreciation of Andean products with high nutritional content, which is of interest to the market served, and therefore provides better nutrition to the host family that takes them in their daily practices.

The protection of indigenous culture, the community's natural environment and its own food resources is a significant contribution to development with an indigenous identity based on economic activity, since, together with other elements such as participation, they constitute factors that help reverse the negative effects of the economic, social and cultural exclusion in which indigenous peoples have historically lived, and which have caused a large percentage of them to live in conditions of chronic poverty.

This linkage is recognized in the preamble of the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity¹⁴¹, according to which there is a close and traditional dependence of many local communities and indigenous peoples who have traditional livelihood systems based on biological resources, and forms of organization through which they equitably share the benefits arising from the use of traditional knowledge, innovations and practices relevant to the conservation of biological diversity and the sustainable use of its components.

Such considerations, together with the right of indigenous peoples to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs¹⁴², as well as their right to self-development as part of their right to self-determination, generate a favorable framework for indigenous communities to promote economic activities that favor their development with identity through their own forms of organization¹⁴³, as is the case of Runa Tupari.

Although the objective of the company is to generate profits in order to maintain itself in the market, its purpose is not accumulation, as is often the case in other business models, but rather the partners or shareholders, who are the indigenous communities themselves, direct these profits to benefit the families that work in the provision of services and the community, so it has a social purpose. For their part, the communities as partners are learning from this experience, as it is often a great challenge to understand the two systems, the indigenous and the market business system, and this helps them to have their own space in the world of economic development, without putting at risk their own values, forms of community life and cultural identity.

Traditional knowledge is an essential part of tourism services, as it offers an experience of community life based on solidarity, group work or minga, reciprocity, indigenous agriculture, management and preparation of the land, and the use of traditional knowledge.

¹⁴¹ Opened for signature in 1992 at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and in force since 1993. Ratified by Ecuador in 1993.

¹⁴² Article 11 of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

¹⁴³ Article 7 of ILO Convention 169 and Articles 3, 20, 23, 31 and 32 of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

natural applications, and animal husbandry; all of this as a means of economic subsistence centered on ancestral wisdom, on Sumak Kawsay or Good Living. On the other hand, the company's economic activity has opened a channel towards a better understanding by the communities of the laws that the organization must comply with, strengthening their knowledge of how the State works, which facilitates other similar developments in the community.

Regarding the last point, Runa Tupari has supported, along with other companies, the creation of an organization that represents the interests of community tourism enterprises at the national level, the Plurinational Federation of Community Tourism of Ecuador (FEPTCE), created in 2002, which currently groups 130 communities, both indigenous and non-indigenous, and focuses on four areas of interest: cultural revitalization, socio-organization, solidarity economy and territorial defense.

Likewise, teamwork in the organization and technical knowledge complement each other to achieve a more effective organization in the services offered, which in turn, by their nature, favor knowledge of other cultures to generate dialogue and intercultural coexistence.

IV. Entrepreneurship success factors and obstacles

Success factors

- The valorization of the natural and cultural heritage of the communities for the creation of a community tourism project. They have taken positive advantage of the resources they have and this has the potential to solve their socioeconomic problems.
- Education and training of indigenous human talent in various labor skills (integrated management of family gardens, Andean kitchen assistant, community tourism host, naturalist tour guides, native guides, marketing, customer service), which have been accredited by the Ministry of Tourism, so their activities are legal.
- Access to international markets, participation in tourism fairs (Holland, Germany, Spain, Canada, Guatemala, Peru), where the company's tourism offer has been promoted, characterized by its differentiation and respect for indigenous identity.
- Obtained the Quality Tourism - Q certification, granted by the Ministry of Tourism.
- The sustainability of the project is fully funded for 16 years.

- Agreements with national and international universities and support from international cooperation agencies to strengthen rural community-based tourism, as well as from governmental sectors with public policies that encourage the development of community-based tourism.

Obstacles

- Political instability and the country's poor international image are a brake on the growth of the tourism sector, which undoubtedly impacts the company.
- The vulnerability of the area to natural phenomena such as the eruption of volcanoes or earthquakes, as well as the incidence of epidemics and pandemics, constitute a constant threat to the stability of business operations.
- The national regulatory framework is designed to regulate private enterprises and encourages community or cooperative initiatives. For example, if a community wishes to undertake community-based tourism, it cannot do so, since it must necessarily incorporate as a private company.

V. Impact of entrepreneurship on the local indigenous communities.

Runa Tupari operates through an alternative model of organizational, economic and community development, which values the tangible and intangible heritage of the region and generates job opportunities in the service sector for indigenous communities.

This form of economic development helps to transmit the culture, traditions, customs and ways of seeing the world of the indigenous peoples from a respectful point of view, constituting a strong basis for increasing personal and family self-esteem in the communities, and improving their income and employment generation, which is especially significant for women and youth.

7.2.3 Colombia - Anas Wayúu E.P.S.I.

I. Administrative and financial model

The Empresa Promotora de Salud Indígena Anas Wayúu is a public entity of special character of the subsidized regime, i.e., intended to serve the population without payment capacity, focusing its operations on indigenous communities. The company is responsible for guaranteeing care to the insured population and managing health risks.

It is located in the Department of La Guajira, Colombia, and is headquartered in Maicao. It covers nine municipalities in the Department: Riohacha, Maicao, Uribia, Manaure, Albania, Barrancas, Distracción, San Juan del Cesar and Villanueva.

Anas Wayúu is one of six indigenous health promotion companies (E.P.S.I.) in Colombia, where there are another 60 E.P.S. that include both indigenous companies and those providing health care to the general population, and which administer through outsourcing the public subsidies and private health contributions of the Colombian population. Health coverage under this system, structured in Law 100 of Health, is universal.

Because the regulation of these types of companies is carried out through statutes and governance mechanisms established by law, which recognize the indigenous peoples' own forms of organization and governance, in this case based on the Wayúu people's legal system, the autonomy¹⁴⁴ of the indigenous peoples is protected. This constitutes a significant advance to guarantee the enjoyment of their social, economic and cultural rights, respecting their social and cultural identity, as well as their customs and traditions, based on coordinated and systematic actions undertaken by the governments with the full participation of the indigenous peoples, aimed at eliminating the socioeconomic differences that may exist between indigenous and non-indigenous people in the country, in a manner compatible with their aspirations and ways of life, as stated in Article 2 of ILO Convention 169.

Of particular relevance is the adaptation of the I.P.S.S. model to the international regulations on social security and health systems, fully complying with the provisions of Article 25.1 of Convention 169: "Governments shall ensure that adequate health services are made available to the peoples concerned or provide such peoples with the means to organize and provide such services under their own responsibility and control, in order that they may enjoy the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health". These rights, as stated in Article 23 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, are directly linked to the right of indigenous peoples to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the exercise of their right to development.

These national and international regulations concerning the rights of indigenous peoples also provide the framework of the Colombian government's responsibilities with regard to the development initiatives of indigenous peoples, since, as indicated in Article 6.1(c), governments must "establish the means for the

¹⁴⁴ Articles 3 and 4 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).

full development of the institutions and initiatives of these peoples, and in appropriate cases to provide the necessary resources for this purpose".

In this regard, although the company's operations were initially financed 100% by the contributions of the founding partners, Anas Wayúu currently receives from the Colombian government's Solidarity and Guarantee Fund (FOSYGA) the amount corresponding to the health subsidies of 130,000 affiliated people, in accordance with the outsourcing system of the public health service of Colombia's Health Law 100. Of the total of these resources, 92% goes to the health care of the affiliates (payments to hospitals and health care providers) and 8% is left to the organization as payment for the administration of these resources.

In addition, the company has financing from its own resources, as well as bank loans, with a sustainable balance sheet derived from this diversification of financing sources. The indigenous communities play an important role in the management of these resources, as they are the ones who approve the budgets, control and monitor them through their representatives in the General Assembly of Associates and the Board of Directors. The surpluses are reinvested in the communities: they are supported with drinking water, basic sanitation, funeral urns, strengthening of traditional medicine, accessibility to health services with cultural relevance, support in the constitution of the network for the provision of health services with indigenous emphasis, among other services.

However, the fact that the government allocates resources that are insufficient to attend to the health of a population in a state of extreme poverty, with disease determinants greater than normal and socioculturally diverse, represents a threat to the future of the company. This, of course, contradicts the fact that the E.P.S.I. model is theoretically adapted to international standards, but in practice it can be seen that there are gaps in the implementation of their rights, largely due to the lack of funding for the initiatives.

The reinforcement of the rights to self-development and autonomy are especially important in the Colombian I.P.S.S., due to the fact that the problem to which they respond is the persistent situation of extreme poverty in which the indigenous peoples of the country live, which according to the 2005 population census, have a total of 1,392,623 indigenous people, which corresponds to 3.43% of the total population in Colombia, of which 20.2% are concentrated in La Guajira, where 44.94% of the total population is indigenous. 392,623 indigenous people, which corresponds to 3.43% of the total population in Colombia, of which 20.2% are concentrated in La Guajira, where 44.94% of the total is indigenous¹⁴⁵. Poverty and inequality indicators for this Department are higher than the national average, with 67% of the population living in poverty and 32.4% in extreme poverty.

¹⁴⁵ 2005 General Census conducted by the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE).

conditions of extreme poverty, compared to 45.5% and 16.4% respectively at the national level, according to 2009 data¹⁴⁶.

E.P.S.I. Anas Wayúu serves the Wayúu indigenous population of northern Colombia, although it also includes non-indigenous people among its affiliates, since the law allows up to 40% of non-indigenous people to join E.P.S.I., who are attracted by the good service of the indigenous companies. In the case of Anas Wayúu, 30% of its 130,000 affiliates are non-indigenous. The indigenous affiliates, on the other hand, can join collectively by holding general assemblies in the communities.

In terms of its internal administrative organization, the company has 136 employees. The highest decision-making body is the general assembly of members of the Asociación de Cabildos y Autoridades Tradicionales de La Guajira and the Asociación Sumuywajat, the two indigenous associations that created the company. This is the highest body responsible for electing the seven members of the board of directors, who in turn are responsible for electing the management representative. Both the general assembly and the board of directors are made up entirely of indigenous authorities, while 42% of the company's employees are indigenous, and they occupy 80% of management positions. This has generated professional employment and has encouraged young people to educate themselves to work with their communities.

The company is made up of indigenous communities that are part of different clans of the Wayúu people that inhabit the Guajira peninsula in Colombia, who are associated through their traditional authorities (family chiefs of matrilineage *apushi*, or chiefs elected by communities) to make decisions within the organization. Decisions of the collective bodies are generally made by consensus or, failing that, by a majority vote of the traditional authorities. Major decisions are made by the general assembly of indigenous authorities.

One of the most recognized characteristics of Anas Wayúu is the quality of the health services it offers, which is largely based on first-hand knowledge of the needs of the local communities. In this sense, communication with the indigenous communities and authorities is fundamental, for which the company relies on mechanisms based on the organization's own structure, such as the board of directors, the general assembly, bilingual guides, user committees, the ethnic and cultural council, the social control board, and through its employees, who maintain close ties with the people of the community due to the nature of the work they perform.

¹⁴⁶ UNDP (2011). *La Guajira, Bases for a productive inclusion policy*. UNDP, Gobernación de la Guajira: Bogotá.

Similarly, the technical assistance received by the company has contributed to the quality of its services. Especially relevant have been the projects¹⁴⁷ with the University of Antioquia of Colombia and the University of Manitoba Canada, which were carried out through research and assistance agreements, and in which knowledge is shared between the universities and E.P.S.I. The benefits obtained in these collaborations have been: knowledge for the management of some pathologies, improvement of capacities for research, strengthening of specific actions and inter-institutional relations. The difficulties have been with respect to the socio-cultural adequacy of the processes, despite the fact that indigenous representatives of the E.P.S.I., as well as indigenous employees and communities have been involved in the organization of the assistance; and the scarce funding allocated to the projects.

II. Context of the initiative and cross-cultural governance

The initiative arose in 2000 and formally began operations in 2001. The driving force behind the creation of the company was the discrimination and omission of the state in the provision of health care to the Wayúu indigenous population, so two indigenous associations called Asociación de Cabildos and/or Autoridades Tradicionales de La Guajira ASOCABILDOS, Asociación de Autoridades Indígenas SUMUYWAJAT, of the Department of La Guajira, decided to start up a health system, for whose implementation their legal representatives and technical support were the main actors, in addition to having carried out a consultation process with the indigenous communities of the region prior to its incorporation. Therefore, the company is owned by the community.

The context in which the initiative arose was the implementation of a new social security health system in Colombia, which did not incorporate the sociocultural adaptation of the management and provision of health services for indigenous peoples, this being the common denominator for the entities that serve this sector. Likewise, this system did not contemplate the training of human resources for the care of the indigenous population, nor did it provide technical assistance so that the communities themselves could generate their own means of care, all this combined with a climate of legal insecurity.

Although many of these aspects have not been overcome, the good management of the E.P.S.I. reflected in its results and the fulfillment of its commitments have generated

¹⁴⁷ Universities of Antioquia and Manitoba: AIDS/HIV year 2011 to 2014; University of Antioquia: Safe childbirth care in communities year 2014 and 2015.

relationships of trust with other actors. At the beginning, building trust in the market was quite complex, due to the fact that the credibility of the market among indigenous peoples was nil, while on the other hand, there was not a considerable supply of health services capable of responding to the specific needs of indigenous peoples, in addition to the existing difficulties for indigenous people to access general services.

However, with seriousness and compliance, a relationship of trust was built between health service providers and other suppliers, so that the company is recognized as a benchmark of good practice, with respect to other E.P.S. operating in the Department, in addition to contributing to the promotion of new niches in the health market, specifically oriented to the indigenous population.

The company's beneficiaries report high levels of satisfaction with the services it provides, since its operations respect the ways of life and identity of the indigenous communities through processes aimed at the cultural, social and ancestral preservation of the peoples of the region, in addition to promoting and protecting the traditional health practices they develop, which are recognized and studied in order to further integrate the entity's processes with those of the indigenous communities.

Such practices have had a positive impact at local, national and international level, due to the positive results and recognition in each of the interaction circles of the entity, from insurance and service provision, to the social responsibility it has developed in favor of building healthy and sustainable communities, achievements that can be evidenced by the high standards of services provided and the signs of satisfaction given by the different Wayúu communities through traditional leaders, control bodies, national and international entities associated or belonging to the health sector.

Similarly, intercultural forms of operation are an adaptation that has been positive in the management of services for indigenous communities, since it overcomes the barriers of other models previously applied in the health sector, in which the differentiated approach, respectful of the identity of indigenous peoples and their rights, was not taken into account. An example of such interculturality is the Ethnic and Cultural Process of the Strategic Support Directorate, which has a perspective of management, planning, monitoring, support and control of all the differential activities of the provision of indigenous services, making this process the direct contact between the indigenous communities and the entity's top management, in addition to

to be supported by an Ethnic and Cultural Council that analyzes and integrates the activities of the department's indigenous service providers.

The benefits that the company's intercultural management has generated in the communities are: improved access to health services; cultural relevance in health services for indigenous people; support for breaking down sociocultural barriers; empowerment of the communities and their authorities in the health sector; strengthening of indigenous governance; generation of qualified employment for members of indigenous communities; and support for traditional medicine.

This dynamic also faces permanent difficulties, given the confrontation between the demands of the communities and the regulation of the health sector by the national government, or the actions of regional or local authorities. Among these difficulties are the way in which actions are valued in the communities, the insufficiency of resources, the response of the actors according to their responsibilities, conflicts in medical complementarity and the adequacy of services, ways of measuring results and coverage, among others.

Socio-cultural adaptation is still a challenge, since in many cases the regulations do not correspond to the nature of the indigenous authorities and their institutions, in addition to the fact that many times the government tries to impose market structures and requirements, establishing control and surveillance methods that are almost impossible for this type of companies to comply with. When these problems arise between the E.P.S.I., the communities and the government entities, the figure of the palabrero is called upon to exercise his traditional role of facilitator and mediator of the conflicts.

III. Contributions to development with a distinctly indigenous identity

The sense of belonging of the local indigenous communities to the company not only stems from the fact that it is through two of their representative organizations that the idea arises and is implemented, but also from the fact that at all stages of its development, priority has been given to the acquisition and contracting of the material and human resources available to them. This is of great relevance not only because the company values local resources, but also because it allows a sense of ownership by the community, since its members are not only passive recipients of its services, but actively participate in its consolidation.

Likewise, the company has as one of its strongest components the incorporation of Wayúu knowledge in the processes of health services, community participation, decision making based on the institutions of the people, the attention of users, and the

conflict resolution. This results in a more accurate approximation to the reality of the Wayúu people, as well as contributes to the strengthening of indigenous governance and management of resources, and the improvement of the capacity to solve health problems.

This knowledge, in turn, has been complemented with the acquisition of specific skills for the proper functioning of the company from an intercultural perspective, such as knowledge of the operating methods of the General System of Social Security in Health; training for management, administrative, financial and logistical functions; development of information systems, management of new technologies and marketing; among others necessary for the planning, execution, evaluation and control of the company's procedures.

The integration of knowledge and know-how has given way to better care and accessibility to services for indigenous people, as well as improved control of resources. Since one of the obstacles to the integral development of indigenous peoples is the lack of coverage of basic needs such as health, socio-culturally adequate coverage is one of the pillars for the enjoyment of the right to health based on a human rights approach, which in turn is an effective strategy for poverty reduction given the positive effects not only on the quality of life of the communities, but also on their possibilities for continuous improvement of their economic and social conditions.

As indicated by the World Health Organization¹⁴⁸, each human rights standard defines the different development objectives that must be met to eliminate poverty, including the right to health, the broadest definition being that offered by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Article 12, which recognizes the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, and establishes the measures that States must implement for the full realization of this right, one of them being the creation of conditions that ensure to all medical services and medical attention in the event of illness. General Comment No. 14 of the Covenant establishes that health is one of the factors that not only depends on the realization of other human rights, but also contributes to their enjoyment, in line with the notion of indivisibility of human rights.

It is under such premises that E.P.S.I. Anas Wayúu has a major role in terms of its contributions to the development with identity of the Wayúu people, which range from

¹⁴⁸ WHO (2009). Human rights, health and poverty reduction strategies. *Health and human rights publication series*, 5.

aspects related to its main activity, which is the provision of health services, to others related to the broad participation of users, collective control of public resources, sense of belonging, generation of qualified employment of indigenous human resources, empowerment of communities, strengthening of governance, as well as improvement in the redistribution of national income.

Alliances with other organizations have also allowed the creation of support networks for development with identity in the area of health of the Wayúu people, integrating actors from the public and private sectors at local, national and international levels, international cooperation agencies for development, NGOs, private companies, foundations, and national and foreign universities, which have contributed to the transfer of knowledge, in addition to facilitating the communication of experiences and demands to the government.

IV. success factors and obstacles to entrepreneurship

Success factors

- Knowledge of the health sector and the Wayuu population and their specific problems, which allows for close and socioculturally appropriate care.
- Trained human resources committed to providing care tailored to the needs of indigenous peoples, integrating indigenous knowledge in addition to Western medicine, generating high levels of satisfaction among members.
- Support and commitment of indigenous authorities and affiliates, as a result of the practices of inclusion in decision making towards them.
- To be ranked as the best EPS in the Caribbean region and the second best EPS in the country in 2014; and in 2016 as the EPS with the fastest health care in the country.

Obstacles

- National government measures aimed at strengthening large capital companies in a free market health scheme, favoring economies of scale.
- Weakening of indigenous health institutions through permanent economic sanctions by the authorities responsible for control and surveillance.
- Failure by the government to comply with the regulations that oblige it to consider diversity in the health sector and to support EPSi with advice for their consolidation and strengthening, taking advantage of their weaknesses to punish them economically.

- The lack of legal certainty in the sector, which allows more and more charges to be imposed without appropriating the financing.
- Impact - positive or negative - the regulatory framework (local or national) has had on the development of the venture and public policies could help foster such a venture: Initially it facilitated the construction of the venture, subsequently it has been oriented not to allow its growth, but to facilitate its liquidation. The major effort made consists in maintaining and sustaining itself despite the regulation of the sector.
- National government measures aimed at strengthening large capital companies in a free market scheme in the health sector, favoring economies of scale.
- Weakening of indigenous health institutions through permanent economic sanctions by the authorities responsible for control and surveillance.
- Failure by the government to comply with the regulations that oblige it to consider diversity in the health sector and to support EPSi with advice for their consolidation and strengthening, taking advantage of their weaknesses to punish them economically.
- The lack of legal certainty in the sector, which allows more and more charges to be imposed without appropriating the financing.

V. Impact of entrepreneurship on the local indigenous communities.

E.P.S.I. Anas Wayúu has become a reference of indigenous social entrepreneurship at national and international level, being a leader in indigenous health management at national level, and has been recognized on several occasions for its results, related to accessibility for beneficiaries, attention adapted to the needs of the local indigenous population, socio-cultural adaptation of its services, employment generation, improvement of governance based on indigenous institutions, and empowerment of communities. The impact at the social level has been broad, being valued by both the local indigenous and non-indigenous population.

The good practices derived from this model of administration and management of resources destined to fundamental state services are elements with the capacity to be replicated in other undertakings with indigenous participation, not only in the health sector, but covering a broader spectrum of possibilities, since it is an excellent example of how to overcome the limitations that governments often face when adapting their services to population groups with diverse needs, and even more, with specificities derived from their differentiated rights recognized in the applicable national and international regulations.

Likewise, the company is an example of rights-based approaches to market niches that have historically received little attention, or that, given the lack of knowledge of their needs and opinions, as well as their little or no participation in the actions of the companies, have seen their rights violated. This is undoubtedly not only detrimental to the beneficiaries of the services, but also threatens the sustainability of the companies.

7.3 SYSTEMATIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES WITH IDENTITY IN THE SOUTHERN CONE

7.3.1 Chile - Corporation for the Promotion of Production (CORFO)

I. Administrative and financial model

The Corporación para el Fomento de la Producción (CORFO) is a public corporation attached to the Chilean Ministry of Economy, which through its new Indigenous Development and Development Program (PFDI) incorporates a guarantee fund for indigenous entrepreneurship called Fondo de Coberturas Indígenas (COBIN). Its activities are focused on improving the country's competitiveness and productive diversification, through the promotion of investment, innovation and entrepreneurship; it also promotes the strengthening of human capital and technological capabilities to achieve sustainable and territorially balanced development. In its 2012 management¹⁴⁹, CORFO totaled 247,799 beneficiaries between companies and individuals. Likewise, through transfers, credits and guarantees, it mobilized resources for a total of US\$4,377 million.

The purpose of the PFDI is to support the development of indigenous entrepreneurship in Chile, mainly to promote the entrepreneurship of communities benefiting from the Land Fund, which under Law 19,253 of 1993, has enabled them to expand their land holdings. The objective is to reduce the development gaps between the indigenous and non-indigenous population, as well as to equalize access to credit. The program grants a coverage or guarantee of up to 90 %¹⁵⁰ of the capital requirements of the indigenous enterprise by COBIN, created by CORFO for this purpose.

¹⁴⁹ Most updated management year for which data could be obtained through interviews.

¹⁵⁰ According to data provided by the organization's management, an average of US\$1 million to US\$2 million is expected for each project.

With this guarantee, the indigenous company can seek financing from the market, the Banco Estado (state bank) or other funds, financial intermediaries or suppliers. It currently has the total capacity to guarantee up to US\$180 million in favor of indigenous communities, associations or cooperatives, for which it has an IDB loan of US\$40 million and other CORFO contributions applied to the COBIN Fund, which does not benefit individual indigenous entrepreneurs or private companies with businesses in indigenous territories.

The program is just starting, so it is not possible to know if the program will be successful, given the novelty of the mechanism of which there is no record of the existence of other similar ones in Latin America, although there are good practices of similar financial schemes for indigenous peoples in Australia, New Zealand, Alaska and Canada (see Annex 3). One of the elements that could condition its proper functioning, and therefore needs to be overcome, is the perceived risk of working with indigenous peoples in Chile, due to two aspects: (i) distrust on the part of the non-indigenous sectors; and (ii) both the distrust of the indigenous sectors and the tendency to consider that the external resources that reach indigenous peoples should be considered as payment of a historical debt, when in this case the financial support of the program is reimbursable. As for the strategies to address the second point, we are talking about a new way of working, where the reimbursability of resources and the long-term vision of the business is the condition for scaling up the size of the financing and the business, and the sustainability of the enterprise.

CORFO has 1,045 employees in its structure, organized through different organizational management departments¹⁵¹, which in turn control other departmental sub-units. The highest body of the corporation is the Board of Directors, which has a president and a vice-president, in addition to four members. All positions, with the exception of the vice-presidency, are held by government ministers, currently including the Minister of Economy, Development and Tourism as president, and as members, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Social Development and Agriculture (see Annex 4).

In addition, CORFO has five committees, which are entities created to address specific purposes, bringing together representatives from the public and private sectors to address strategic tasks for the economic development of Chile. These committees are: Business System, National Council of Clean Production, Innova BioBio,

¹⁵¹ These are: Investment and Financing Management, Competitive Development Management, Entrepreneurship Management, Innovation Management, Corporate Management, Strategic Development Management, Administration and Finance Management, Internal Control Management, Processes, Operations and Technology Management, Technological Capabilities Management, and Legal Management.

Agroseguros and Centro Nacional para la Innovación y Fomento de las Energías Sustentables (CIFES).

The PFDI has a Management Office, which reports to the Vice President of CORFO, and is developed through 12 pilot projects in the following productive sectors: forestry, agriculture, energy, tourism and aquaculture, which were selected on the basis of indigenous demand, taking into account their degree of maturity, development and scale of production. In some cases, these are productive activities that have been developed for more than 25 years in indigenous communities, such as the lupine-wheat-oat crop rotation in the Araucanía Region.

For such pilot projects, CORFO promoted so-called "early investments" to support compliance with the socio-cultural protocol and the bankability of the business plans. This financing was obtained with technical cooperation resources from the IDB, contributions from the Technical Cooperation Service (SERCOTEC) and the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI), and with redirection of resources from other CORFO programs, while the Indigenous Committee is being formed, which will allow PFDI resources to be applied to technical assistance for the beneficiaries.

The program was designed based on the collection of relevant information (studies and diagnostics), developed with the participation of Chile's indigenous peoples' organizations, mainly productive organizations, such as cooperatives, associations, companies and/or productive alliances. At this moment, PFDI and COBIN do not have indigenous officials, only some consultants, and while the Indigenous Committee is being created, it only has within CORFO a mid-term official, an external manager, three consultants and the support of four consultants from the IDB.

Only one of CORFO's consultants is indigenous, and he is in charge of overseeing compliance with the socio-cultural protocol, also known as multicultural openness, for each project submitted to the COBIN window, which is expected to be up and running by January 2017. This protocol obliges indigenous peoples who wish to opt for CORFO guarantees to comply with a series of conditions in order to opt for the program's services, i.e. CORFO guarantees and PFDI technical assistance. These conditions are:

1. Free, prior and informed consent of the community proposing the project initiative and of the families or communities that, not being part of the managers, may be significantly impacted by the planned intervention.

2. Analysis of cultural land uses in the intervention territory, to locate sites of special cultural significance and sustainable cultural management that should be avoided or protected by the intervention.
3. Land management, including the protection of sensitive cultural uses and the definition of individual and family possession rights of the lands to be used for the collective project.
4. Definition of a Life Plan framing the public investment of the project's profits.
5. Definition of economic governance rules for the proposed venture, including: (i) who and which families own what part of the equity in the venture; (ii) what the profits will be used for; and (iii) what instrument (fund, trust) will be used to manage those profits in a transparent manner.
6. Legal pluralism, based on the participation of traditional authorities other than the project promoters to: (i) attest from within customary law (az-mapu, in the Mapuche case) to the legitimacy of the protocol arrangements and the contracts that arise, incorporating, when necessary, special clauses to contracts with third parties (double contracts); (ii) monitoring by these authorities of compliance with the protocol agreements, especially regarding land use planning and economic governance; and (iii) the participation of these authorities as mediators in the event of non-payment¹⁵². This point is considered of utmost importance in the project, because CORFO's guarantees will not require real counter-guarantees from the communities, but rather the counter-guarantee will be the trust obtained by virtue of the legitimacy obtained through customary law and the presence and participation of the traditional authorities.
7. The identification of socio-cultural impacts and their mitigation measures, especially in the following areas: (i) monetization of traditional economies; (ii) changes in social organization; and (iii) territorial impact.

The purpose is that the projects selected under this multicultural openness protocol have a positive effect on the dynamics of the indigenous communities, to the extent that the resources obtained can be applied to the fulfillment of the life plans determined by the Good Living (kume mögen in Mapudungún). However, negative impacts could be generated by the effect of the monetarization of subsistence economies and by the generation of conflicts around the management of profits. The protocol is designed to, among other things, avoid these negative impacts.

¹⁵² Chilean law does not allow for indigenous jurisdiction and arbitration tribunals are regulated.

On the other hand, the PFDI has two mechanisms for communication with the indigenous communities and their representatives: (i) permanent interaction with the promoters of each project and their traditional authorities; and (ii) interaction with CONADI. It is foreseen that the Indigenous Committee will be organized as a collegiate public entity, which will be in charge of guiding the process of preparing and applying for the initiatives of the indigenous communities, as well as being responsible for providing technical advice at each stage of the process. Its main function will be to administer the COBIN through financial intermediaries (FIs) for indigenous-based productive business projects. The professionals expected to join the committee should be mainly indigenous.

II. Context of the initiative and cross-cultural governance

CORFO was created in 1939 on the occasion of the Chiloé earthquake, as a financial support for the promotion of the country's production at that time in crisis. Today, it is estimated that 70% of the companies listed on the Chilean stock exchange were originated by CORFO, which attests to its role in Chile's economy and its strength. However, the corporation had never worked with Chile's indigenous peoples before, so PFDI is an innovative and inclusive commitment by its directors, with cultural relevance, and aims to fully respect the identity and ways of life of indigenous peoples.

The PFDI recently emerged as an initiative in 2015 as a response to the exhaustion of the welfarist model for addressing indigenous development issues, and the resurgence of the Mapuche conflict. The following factors also played a role: Michel Bachelet's presidential commitment to the indigenous peoples of Chile; the development by the IDB of a portfolio of indigenous entrepreneurship projects; and the perception that the future Ministry of Indigenous Peoples should have a powerful operational arm in the field of production promotion.

The development of the program idea was led by the Vice Presidency of CORFO, Fundación Chile and the IDB, and its implementation was instructed in 2016. The indigenous communities also participated in these first stages through the pilot projects, the Indigenous Affairs Unit (UCAI) of the Ministry of Social Development, and the Board of Directors of CONADI.

For the establishment of the program in general, no consultation processes were carried out with the indigenous peoples, since it was understood that it responds to a pre-existing demand for the financing of associative projects.

which has adopted the highest standard of rights, that of free, prior and informed consent, as set forth in the applicable international norms.

Such consultations were carried out with the support of an IDB Technical Cooperation, through which external consultants were hired to carry out the information gathering in the territories, directly with the leaders of the proponent organizations. It should be emphasized that most of the pilot projects are under development and the aim is to strengthen management, mainly the capitalization of the proponent indigenous companies or organizations.

These processes have involved the participation of the relevant actors of the territory, community or indigenous organization, always encouraging the participation of the traditional representative authorities, such as the Logko Councils¹⁵³ and other authorities recognized by the indigenous peoples. In these meetings, the postulates of the PFDI have been presented, emphasizing the methodology, particularly the Multicultural Protocol, and the conditions of the program's operation, always making it clear that it is a credit with a CORFO coverage or guarantee of 90%.

There are nine groups of communities where pilot projects of the program are located, corresponding to the forestry areas (Didaico -wood energy-, communities associated with the cooperative AEMPCOOOP -forestry services-); agro-industrial (communities associated with FEDERCOOP -lupine-, communities associated with the cooperative REWE -raspberry- and the community of Licanco -apple-); energy generation (Quillipulli de Chiloé -wind farm-, ayllus del Salar de Atacama -photovoltaic park-); tourism (kawésqar of Puerto Edén -science station Parque O'Higgins- and communities of Lonquimay -snow park Arenales); and aquaculture (Trincao -mitilidae farm-).

It should be noted that the PFDI is an important innovation in the financial sector and public policies, being a pioneer in the application of a multicultural protocol that respects the particular ways of life of indigenous peoples, their communities and their territories; it is also linked to a productive business development project, on a larger scale than any of the public offers available so far in Chile.

Its implementation has not been free of difficulties, including those observed in the field in relation to indigenous communities, territories and organizations, such as the lack of experience in the development of indigenous companies and organizations.

¹⁵³ A traditional institution of the Mapuche people made up of traditional authorities called longko, a Mapudungun word that refers to the chief or traditional authority of each Mapuche community.

The lack of information, education, training and training of human resources; the historical distrust of the business world, particularly the State and private entrepreneurs; the scarce development of infrastructure, technology, mechanization and equipment in the productive sectors targeted by the program; the lack of access to financing and credit systems; and the absence of working capital. As a result, indigenous peoples are considered by many actors in the financial sector as non-viable groups according to the traditional canons of the system and the market.

For its part, the public sector also has some persistent obstacles, such as the lack of recognition of the cultural identity of indigenous peoples; the lack of appreciation and inclusion of indigenous forms and systems in the social, economic, cultural, territorial, legal and political spheres; its welfare-oriented vision and action, expressed in plans and programs aimed at overcoming conditions of social vulnerability; as well as the low recognition of the productive potential and cultural capital of indigenous peoples.

As for the private sector, the difficulties in taking into account in its actions the ways of life and identity of the indigenous communities derive from the asymmetrical relations and the enormous gaps related to management, experiences and financing of private companies with the indigenous world; the historical exploitation, dispossession and usurpation of indigenous territories by the companies; the dynamics of subjugation, exploitation and strong disputes over the natural resources of indigenous territories; the discredit and mistrust generated from such relationships; the entry to indigenous lands under leasing, usufruct and compensation schemes; and the lack of willingness and approaches to consider the indigenous as a possible partner in scalable businesses.

This is in addition to the fact that when the PFDI was proposed, many investors believed that it was a facility that would finance them to invest in indigenous territories. Today it is becoming clear that it is a facility that finances indigenous peoples and is aimed at putting them on an equal footing with private investors, should their participation be required, especially in the energy generation sector, which is where the need to generate synergies between actors has been detected.

This is why the multicultural protocol is so relevant for the operation of the program, since it aims to reverse or minimize these difficulties, as it constitutes a methodological proposal, respecting and considering the social, cultural, territorial and political representativeness of indigenous peoples. However, it is too recent a proposal to claim that it is the right thing to do.

sufficiently relevant. This can be assessed over a period of two to four years from the launch of the program, which occurred in 2016.

One problem that the PFDI is facing in incorporating the indigenous communities' own forms of organization into its operations in Chile is that both legal communities and associations are not bankable, as are cooperatives, so this situation is being studied case by case to suggest what type of organization or company to form for the implementation of the projects. This follows from the fact that the program is based on the granting of guarantees so that the proponents, in this case the indigenous peoples, can apply to request financial services from the financial sector, as well as from suppliers or potential partners, so the form that the organization must take must be bankable.

Chilean law is restrictive in this regard, since on the one hand, kinship groups (clans, ayllus, lineages, extended families) do not have a specific legal figure that allows them to act in commerce; while on the other hand, legal communities are also limited and associations are restricted. For these reasons, it is necessary for these forms of social organization to be endowed with commercial legal entities (cooperatives, companies of various types) or to change the scope of their statutes to facilitate their bankability. In the economic governance component of the multicultural protocol, it is hoped that the presence of the kinship groups can be relieved in the ownership of the share capital, in the management bodies, in the trustee bodies, etc. In this regard, the most advanced initiative is that of the Didaico forestry project, where a board of directors is being structured with Mapuche patrilineage quotas.

Today, the communities and particularly the indigenous producers that participate in the proposing organizations or indigenous companies, constitute the primary level of production and commercial linkages, with the deficits or gaps already pointed out; however, their expectations are to overcome the current subsistence conditions to not only produce surpluses for local markets, but also to control the management and commercialization of their products at national and international levels. Evidently, there is still a need to advance towards greater levels of association, training, quality improvement and marketing of their products. These are factors that PFDI should address as a complement to the provision of credit or guarantees.

III. Contributions to development with a distinctly indigenous identity

The development of PFDI has taken into account the assets of local indigenous communities or their territories only partially, for example, by valuing land rent to calculate a fraction of an indigenous partner's contribution to a strategic alliance with

a private actor, an experience that occurred in a wind farm project. However, although this type of input is considered important, it is secondary to the program.

The reason is that unlike other corporate responsibility or rent-sharing programs, this program is aimed at facilitating the capitalization of indigenous companies, reimbursable in the long term through business income, so that the current assets of the indigenous communities, or the transfer of assets that private companies are willing to cede, are only a small part of the total amount of capital to be considered. Therefore, the contribution to the development with identity of the project is considered as a future benefit, and not so much derived from the sense of ownership that they may have at present derived from contributions of their own assets.

CORFO has extensive business knowledge mainly in the areas of agribusiness, forestry, energy and aquaculture, with long experience in the management of market-oriented productive projects, as well as in the management of financial systems and business capitalization. Therefore, these are contributions that, combined with the multicultural protocol designed for the PFDI, are expected to provide a framework of intercultural operation that will promote the competitive development of indigenous entrepreneurship, improving their access to broader markets, but with a management respectful of their differentiated rights¹⁵⁴, placing special emphasis on territorial management, management based on legal pluralism¹⁵⁵, the development of life plans, as well as the management of resources through their own institutions.

However, CORFO's greatest deficit is its knowledge of the reality and cultures of indigenous peoples, as well as its understanding of pluricultural issues, which is why it does not incorporate indigenous knowledge systems as an asset that enhances indigenous capital and strengthens partnerships, despite the fact that the program's design took as input the knowledge of the organizations that participated in the initiative, especially the experiences derived from the work with the IDB on indigenous entrepreneurship in Chile. This contributes to the lack of awareness of these issues among CORFO officials, many of whom see the PFDI as something that is not yet available to them.

¹⁵⁴ In the case of several energy generation initiatives in the Upper Bio Bio, some promoted by the private company and others by communities, there was disagreement between the different communities, which led CORFO to withdraw its prior support for these initiatives, considering that the standard of free, prior and informed consent would not be met. This is an example of the corporation's commitment to respect international human rights standards, some of which are included in the multicultural protocol.

¹⁵⁵ This is despite the fact that there is still a need to train lawyers and CORFO officials to better understand how legal pluralism operates in program design.

folkloric and consider that working in this program is a punishment, not a promotion.

It is hoped that the implementation of the PFDI will contribute to remedy this lack of knowledge of essential issues in order to contribute in a socio-culturally appropriate manner to the economic development with identity of indigenous peoples. However, these shortcomings could be overcome to the extent that indigenous officials with roots in the beneficiary communities are incorporated, which could be the case of the members who eventually join the Indigenous Committee.

Similarly, the creation of an Interministerial Committee has been proposed, with the aim of addressing aspects not covered by the program to date, such as: strengthening indigenous organizations; improving the information, education and training available to the proponent communities; training in the management of communications, marketing and marketing campaigns; strengthening networks with the private sector; and leveraging human and financial resources.

In addition to this, there is the positive value of the broad collaboration networks of which CORFO is a part and which have generated an environment of trust, including public and private sector agents at the local, national and international levels, as well as international development cooperation agencies, private companies and the communities themselves, especially through initiatives to strengthen the Longkos Councils and community association or cooperative initiatives to apply for the benefits of the program.

It should be noted that the projects will be evaluated for their financial profitability, and not for the strengthening of indigenous capital, which is a prerequisite for eligibility, as demonstrated in the multicultural protocol. This is largely due to the fact that the PFDI is limited to the area of productive development with cultural relevance, without attempting to cover other areas, although there are proposals to incorporate elements that will be useful for the success of productive projects.

IV. Entrepreneurship success factors and obstacles

Success factors

- It is the first public program that supports indigenous entrepreneurship and provides credit or coverage for a sector (the indigenous sector) that the financial system has traditionally considered "unviable".
- A Multicultural Protocol has been developed with indigenous participation that considers the particularities of the communities and territories, as well as socialization and consultation processes in pursuit of free, prior and informed consent.

informed, establishing appropriate starting points to ensure the success of the venture.

- The development of the pilot projects will contribute to generate new projects in the future, based on the idea of replicability, generating lessons learned and good practices. It is also expected that they will be strengthened and achieve adequate capitalization for their sustainability.
- Opportunity of the program, which innovates and provides alternatives to a set of obsolete solutions widely used in projects for indigenous peoples, such as subsidies, generating instead socioculturally appropriate alternatives aimed at the empowerment of the peoples.
- The alliance with the IDB, due to its knowledge of the indigenous sector and its financial support, has been a key element for the implementation of the initiative.
- In its development process, the PFDI has benefited positively from the regulatory framework. The signing of the co-management agreement for the Easter Island park between the Forestry Corporation (CORFO) and representatives of the Rapa Nui people, which opens up the possibility of indigenous tourism projects for this and possibly in the future, other natural parks with the presence of indigenous peoples.

Obstacles

- The Program does not cover aspects of socio-cultural strengthening of indigenous territories and representation structures (it requires them but does not strengthen them).
- The Program is not encouraging the establishment of networks between the private sector and indigenous organizations or companies to bridge the gaps and promote associativity. These networks are built by the organizations themselves.
- Today, there is not at least one instance or line of financing for: information, social marketing, training of leaders and partners of the proponents in the world of business, enterprise and markets.
- Risk of politicization of the PFDI Committee, which is in its creation phase, and of attacks on the program by violent sectors to hinder its operation.
- Prioritizing the aspects of financial sustainability, expressed as the search for blue figures (NPV - IRR) in pilot projects, without adequate support (strengthening - training), puts the development of the Program at risk, especially in a sector that has historically remained on the margins of the financial systems and the business world. It will be necessary to promote the right balance between financial sustainability and the strengthening of indigenous enterprises and their own capital.

V. Impact of entrepreneurship on the local indigenous communities.

The PFDI represents an opportunity for financial inclusion for the 9% of the country's population made up of indigenous peoples, so far the poorest sector of the country and characterized by financial exclusion that prevents them from carrying out their own enterprises. At the same time, being part of a public entity such as CORFO, as long as it is institutionalized, it could be a fundamental lever for the development of indigenous entrepreneurship in Chile.

The services offered through the program allow indigenous communities to enter the business world on a large scale, with their own businesses and access to quality financial services, thus overcoming the welfare system.

However, since the program is still in its infancy, the impact on indigenous communities cannot yet be objectively measured, so we can only make predictions about the benefits that the application of the multicultural protocol may bring for the development with identity of the communities, and for the economic promotion of the productive areas of their interest, which have been mentioned in previous sections.

On the other hand, PFDI operations can also generate conflicts, such as the monetarization of traditional economies, which can be perceived as a violation of the principle of non-accumulation. In order to avoid these negative impacts, it will be necessary to make constant adjustments to the program, and to address in a particular way the needs evidenced in each of the projects.

8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has systematized the results of 45 working meetings of the team of consultants, approximately 120 in-depth interviews and 6 focus groups carried out with/different actors working in research or promotion of the economic development of indigenous peoples: researchers and academics, private sector, financial entities, indigenous organizations and companies, public administrations, multilateral organizations, cooperation agencies and civil society entities. The seven final reports on the research process carried out in Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru, as well as seven case studies on successful initiatives undertaken by indigenous peoples, all carried out by our team of consultants, have also been taken into account. Additional information was provided by the map of relevant actors identified in the first phase of the research (almost 500 entities involved in the seven countries under investigation). All this has formed the documentary basis from which a process of interpretation of the information provided has been carried out with a predominantly qualitative approach. On the basis of all this, and once the study has been completed, the following conclusions and recommendations have been reached:

1. For more than three decades, indigenous peoples have been discussing the importance of having an identity-based and culturally relevant development model, based on a sustainable use of their natural resources that addresses and promotes, in addition to their historical and legitimate interests and needs, their worldview, culture, traditions and respect for their collective rights: political, social, cultural and patrimonial, including intellectual property rights over their traditional knowledge. As has been shown, the economic development model of indigenous peoples integrates a set of specificities that any external actor, be it public administration, international organization, non-governmental organization, foreign cooperation agency or other, must take into account. Thus, these indigenous peoples' own development models are based on a cultural foundation, have a multidimensional and multidirectional approach, and do not consider the individual as the essential subject of development, but rather the community. They are also directly related to particular worldviews and practices of reciprocity, mutual aid and solidarity within the communities.

2. To a large extent, the development of indigenous peoples, thus conceived, is closely related to their economic self-determination. Development in its economic dimension, with the aforementioned characteristics, is a right of indigenous peoples widely adopted in the domestic legislation of the countries included in this study and has also been recognized in the international legal system in several reference instruments and reinforced by international jurisprudence. These recognitions entail obligations for States and international organizations, as subjects par excellence of Public International Law, as well as responsibilities of good practices for other internal or international actors such as those from the academic world, civil society or the business world. Of particular relevance is the understanding and integration of good practices by ngos and companies in their actions for the promotion of development with indigenous peoples' identity, within a framework of fostering public-private relations in the economy with a differentiated approach.
3. The issue of development and economic self-determination of indigenous peoples has not received special attention from academia, formally constituted research groups in universities or the third sector. Nor has it been the object of priority attention in the public policies of States or the cooperation programs of specialized agencies. Even the indigenous movement itself within the countries studied has not placed it among its most important demands or concerns, compared to other issues, such as, for example, indigenous collective rights at the political or participatory level.
4. Nevertheless, within the countries under study, there have of course been collective initiatives by indigenous peoples related to economic development and their own enterprises. This not only allows an analysis of mechanisms for the promotion of indigenous economies, but also makes it possible to visualize holistic forms of development, encompassing aspects that are rarely linked to the concept of development, but which are decisive for the success or failure of undertakings aimed at improving the living conditions of indigenous peoples. Among these aspects we can mention the relevant role of the intercultural perspective in the undertakings, allowing a linkage between the knowledge of indigenous peoples and the knowledge of non-indigenous organizational forms, resulting in a much more robust platform for a socio-culturally appropriate development, based on the valuation, respect and promotion of indigenous peoples' own ways of life with differentiated elements such as worldviews, legal pluralism, management, etc.

alternative use of natural resources, decision making under collective and horizontal schemes or food security related to family economies, among others.

5. Throughout the research process, it has become clear, thus confirming several of the initial hypotheses, that the promotion of indigenous peoples' development faces important problems and challenges, which prevent a true process of economic self-determination within the communities. These problems detected have to do with particular situations that specifically affect or concern different actors such as researchers and academics, the private sector, financial entities, indigenous organizations and companies, public administrations, multilateral organizations, cooperation agencies and civil society entities, as highlighted in the study. However, many other problems of a cross-cutting nature have also been detected.
6. Among the latter, it is worth highlighting the lack of training for the development of productive and specifically entrepreneurial competencies and skills within indigenous communities. This lack of technical knowledge on basic issues for the activation of any indigenous economy, such as value chains, the phases of the production process, standards and quality control, administrative management, advertising or marketing issues, the use of new technologies, market studies, etc., has a very negative impact on their chances of economic take-off. To this we must add as an associated problem the lack of training on the peculiarities of the indigenous economy and particular mechanisms of articulation, among many of the operators, cooperants, officials of international organizations or those responsible for public policies or assistance programs for the promotion of the development of indigenous peoples.
7. At the same time, it is important to highlight the problems associated with the lack of financing, which has a very negative impact on the possibilities of starting and sustaining indigenous enterprises. This is due to the scarce culture of saving for investment present in the indigenous family economy models, in the problems of access to credit for indigenous peoples due to the distrust of traditional financial entities, the non-existence of financial products focused on their needs, the scarce initiatives of community banks or savings groups existing within the communities and the weak guarantees that these peoples can offer.

8. On the other hand, in most contexts, indigenous peoples are still unable to exercise true economic governance in their territories, which are very rich in resources and constitute their great potential capital. Although they have had a series of territorial rights recognized by domestic and international legislation, the fact is that these rights remain largely unprotected, or at least not fully protected. This aspect is extremely important because without legal security of access to and control over their territories, it will be difficult for indigenous peoples to promote truly comprehensive entrepreneurial projects. It should not be forgotten that the territory, the attachment to the land of the ancestors, is a consubstantial and constitutive element of the cultural identity of indigenous peoples with clear ramifications in their community and family economies.

9. It should also be recalled that indigenous peoples, based on their particular worldviews, do not identify with the foundations of the traditional market economy, whose fundamentals they consider contradict their values of reciprocity and intra-community solidarity, which sometimes generates mistrust or lack of communication with external economic actors. There is no good understanding between indigenous and non-indigenous actors in the field of cooperation and economic feedback, and both types of actors identify with economic models that are sometimes presented as contradictory and conflicting. There are many reservations, prejudices and mutual distrust, so that on many occasions we find ourselves faced with economic models (indigenous and market) that reproduce themselves endogenously and develop as watertight compartments, turning their backs on each other, which prevents feedback and real dynamization of the economies. All this does not facilitate the possibilities for indigenous producers to open up to other markets or the expansion of sustained and successful entrepreneurship among their members.

10. Another cross-cutting problem that persists in all the countries studied is ethnic discrimination, which affects indigenous peoples in different areas that affect their possibilities for economic development. The indigenous peoples, through the producer organizations and associations interviewed, have habitually made it clear during the information gathering process that the lack of access to credit, the problems of access to markets, the abusive conditions of intermediaries, the bureaucratic obstacles they have to face or the lack of appreciation and recognition of some of their

The fact that indigenous entrepreneurs and organizations are the result of the discrimination and socioeconomic stigma to which they continue to be subjected is worth considering. Although non-indigenous economic or other actors do not have this perception, it is worth taking into consideration this generalized feeling that indigenous entrepreneurs or organizations have expressed in the interview process and that undoubtedly has to do with the persistence of direct and indirect forms of discrimination, less visible and perceptible but undoubtedly harmful. These are rooted in deep-rooted and long-standing structures and in ignorance, prejudices and stereotypes about the incapacity of indigenous communities and peoples, especially in the economic sphere.

11. Both the construction of the development model for indigenous peoples and their commitment to support it through the development of business initiatives, which are valid, necessary and relevant in many cases, nevertheless face great challenges, particularly if we take into consideration the existing unequal development, the lack of financing, the limitations in terms of access to markets, the effects of globalization on competitiveness, productivity and business operations, and the technological and managerial challenges of inserting themselves into a globalized world dominated by ICTs. The experiences can be viewed from different angles, but in general there is agreement regarding the existing shortcomings in terms of public policies and programs; the weaknesses faced by enterprises in terms of access to financing and technologies; the unequal terms of trade and the difficulties in accessing markets; the weaknesses in terms of productive articulation, technology and productivity; the shortcomings in terms of the most appropriate organizational forms for developing business initiatives; excessive regulations and the costs associated with their application depending on the sector in which the indigenous enterprise is located; weaknesses with respect to business training and updating and capacity building; and the lack of consideration of the particularities and specificities of the indigenous business model, which has a collective dimension expressed in the implications of the business operation and its results in the life of the community.
12. Although there have been advances in public policies aimed at promoting the development of indigenous peoples, unfortunately they still do not always have a sufficient focus on cultural relevance and human rights. In addition, they lack the budgetary allocations required for the economic development needs of indigenous peoples, they do not have the necessary resources to meet their needs, and they do not have the necessary resources to meet their needs.

focus on priorities within the communities and continue to be designed without the full participation of their hypothetical beneficiaries. There is little political will at the central and regional government levels in the countries analyzed to apply differentiated treatment to state enterprises in order to meet the demands of indigenous peoples in their efforts to join the production chain and commercial value chains. The international institutions and cooperation agencies are focused on strict compliance with laws, codes and regulations and, although they are sometimes sensitive to indigenous demands, they do not address the structural and profound adaptation of their policies and intervention programs. Another cause of their weak influence is the technical and political inability to reach and understand the symbolic language of peoples and nationalities in dialogue with their productive land and territory as a context for life.

13. There are cross-cutting problems related to the structures of representation and participation related to the indigenous movement and its leadership. Sometimes these are not well defined, have a somewhat diffuse territorial base of action and the spokespersons or representatives of the communities have difficulties in certain contexts to establish and disseminate with sufficient legitimacy the expression of the will of their communities. The plural network of organizations, producers' associations, federations or confederations of ethnic or interethnic base in which the indigenous movement is articulated at the level of economic and productive development is undoubtedly a reflection of the diversity and general heterogeneity represented by these peoples, but it undoubtedly entails some difficulties for external actors (private sector, public administrations, ngos) who may be predisposed to promote or support productive undertakings or initiatives in the communities.
14. Of particular relevance is the finding throughout the study, as confirmed in the reports of each country analyzed, and can be diagnosed through the case studies and the records of many of the in-depth interviews, that there is still a significant gap in terms of the inclusion of indigenous women in enterprises and public policies, as well as in the organizational forms of indigenous peoples. This is a major obstacle to economic development with identity, if we take into account not only the role of women in terms of their numerical representation, but also because they are the ones who suffer most severely from discrimination and exclusion in many areas of daily life, being especially vulnerable in terms of their rights and more likely to live in conditions of poverty.

multidimensional poverty. Therefore, it is difficult to achieve adequate development with identity in contexts where indigenous women do not represent a priority sector. Women thus suffer a double discrimination, since the fact that they are women and indigenous women makes their activity in the field of productive development extremely difficult. On the other hand, it is true that thanks to the empowerment processes in some contexts, indigenous women show a leadership capacity in community experiences at the economic level. And with this they are demonstrating a greater capacity for business management than men, a good predisposition for saving and reinvestment, a greater commitment to quality standards and a good predisposition for public relations and communication, key aspects for the opening to markets and conditions of possibility for the sustainability and success of the enterprises.

15. Along with this set of problems, the research process has also detected that there are some difficulties related to the internal dynamics of the communities themselves that go beyond the lack of training or in the field of training and double discrimination of women. We refer to the communities' own decision-making systems, which are not always sufficiently agile and end up being projected into a kind of internal bureaucratization process, which makes it difficult to resolve possible business opportunities in a timely and agile manner. On the other hand, we must refer to the persistence within the indigenous movement of the countries analyzed of a sort of "subsidy culture", which keeps the indigenous communities in a wait-and-see attitude and receptive to possible external aid or cooperation, which does not promote or favor an entrepreneurial attitude. And finally, the important shortcomings identified in everything related to administrative and business management, the lack of knowledge and understanding of tax and labor regulations, the lack of diversification of their businesses, the problems with accountability and those associated with concrete manifestations of corruption or co-optation in some of their leaders and representatives.
16. In addition to the problems detected, successful entrepreneurial initiatives have also been identified. In this sense, it can be affirmed that the companies or organizations led by indigenous peoples have, in most cases, an origin based on the knowledge and practices of indigenous peoples, with a broad involvement at the community level, so that, unlike the general experiences in ventures without indigenous participation, differentiated human rights do not have to be included, but rather

that are associated with their own operating structure. This provides a means by which good practices in respect for human rights can be implemented by companies, especially small and local ones, starting from within and bridging the gap between the rights recognized in the national and international regulatory framework and their application. Value chains reinforced through respect for human rights, as well as the selection of inputs and their transformation based on environmental sustainability criteria, are differential elements that the enterprises studied that respect development with identity favor. In this regard, the importance of articulating value chains in indigenous enterprises that manage the production, processing and marketing of their products should be taken into account, which reinforces these differential elements by responding to the collective interests of indigenous peoples and facilitating their permanence in the market by having greater control over it. Likewise, the positive effects that indigenous enterprises have on their environment should be taken into account as examples not only of good practices with respect to the development with identity of indigenous peoples, but more broadly as practices of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), so that their activities are not only beneficial or with a low negative impact on local indigenous communities, but that their management oriented towards respect for human rights is also a value that is reflected in consumers, having in their hands quality products derived from good social and environmental practices.

17. One of the fields that requires the support of international cooperation, the action of the States or the help of private foundations is the training of indigenous human resources that, taking into account the ethical values of their peoples, improves their technical training for the realization of productive activities, provision of services and acquisition of competencies for good business development. Always taking as a reference the models that surely better adapt to their cultural reality such as community enterprises, associative enterprises, production and service cooperatives, family enterprises or groups of communal enterprises specialized in economic activities. Scholarship programs and the generation of materials and tools for culturally and linguistically relevant business training are specific areas of action that should be addressed. At the same time, it is essential to introduce studies and research in the university academic sphere of quality and excellence focused on issues related to the economic development of indigenous peoples and the characteristics and potential of intercultural economies.

18. Promote community banks and communal savings initiatives within indigenous peoples; 2. Collaborate with international cooperation in securing indigenous territorial rights, the titling of their lands and their recognition as the patrimonial capital of indigenous peoples and the basis for their economic self-determination; 3. Incentivize the generation of financial products specifically aimed at indigenous peoples, collaborating with traditional banking entities; and 4. Make the potential of indigenous enterprises known among financial entities, taking as a reference some of the successful experiences identified in this study.
19. It is essential that any intervention to promote the economic and productive development of indigenous peoples be culturally relevant and based on a human rights approach, specifically on the rights of indigenous peoples, as recognized by international and domestic legislation. Particular attention must be paid to the material content and obligations or responsibilities that derive for external actors from the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples, their right to development with identity, territorial rights, participation rights such as the right to consultation and, in some contexts, the right to free, prior and informed consent, and, of course, cultural rights. In this regard, we must not forget that indigenous economies are built on particular cultural worldviews and that the preservation of their culture is directly related to the preservation of their differentiated economic models based on values and principles of reciprocity and mutual aid.
20. Given the lack of understanding and identification between indigenous producers and other external agents focused on the traditional market economy, due to the economic models of one and the other, which sometimes, not without reason at least to some extent, are seen as very distant models, the solutions lie in the generation of spaces for intercultural dialogue and frameworks for meetings between indigenous and non-indigenous entrepreneurs and producers, which will help deactivate prejudices and stereotypes and promote intercultural economic initiatives characterized by mixed models capable of bringing together the best of the traditional market economy and indigenous economies. Governments, international economic organizations interested in this field of action and international cooperation have an important role to play in creating these spaces and forums for consultation and dialogue. This type of initiative

The dissemination of successful indigenous economic ventures, together with the dissemination of successful indigenous economic ventures, will in turn help to reduce the discriminatory practices that indigenous peoples also face in the economic sphere and will contribute to a better understanding by external actors of the functioning of the indigenous movement based on the recognition of its intrinsic diversity and its different forms of organization.

21. Indigenous development policies and programs should not only consider an improvement in the material living conditions of indigenous peoples, especially those sectors in situations of poverty and which are the preferential object of social policy, but should also be capable of strengthening the central and distinctive elements that make up their culture, that is, generate a true development with identity, or at least control and reduce those components that may represent factors of destructuring of indigenous cultural identities. And all this in parallel to the fact that they are capable of promoting culturally relevant enterprises and a productive development sustained over time. To this end, they must count on the participation of indigenous beneficiaries in the identification of needs in terms of economic development, in the formulation of the policies themselves, in the active participation of indigenous peoples in their implementation and also, of course, in the evaluation of results. To ensure their effectiveness, they must therefore be aligned with the internal processes of the communities and give a leading role to the duly legitimized leaders of producers' associations or those responsible for other types of community economic development initiatives. At the same time, they should be well budgeted to meet the different challenges and have well trained and culturally sensitized managers, technicians and personnel with the particular economic visions and models of the indigenous peoples.
22. The economic empowerment of indigenous women within the framework of the practical recognition of their differentiated rights, as women and as indigenous people, continues to be an important challenge for international cooperation, committed civil society, the private sector through its corporate social responsibility policies or the actions of multilateral organizations. As has been demonstrated, when indigenous women are prepared and acquire the necessary skills in business management, they are capable of assuming a leading role as producers of successful collective entrepreneurship initiatives within their communities. Thus, they can energize the economy of their societies of reference.

while rebalancing gender roles to the benefit of shaping truly more egalitarian indigenous societies.

23. It is essential to break with the culture of subsidies that is widespread in many indigenous communities, a product of decades of integrationist and welfarist policies. On the contrary, public policies and the programs of international agencies and cooperation entities must promote the operative principles of entrepreneurship and economic initiative, in this case collective, in order to respect their own models based on collectivist structures that place the community as the essential subject of development. The indigenous movement focused on economic development will also have to adapt - without losing its differentiated identity - its decision-making systems so that, while maintaining the objectives of consensus and participatory procedures, it does not lose business opportunities, as is often the case due to the slowness of the processes. On the other hand, certain practices within the indigenous peoples must also be improved - capacity building and training are key - in relation to accountability, increasing administrative and business management skills, combating internal corruption and promoting transparency.
24. Companies and initiatives have identified market niches for indigenous products, generally linked to fair trade or alternative models of solidarity economy. However, there is still a need to generate mutually beneficial links with companies and organizations present in the market, which do not necessarily have the capacity to open up to economies based on differentiated logics, such as indigenous economies. For their part, organizations that already work with indigenous peoples need to deepen their practices based on differentiated treatment, to allow for a more robust empowerment of indigenous organizations and associations working in economic ventures. This is especially relevant to facilitate the promotion of productive and social innovation, strengthen the leadership of indigenous women and men to achieve greater articulation of their initiatives to the market, to society and consequently improve their standard of living. All this without compromising the acceptable levels of environmental sustainability that are part of the assets of many indigenous peoples, while at the same time allowing them to face the generalized economic system that imposes competition rules where it is very difficult to promote identity factors.
25. Indigenous peoples have a great challenge for their development with identity and cultural relevance, as do indigenous entrepreneurs for the success of their businesses.

their entrepreneurial initiatives. Both face the limitations of the models in which they seek to implement their vision of development and business operation, which have considerable disadvantages in terms of the principles and public policies that support them, of access to the market, and to appropriate and sufficient financing, and in terms of the availability and use of technology and infrastructure development. The development of an entrepreneurial culture that does not abandon the values and principles of indigenous peoples, in terms of economics, production and distribution, is a challenge of fundamental importance. The principles that govern business development, in a certain way, are opposed to the principles of the indigenous economy; and this is an element with which the indigenous entrepreneurship must advance to a better positioning in a context strongly determined by the needs of competitiveness. Always with the referential horizon related to the conformation of intercultural economies tending to generate benefits for both indigenous and non-indigenous societies.