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The Gap Matters

Poverty and Well-Being of Afro-Colombians and Indigenous Peoples

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CODHES	Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement
DANE	National Administrative Department of Statistics
DNP	National Department of Planning
MECOVI	Regional Program of Technical Assistance for Improving the Surveys of Living Conditions Project
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
QLI	Quality of Life Index
SISBEN	Information System for Identification and Classification of Potential Beneficiaries of Social Services

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Contents

Abbreviations and Acronyms	ii
Acknowledgements	vi
Glossary	vii
Executive Summary	ix
Colombia: A Multi-Ethnic Nation	x
The Recognition of Ethnic Groups: Advances and Shortfalls	xi
Conflict and Displacement	xi
Report Findings	xii
Policy and Program Recommendations	xiv
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Objectives	1
Expected Impact of the Report	1
Audiences	2
Participatory Approach	2
Data and Sample	2
Theoretical Framework	3
<i>The Multiple Dimensions of Poverty</i>	4
<i>Well-Being, A More Holistic View of Reality</i>	4
<i>Well-Being and Ethnicity/Racial Discrimination</i>	5
Chapter 2. Well-Being and Poverty: The Perspectives of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous Peoples	7
Quality of Life and Well-Being	7
General Elements and Fundamental Components for Well-Being According to Afro-Colombians	7
General Elements and Fundamental Components of Well-Being for Indigenous Peoples.	9
What is Poverty for the Indigenous Community?	9
Poverty from the Perspective of Afro-Colombians	11
The Priority of Elements for Well-Being	11
<i>Well Being: Prioritization of Components</i>	11
<i>The Territory: Essential Priority for Well-Being.</i>	12
<i>Health and Illness</i>	13
<i>Housing and Basic Services</i>	13
<i>Education</i>	14
<i>Work versus Employment</i>	14
<i>Generational Differences</i>	15
Socio-Cultural Needs: The Most Notable Components	15
<i>Cultural Identity</i>	15
<i>Security</i>	16
<i>Communities and Community Organization</i>	16
<i>Some Final Reflections</i>	17
Chapter 3. The Well-Being of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous Peoples in Numbers: Progress and Challenges Ahead	19
Introduction	19
Statistical Information Available	19
<i>Circumventing the Challenges</i>	20
Fundamental Priorities of Afro-Colombians and Indigenous Peoples in Numbers	21

<i>Territory: A Fundamental Good for the Quality of Life of Rural Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Peoples</i>	21
Health Achievements for Indigenous Peoples	23
<i>Indigenous Colombian Illiteracy and Participation in the School System</i>	23
<i>Living Conditions of Afro-Colombians: A Municipal Perspective</i>	23
<i>Differences in the General Quality of Life Index</i>	23
<i>Urban-Rural</i>	25
<i>Access to Education and Gender Differences</i>	26
<i>Gaps in Education and Access to Employment</i>	26
Access to Public Services and Utilities	27
The Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Colombian Ethnic Groups	28
Some Final Reflections.....	30
Chapter 4. Closing the Gaps: Components of a Program of Action.....	31
Recommendations	34
<i>Recommendation No. 1: Improvement and Disaggregation of the Information on Ethnic Groups</i>	34
<i>Recommendation No. 2: Complete the Demarcation and Titling of Collective Territories of Black Communities</i>	35
<i>Recommendation No. 3: Care for Basic Needs in Health, Education, and Basic Sanitation</i>	37
<i>Recommendation No. 4: Differentiated Attention to the Displaced Population Belonging to Ethnic Groups</i>	38
<i>Recommendation No. 5: Educating for Diversity and Non-Discrimination</i>	39
<i>Recommendation No. 6: Institutional Strengthening</i>	39
Conclusion.....	39
Bibliography.....	41
Annex 1. Methods for Setting Up Workshops in the Field and Interviews.....	47
Annex 2. Predominantly African-Colombian Communities Considered in the Study, According to Population and Region	53
Annex 3. Index of Living Conditions and their Corresponding Point System	55
Annex 4. The Forced Displacement of Ethnic Groups.....	57
Charts	
Chart 1: Indigenous Population with <i>Resguardo</i> and without Defined Territory, 2001.....	21
Chart 2: Difference in Quality of Life in Predominantly Afro Colombian Municipalities	24
Chart 3: Imbalances between Municipal Centers and Rural Areas	24
Chart 4: 1993 Infant Mortality in Groups 1–4 (rates for 1,000 live births)	25
Chart 5: Illiteracy in Afro and Non-Afro Municipalities by Gender	26
Chart 6: Afro and Non-Afro Secondary and Higher Education Gaps	27
Chart 7: Municipal Centers/Rural Area QLI Deficit	27
Chart 8: Projected Primary Education Coverage 1985-2015, Department of Chocó and Colombia Average.....	29
Chart 9: Projected Rate of Infant Mortality 1985-2015, Department Chocó and Colombia Average.....	29
Tables	
Table 1: Afro-Descendent and Indigenous Population in Terms of National Total	x
Table 2: Needs and General Elements Associated with the Quality of Life of Afro-Colombian Communities and People	8
Table 3: Conditions for Quality of Life in Afro-Colombian Communities.....	9
Table 4: General elements and Components Related to the Quality of Life of Indigenous Communities and People	10

Table 5: Well Being—Priorities	12
Table 6: Grouping of Municipalities with Less than 300,000 Inhabitants	20
Table 7: Afro-Descendent and Indigenous Population in Terms of National Total	22
Table 8: 1993 Infant Mortality in Group 3 Afro Communities (rates for 1,000 live births)	25
Table A.1.1: Quality of Life Workshops	47
Table A.1.2: Necessary Elements for a Good Quality of Life.....	49
Table A.1.3: Group Concepts of “Living Well”	50
Table A.1.4: Frequency of “Living Well” Elements	50
Table A.5.1: Displacement of Ethnic Groups.....	60

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Glossary

Traditional authorities: Members of a native community who exercise a power of organization, government, or social control within the structure of their respective culture. The traditional authorities of indigenous communities have—*vis-à-vis* the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA)—the same representation and powers that correspond to indigenous representational organizations. (Decree 2164 of December 7, 1995).

Indigenous Representational Organization: Special public entity, made up of members of an indigenous community, elected and recognized thereby, with a social-political, traditional organization, whose function is to legally represent the community, exercise authority and perform the duties assigned to them by the laws, uses, customs and the internal regulations of each community. (Decree 2164 of 1995 Article 2).

Indigenous Community or Group. Decree No 2164 of December 7, 1995, which is partially regulated by Chapter XIV of Law 160 of 1994, defines *indigenous community or group* as the group or collection of families of Amerindian descent, that are aware of their own identity and that share values, traits, uses or customs of their culture, and forms of government, management, social control or their own regulatory systems of standards that distinguish it from other communities, that may or may not have titles of ownership, or which they cannot legally prove, or that their protected areas were dissolved, divided up or declared vacant.

Ethnic education: This is defined by the Ministry of Education as “the ongoing social process of reflection and community construction, whereby the indigenous, African-Colombian and Rom communities strengthen their autonomy within the framework of the cultural exchange, enabling the internalization and production of values, knowledge and the development of skills and abilities in accordance with their cultural reality, expressed in their overall life project.

Indigenous people: According to Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (OIT) of June 27, 1989, “indigenous peoples are considered in independent countries as those who have descended from populations that inhabited a geographic region that belonged to the country at the time of the conquest or the colonization or the establishment of the current state borders and that, regardless of their legal situation, preserve all their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, or a part thereof. In addition, the consciousness of their indigenous identity should be considered a fundamental criterion for determining these peoples as indigenous.”

Indigenous protected area: This is a legal and social-political institution of a special nature, formed by one or more indigenous communities, that with a title of collective ownership, enjoys the guarantees of private property, possesses its territory and for the management thereof and its internal life is governed by an autonomous organization protected by the indigenous court and its own system of standards (Article 21 of Decree 2164 of 1995).

Black community: Law 70 of 1993, Article 2 defines *black community* as all families of African-Colombian descent that have their own culture, share a history and have their own traditions and customs within the field-town framework, that demonstrate and preserve a consciousness of an identity that distinguishes them from other ethnic groups

Collective occupation: This is the historic and ancestral settlement of black communities on lands for their collective use, that constitute their habitat, and on which are currently developed their traditional production practices. (Art. 2 Law 70 of 1993)

Lands of the black communities: Law 70 of 1993 cites this concept as all land with regard to which the right of collective ownership is determined (Article 4)

Community Council: A black community may be formed into a Community Council that as a legal entity exercises the maximum authority of internal administration within the Lands of Black communities, in accordance with the constitutional and legal mandates governing it and other mandates assigned to it by the system of law specific to each community. The Community Council is made up of a General Assembly and a Board of the Community Council. (Article 3 Decree 1745 of 1995)

Executive Summary

In Colombia, as in most Latin American countries, there is a correlation between poverty and the territories and geographic areas where indigenous peoples and individuals of African descent (or Afro-Colombians) live. The notable recognition of the rights of the indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations regarding their access to, and management of, ancestral territories, their increased participation in local development initiatives, and the transfers of shares of national revenues directly to their communities, have not been sufficient to improve their living conditions. A higher level of well-being continues to be one of the major aspirations of indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations. An important concern of the Government of Colombia is to identify culturally appropriate development approaches, public policies, and specific programs that are capable of improving the living conditions of these groups and increasing the potential for social and human capital. The success of the state's response in promoting the well-being of ethnic groups depends to a large degree on the understanding of the specific cultural characteristics of each group. The overall aim of this report is to aid in this task and establish the basis for interventions that could assist these groups in improving their quality of life.

The report seeks to understand the constraints faced by indigenous and Afro-Colombian groups to enhance their well-being, including quantitative assessments of the situation and gaps in access to public and social services. Based on this data, specific policy recommendations to address those constraints are produced. The report starts by exploring with the participation of individuals and African-Colombian and indigenous communities, what they understand by poverty and well-being, the elements that make it up, and the most important of these elements for reaching a dignified life. These recommendations supplement the study *Voices of the Poor*, particularly the chapter for Colombia (Narayan, 2000; Arboleda, 2004) by creating a more detailed understanding of the views, aspirations, and concepts of the indigenous and African-Colombians on well-being.

Access to land, education, employment, and basic services go hand-in-hand with their social and cultural needs. These needs include respect for cultural identity (such as indigenous health practices and adaptation of the school curricula to cultural specificities), the possibility to actively participate in local and national decision-making, and concerns about discrimination as an obstacle in the access and fulfillment of their basic needs.

Through the analysis of available statistics the report also explores the exclusionary factors interfering in the development of these groups. Examples of these include: (a) restricted participation in the secondary education system, which overlooks almost 25 percent of the Afro-Colombian and indigenous population; (b) scant access to public services and infrastructure; (c) low levels of employment and a preponderance of low-level jobs; and, (d) inadequate attention to the increasing number of Afro-Colombian and indigenous individuals and families displaced by the conflict that affects the country.

Beyond the common patterns of restricted access to education, health, and public services there are remarkable differences between Afro-Colombian and indigenous groups. The Afro-Colombian population is a noticeably bigger portion of the total "ethnic population" than indigenous groups. The aspirations, priorities, the role assigned to the state and community institutions, and the obstacles both groups encounter when trying to participate and be part of the mainstream Colombian society also differ greatly. These differences encourage the adoption of different policies and programs that, while responding to universal needs such as health care,

education, and employment, can also meet the needs, aspirations, and cultural specificities of indigenous peoples and the wide-ranging population of Afro-Colombians.

Colombia: A Multi-Ethnic Nation

With an extensive territory of 1,141,748 square kilometers, Colombia's population is currently estimated to number 43 million inhabitants. It is a mixed-race country comprising Afro-descendants, Amerindians, and Europeans. The combined indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations are recognized in the Colombian Political Constitution as ethnic groups. Colombia's multi-ethnic nature is fully accepted and guaranteed in the Colombian Constitution.

There is a general perception that the Afro-Colombian population is restricted to those individuals and communities living under the legal regime of *comunidades negras*.¹ However, Colombia, following Brazil, accommodates the second largest Afro-descendant population in Latin America.² Although only 502,343 people identified themselves as black in the 1993 census, the actual Afro-Colombian population is estimated to be between 8.3 million, or 20 percent of the country's population (Urrea, Ramírez and Viáfara), and 10.5 million (DNP). The Afro-Colombian population is distributed throughout most the country, but traditionally has been concentrated in the departments of Chocó, Cauca, Nariño, Bolívar, and Antioquia and in the archipelago of San Andrés and Providencia. The search for better living conditions and the resurgence of conflict in areas traditionally occupied by Afro-Colombians are principal causes for increasing migration among this section of the population. Recent research has estimated that 40 percent of the Afro-Colombian population is currently concentrated in the three principal metropolitan areas of the country: Bogota, Medellin, Cali.

Table 1: Afro-Descendent and Indigenous Population in Terms of National Total

	<i>National</i>	<i>Indigenous</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Afro</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Indigenous + Afro</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Population</i>	43,000,000	785,356 ³	1.8	8,300,000 ⁴	19.3	9,085,356	21.1

Source: The authors, 2004.

Colombia also has approximately 800,000 indigenous individuals belonging to 82 distinct peoples. According to the 1993 census, indigenous peoples resided in 458 municipalities in the country, primarily in the departments of Guaviríe, Chocó, Putumayo, Cauca, Guajira, Amazonas, Vichada, Guainia, and Vaupes. The other groups were distributed throughout the rest of the country.

¹ According to Law 70 of 1993, black communities are "all families of Afro-Colombian descent that have their own culture, share a history, and have their own traditions and customs within the land-people relationship, and who reveal and preserve an awareness of identity that distinguishes them from other ethnic groups." Law 70 of 1993, Art. 2, paragraph 5. Bogota, Colombia.

² The population of African descent in the Latin America and Caribbean region is estimated at 80–150 million people.

³ DANE, 1993 Census adjusted to 1997.

⁴ U. Valle, estimate.

The Government of Colombia has recently recognized the *rom* population, popularly known as gypsies, as an ethnic group. Although there is no accurate data, the Colombia *rom* population is estimated by community leaders to be between 800 and 5,000 people.

The Recognition of Ethnic Groups: Advances and Shortfalls

Since the 1960s and particularly since the 1991 Constitution, Colombia has continuously strived to recognize the rights of ethnic groups, allowing for significant advances in the demarcation and legal recognition of indigenous reserves and the collective lands of Afro-Colombian communities. The recognition of the land and territories of the ethnic groups came together with special measures in the areas of ethno-education, political representation, and participation in regional development projects. The combined territorial rights for indigenous and Afro-Colombians encompass slightly more than 35 million hectares.

Along with these recognitions, the indigenous *resguardos* receive tax transfers that aim to assist indigenous communities in their efforts to overcome poverty. Similarly indigenous *resguardos* participate in the provision and administration of local primary healthcare services. Within the context of political and fiscal decentralization processes initiated in Colombia in 1986, and expanded upon with the reform of the Constitution in 1991, the municipalities, including those predominantly inhabited by Afro-Colombians, receive tax transfers. During the 1990s, total social spending in Colombia went from 8 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) in 1990-91 to more than 16 percent in 1996-97. Despite the economic decline that affected the country in the mid-90's the per capita distribution of tax transfers to municipalities maintained a positive correlation with unmet basic needs over the years 1995-2001 (Rojas, 2003).

However, problems both old and new, encumber the lives of indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities. The delivery of basic health services and education continues to be inadequate. Access to employment, particularly in urban areas, is limited and indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations are generally employed in low-income jobs in the service sector and in the informal market. Public services are deficient in ethnic communities, and in the specific case of Afro-Colombians there is a perception that discrimination based on race is an obstacle to gaining access to housing, higher education, and employment.

Conflict and Displacement

The armed conflict that affects Colombia hurts the entire economic and social tapestry of the country. The conflict has a particularly perverse effect on Afro-Colombians and indigenous individuals and communities. The condition of poverty of these communities and the fragility of their recently acquired rights make them vulnerable to the impact of the armed conflicts that increasingly are moving closer, and in some cases into the heart, of their communities and lands. In 2000, according to the Codhes data, 317,000 people were displaced in Colombia. The Social Solidarity Network, based on official records, acknowledged that 30 percent of all displaced persons in the second half of the year were Afro-Colombians. In spite of the existing sub-registry, these data give an indication of the magnitude of displacement for Afro-Colombians (Rosero, 2003), and consequently, of the profound political, social, cultural, economic, territorial, and environmental consequences of that displacement. According to statistics from Codhes/Sisdes (2003) about 3.75 percent of the total displaced population were indigenous persons.

As noted by Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities consulted for this work, the displacement has severely affected the economic and social functioning of the communities⁵. Traditional ways of dealing with nature, using natural resources, and protecting the environment have been disrupted. Displacement is also provoking a breakdown of the community life and the functioning of internal forms of government and community organizations. These events are challenging the entire system upon which much of ethnic cultural identity is formed and consolidated. In sum, the quality of life and the living conditions of these already vulnerable and impoverished groups are being diminished as a direct consequence of armed conflict in Colombia.

Protecting the basic rights of Colombia's indigenous and Afro-descendent populations, normalizing and providing safe living conditions in the territories altered by the conflict, and putting new institutional strategies into effect in order to increase the social and economic participation of these groups in both rural and urban areas, are pending tasks.

Report Findings

This report shows the need to implement a strategy and a series of public initiatives targeting indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations and their geographic territories in order to improve the living conditions of these groups. Given its size and current living conditions, the Afro-Colombian population merits special attention, particularly with respect to the condition of the displaced population and the special cases of urban inhabitants in marginal areas such as the Agua Blanca district in Cali and the Ciénaga de la Virgen in Cartagena.

Policies, plans, and programs that seek to increase the quality of life and approach well-being find their foundation and justification in the Constitution of 1991 and the subsequent regulatory framework. For this reason, public action must contribute to strengthening the cultural identity and the institutions of indigenous and Afro-Colombian individuals and communities to promoting their effective participation, and to ensuring that they benefit from the gains in well-being achieved by the society as a whole.

The remainder of this document is organized in three chapters. Chapter One explores the elements and priorities that according to Afro-Colombians and indigenous people compose their well-being; and together with them engage in an exercise of identifying, which among these elements are the priority. The term *quality of life* was likened to “*living well*” and “*having well-being*.”⁶ This individual or collective well-being represents the ability to have all the conditions necessary to satisfy basic social and cultural needs required to live in a suitable and dignified way.

The results of the consultations with Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities lead to four primary conclusions:

First: Access to land and ancestral territories was considered by rural indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities as the prime element and the first priority for achieving their community and individual well-being. More than just geographic boundaries, they viewed the territory as a

⁵ See annex 4 on Forced Displacement of Ethnic Groups

⁶ In most workshops, the term “quality of life” was perceived as a concept foreign to the culture of these peoples. This concept, according to those attending the workshops, has been used as connotating a dignified life according to values and standards measured by western culture.

complex system where socio-cultural relations are established. In the case of Indigenous groups and individuals, the territory was the main reference point in shaping and reaffirming their identity even when living in the cities. It includes, in the minds of the ethnic groups, the notion of autonomy regarding the management of the land and the natural resources that form their habitat. *“What good does land do us if we don’t agree on our uses and customs?”*

Second: Both Afro-Colombians and indigenous people aspire to participate more actively and to have the possibility of having access to better education, better quality of health and health services and what they consider a decent house. However, there are notable differences between Afro-Colombians and indigenous people in the order of priority that these needs ought to be satisfied for them to achieve well-being. Furthermore, the satisfaction of these needs play a different function for the indigenous and Afro-Colombian population. For example, while access to education was seen in some of the community workshops as a vehicle to communicate with and understand better, the external world, for Afro-Colombians, access to education was seen as *“insurance against being humiliated,”* as the instrument needed to *“make progress”* and *“get ahead.”* This finding is extreme important in that it helps ascertain the different expectations that these groups have in terms of their relationship with the society at large. It was clear from all interviews and group work that to a large extent, Afro-Colombians were more in line with being active part of mainstream society, they want to belong and be part of it.

Third. Afro-Colombians in urban areas were insistent about feeling discriminated against based on their skin color at work, at school, and in access to housing. This sense of discrimination was not as evident among rural Afro communities, among rural indigenous people, or indigenous people living in cities. Nor it was an issue raised in the rural or urban control groups set up for this work.

Fourth. There are notable generational differences. For example, despite retaining recognition of the territory as an important referent of culture and family relations (particularly in the case of indigenous peoples), the needs and priorities of young people include access to technology (telephone, computer, cellular phones, etc.) and the expansion of public services and infrastructure. It is interesting to note that these aspirations and priorities were identified mostly by urban indigenous youngsters living in the urban areas, and by young Afro-Colombians in both rural and urban areas.

The second chapter explores the access to the means for improving the quality of life of Afro-Colombians and indigenous peoples in particular, their situation in relation to access to education, health, housing, public services and employment. The results of comparing municipalities whose Afro-Colombian population is estimated to be 75 per cent and more with municipalities similar in size and level of rurality but with an estimated Afro-Colombian population of less than 75 per cent, showed that municipalities with a predominantly Afro-Colombian population had inferior living conditions without exception. Restricted access to public services, high mortality rates and low attendance to superior education are the most prominent problem. The differences and gaps between Afro and non-Afro municipalities in terms of access to goods and services essential to well-being are evident. The situation of the Afro-Colombians living in the rural areas is critical with marked differences across gender particularly in relation to illiteracy and access to education. The situation of indigenous people and their living conditions in their *resguardos* is not much different.

The third chapter contains suggestions and recommendations of policies and actions, which are summarized in the following section.

Policy and Program Recommendations

A program to improve quality of life for indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations would include the following key objectives:

- **Improve the quantity and quality of information on the living conditions of indigenous and Afro-Colombians** by: (i) including questions relating to ethnic self-recognition in official census and surveys; (ii) expanding the community samplings gathered in the ongoing survey of homes; and (iii) including questions capable of collecting disaggregated information regarding ethnicity and race in the Information System for Identification and Classification of Potential Beneficiaries of Social Services (SISBEN).
- **Consolidate collective indigenous and Afro-Colombian rural territories and communities** by: (i) completing the demarcation and titling of their collective territories; (ii) providing technical and financial support so that communities can produce development alternatives based on the sustainable use of the biodiversity; and (iii) strengthening the administration and governance of the ethnic territories.
- **Increase access to primary education for indigenous communities and secondary education for Afro-Colombians** by: (i) expanding the offer of primary education in the zones under the influence of indigenous *resguardos*; (ii) reaffirming equitable enrollment rates in intermediary school in both metropolitan and urban areas of municipalities with a majority Afro-Colombian population; and (iii) expanding the supply of technology (computers, Internet) to Afro-Colombian and indigenous rural communities through replication or expansion in these community schools of the well-regarded national program called Computers for Education.
- **Consistent with the Millennium Development Goals, reduce infant mortality in 2015 by up to two-thirds** among the Afro-descendent populations on the Pacific coast and in the indigenous reserves by: (i) generating statistics on morbidity and mortality in the municipalities and urban sectors inhabited by people belonging to ethnic groups; and (ii) creating a followup and monitoring system, and subsequently a specific plan that considers, among other components, environmental health, nutritional care, vaccination, and maternal health.
- **Provide differentiated attention to indigenous and Afro-Colombian displaced populations** by: (i) improving registration of, and collection of information about, displaced ethnic families and individuals; (ii) implementing government laws and regulations that protect assets acquired by the displaced (land among others); and (iii) together with the voluntary sector, working for the creation of a network of private institutions that serves the needs of displaced children, helps their mothers to get access to micro credits, and supports the establishment of small-scale enterprises.
- **Education to curb racial discrimination and promote ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity** by developing a massive information and education program that includes schools, workplaces, public offices, and local municipalities.
- **Strengthen the institutional infrastructure** necessary to promote an integrated approach to Colombian ethnic groups, and in coordination with relevant ministries, implement and monitor strategic policies and development programs aimed at improving living conditions.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Objectives

This report responds to requests from the Government of Colombia to seek new avenues for improving the living conditions of Colombian ethnic groups and consolidating the social and human capital of indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations. Specifically, this report follows the commitment of the Government of Colombia to increase development opportunities for Afro-Colombians and indigenous people, their families and communities. The critical situation of Colombia's Afro-descendent population is of particular concern, and for this reason the President of the Republic proposed the development of a Policy Document for this population sector at the First International Conference on Afro-Colombian Strengthening held in Cartagena in November 2003. Furthermore, the report builds upon the objectives of the World Bank Colombia Country Assistance Strategy (CAS), approved by the Board of Executive Directors on December 24, 2002. The strategy recognizes the vulnerability of Colombian ethnic populations, the need to increase their access to goods and services fundamental for achieving well-being, and the need to increase their participation in the design and implementation of local policies and poverty reduction programs.⁷

The objectives of this work are threefold:

1. to identify and recommend lines of actions and programs that can improve access to goods, services, and basic opportunities in order to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life of indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities;
2. to explore and obtain a better understanding of the fundamental factors and priorities that make up well-being according to Afro-Colombians and indigenous peoples. Their perspectives and aspirations will guide the identification of recommendations and lines of action that are culturally suited to the expectations and views of development among indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians; and
3. to analyze, on the basis of quantitative data, the achievements made and the gaps existing in access to the means and basic services fundamental to improving the quality of life of ethnic groups. The study also seeks to estimate the necessary efforts needed to improve the quality of life for these groups.

Expected Impact of the Report

This report will serve as a reference for the Government in its efforts to introduce a well-being approach to ethnic development. This would involve making strategic choices of financial and human resources allocation, achieving greater efficiencies in the implementation of current programs and policies and defining priority areas for investments and policy formulation for

⁷ Country Assistance Strategy Colombia, p. 30. World Bank, 2002.

which the Bank or other donors can offer support. More specifically, it would entail government action to: (i) increase access to basic services, infrastructure and income generating activities in those geographic areas of Afro-Colombian and indigenous; (ii) adopt interventions to reach Afro-Colombian populations living outside of the traditional and legally recognized ‘comunidades negras’ through assertive and affirmative policies capable to sharply increase their access to secondary education; (iii) establish appropriate institutional capacity to provide differentiated attention to the displaced ethnic populations; and, (iv) improve the collection and disaggregate the information of ethnic groups in national household surveys, the survey of quality of life and programs in charge of delivering social goods and public services such as the Health System (SISBEN).

Audiences

The main intended audience for this report is the Government of Colombia—specifically the national entity in-charge of ethnic affairs, the National Department of Planning (DNP) and the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE)—as well as other ministries and departments involved in poverty reduction, education, health and management of natural resources. This report will also be of interest to Afro-Colombian and indigenous civil society organizations and private sector entities involved in social development. Given the similarity of issues faced by other Latin American countries, the report may be of interest to the same groups in this wider context. Some content, especially the broader principles and analytical framework, could be applicable in other areas of the Latin American Region.

Participatory Approach

This report is the product of collaborative work with the Government of Colombia, the National Administrative Department of Statistics, non-governmental organizations and the country’s Afro-Colombian and indigenous population. In June 2003 the World Bank sent an exploratory mission as requested by the Government, to identify avenues for social inclusion and the betterment of the living conditions of the ethnic groups, and to explore means of advancing the collection of disaggregated data about the living conditions of the ethnic groups. The latter followed recommendations of the Cartagena and Lima international conference *Todos Contamos*. Throughout the preparation of this work, a special cooperation was set up with the DANE to improve the ethnic self-identification question⁸ and its inclusion in the national household surveys as a testing ground for its inclusion in the forthcoming National Census in the year 2005.

Data and Sample

One of the challenges of this report was how to address poverty in the ethnic groups. Methodologies for studying poverty have not been confirmed for the indigenous and Afro-

⁸ In 1993 the National Census in Colombia included a question of racial and ethnic self-identification. The Question read: Do you belong to any ethnic group, indigenous group or black community? (a) yes, Which? (b) no? . Also, a special form was elaborated to gather information in the Indigenous Collective Territories-*Resguardos* - This form contained 46 questions and was applied in parallel to the census in the Indigenous Communities. See chapter three for reflections on problems encountered with the self-identification question.

Colombian groups and there are no studies dealing with both cultures. Different social and cultural contexts require different study strategies (Von Gleich and Gálvez, 1999), and the characterization of well-being must take into account the cultural matrix of the society under examination. Therefore, an approximation was made to what indigenous and Afro-Colombian groups understand as quality of life. To this end, five group workshops were held in indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities and 98 interviews were conducted with indigenous individuals and Afro-Colombians in rural and urban areas. (See Annex 1 for details of the field work methodology.)

Lack of current disaggregated statistical information, especially concerning the living conditions of Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities, was a major problem. The report relied on the 1993 national census and used the Quality of Life Index (QLI) developed by the National Department of Planning and the Social Mission Program as the referent of the national quality of life standard.⁹ (See annex 3 for details of the Index of Living Conditions and their corresponding point system.)

Although migration is bringing changes in the geographic location of the ethnic groups, particularly for Afro-Colombians, there is still a close link between geography and location of ethnic groups. Bearing this factor in mind, the study aims to explore the difference in access to education, health, public services, and housing of municipalities predominantly inhabited by Afro-Colombian populations (with 75 percent or more¹⁰) as compared to municipalities similar in size and level of “rurality” but where Afro-Colombians are less than 70 percent of the total population of the municipality.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to do a similar exercise for indigenous *resguardos* or municipalities, as the survey of quality of life is not applied in the indigenous communities. However, direct information from the 1993 census and secondary sources of information have been used to reflect the living conditions of these groups.

Theoretical Framework

There is a corollary between the area marked by poverty and social and economic exclusion, and the territories inhabited by indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians. Since the 1960s, there have been persistent indications of a correlation between poverty and ethnic populations without a supporting quantitative and demonstrative analysis, in part due to insufficient statistical information, and in part to methodological problems. Public policies tend to consider that ethnic groups are by definition poor or are part of the so-called vulnerable population. These assumptions underscore the need for detailed study of the level of well-being of indigenous

⁹ The Quality of Life Index (QLI) is a compound indicator, constructed using an algorithm that makes it possible to carry distinct variables to the same dimension and weigh them. It combines in a single measure, ranging from 0 to 100 points, the variables of potential access to physical goods (physical characteristics of housing, potential access to residential utilities) and variables that measure current and potential human capital (education of the head of household and those older than 12, potential access for children and youth to school services, composition of family). The better the grade, the better the living conditions for the population analyzed. It has been applied to the results of the 1985 and 1993 censuses at the national, departmental, and municipal levels, to the 1996, 1997, 1998, and 1999 national housing surveys, and the 1997 Quality of Life Survey.

¹⁰ National Development Plan for the Afro-Colombian Population, DNP, 2001.

peoples and Afro-Colombians and to measure the gap between these groups and other population sectors.

The Multiple Dimensions of Poverty

For Encalada et al., poverty is the result of an inequitable distribution of resources. Other views emphasize the conditions in which social groups obtain income and the ways they spend it. There are many facets to poverty and it is perceived differently according to the social group. One facet is poverty as objective expression of the satisfaction level of the basic needs of human beings; another is the one's own well-being—the individual level of satisfaction; yet another is the perception of others. For the Kogui indigenous people of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, according to the various methodologies used in the area, *the poor* are *Westerners*, whom they call “*lesser brothers*” and whom are generally pitied. According to their tradition, the Kogui had consumer goods in a remote past but had to abandon them because they led irremediably to spiritual poverty that for the Kogui means the loss of the basic laws that govern social life.

There is an obvious poverty that refers to the availability, opportunity, and social capacity for accessing fundamental public health, education, housing, and employment services. There are other attributes of the quality of life in the ethnic groups that *refer to the way* that these services are provided and accessed; and there are some qualities that are specific to each group or culture. The limitations in knowing what ethnic groups understand as their own well-being has on many occasions led to *assistentialism* and to the adoption of actions that do not inquire into reality of these population groups. It has resulted that ethnic groups view economic poverty on the same level as cultural poverty. Cultural poverty is characterized by the loss of the aboriginal languages, religious traditions, cultural institutions of alliance among different groups, and, in general, the loss of ethnic world views and traditional knowledge. Within ethnic cultures, cultural poverty translates into the feeling of loss of identity, self-esteem, and opportunity. Beyond the loss of their maternal language, the greatest feeling of cultural poverty perhaps results from the disappearance or devaluation of traditional authorities, particularly the *taitas*, *curacas*, and *chamanes* who are spiritual leaders of indigenous communities.

Colombia is one of the countries in which the richest segment of the population accumulates the greatest share of the income and has greater and better access to services. This inequality is closely related to the distribution of productive and social assets, opportunities, and the fruits of development. Measurements of inequality are generally related to the concentration of property, to income, and consumption costs, as well as to the benefits from the policies, plans and programs, health, and education. To a lesser degree, measurements of inequality are related to disparities of participation in politics and public policy, a topic that particularly interests the indigenous and Afro-Colombian groups.

Well-Being, A More Holistic View of Reality

Well-being expresses the levels of satisfaction related to the factors that determine the quality of life of a social group: education, health, security, and access to basic services. It implies the *means* to achieve well-being—income and resources—as well as the freedom and the opportunities to divest them (Sen), which in ethnic groups generally translates into the self-governance of a group's territories.

The distribution of the results should then be seen in relation to the distribution of assets and the opportunities (Sen 1992, Ferranti et al.). Sen distinguishes between *achievement* and the *freedom to achieve*. Between the *achievements* is *doing* and *being* (or the “functionalities”) that make up well-being, more than the *means* of the well-being, such as income and resources. This distinction is important in examining the subject of well-being and the disparities in the ethnic groups, where there are decisive functionalities such as identity, autonomy, and liberty to practice one’s own culture, together with claims related to assets such as access to health and education. From the standpoint of indigenous and Afro-Colombian rural traditions, these functionalities involve the individual as well as the community. The community—as a collective entity—needs capacities and adequate conditions to exercise self-determination. In other words, an indigenous person seeks his well-being, but this well-being is defined within the context of community relations. When the “Root for Root” program for the substitution of illegal crops was adopted in the department of Putumayo, the indigenous communities of this region, without exception, rejected the method of compensatory payment that was given to farmers on an individual basis, and adopted a general formula of collective payment and the foundation of a common fund of well-being administered by the regional organization. The regional consensus was that improved living conditions in communities would lead to improved living conditions for families and individuals.

The freedom to achieve [well-being] and the capacity [to do so] are limited by the way the ethnic groups are articulated and related with the majority society. During the field interviews conducted for this study, it was common to hear the opinion that what was important—in addition to access to public health services and education, for example—was also *the way* that these services are provided and, most important, *limitation to the freedom of access*. Afro-Colombians reported racist and discriminatory practices that limit their access. Some black people, for example, believed that because they were black, it was useless to look for work in a company.

Well-Being and Ethnicity/Racial Discrimination

This report does not intend to make an in-depth examination of the factors that create or the dynamics that shape racial and ethnic discrimination in Colombia. However, in this work, examples of the large and persistent differential outcomes by race and ethnicity in various social domains are provided. Also, the ethnic groups studied, particularly the Afro-Colombian group, openly and persistently identified racial discrimination as an obstacle to obtaining access to private and public social services and goods.

Race was a defining factor in the position and the social roles of colonial society. As slaves, Afro-descendants occupied the lowest position in the social pyramid and were excluded from any social or political participation. Their liberation from slavery did not mean that Afro-Colombian populations could participate with equal rights, however. Even after the demographic depression of the early centuries of European colonization and after they gained their freedom from slavery with the decision of the Crown, Amerindians were forced to work in servile positions on plantations in the Colombian Andes. The *resguardos*, located on hillsides and with poor-quality land, enabled their survival. The Colombian Government’s admirable policies have upheld since the 1960s the historic claim of the Amerindians to this land. However, just as important as the land is the historic existence of the *cabildos*, the communities’ self-governing institution.

In Colombia, racial segregation is not institutionalized. However, there is historic social discrimination that largely ignores and devalues the condition of Afro-descendants, and to a lesser degree indigenous people. There is historic evidence that shows how the culturally and socially

differentiated groups—the ethnic groups—have lived a situation of *generalized social exclusion* and have experienced limitations to their possibilities and opportunities of social mobility.

Afro-Colombians, due to racial, historic, and cultural factors, are limited in their capacity to fully participate in the social and political life of Colombia and in particular have experienced limitations in their ability to gain access to education, employment, and healthcare. They experience *a generalized inequality* (Ferranti et al.), the result of a historic accumulation of disadvantages. The pioneering studies of Fridemann and Arocha show how the *invisibilization* of Afro-Colombians has been used as a mechanism of exclusion or marginal inclusion that in part explains the precarious participation of this large population.

In cities, racism acts as an exclusion mechanism by preventing access to educational institutions, health services, housing, and employment. In the interviews and workshops conducted for this study, it was common to hear urban Afro-Colombians voice their experiences of labor and housing discrimination and generally their perception of their “lack of opportunities.”

Indeed, racial and ethnic discrimination occurs when a member of one racial group is treated less favorably than a similarly situated member of another group and suffers adverse or negative consequences. (Blank, 2004¹¹). Both individual and “institutional” discrimination affects the capacity of individuals and communities of a certain ethnic or racial group to have quantity and quality access to goods, services and opportunities which can make a difference in improving their living conditions and achieving well-being.

In the Latin America Region, and Colombia is not an exception, the notions of race and class are closely intertwined. Lack of disaggregated data and shortages in the self-recognition of the ethnic groups—in this particular case Afro-Colombians—makes difficult the establishment of a direct correlation between poverty and racial discrimination. It is possible, however, to assert that Afro-Colombians and indigenous peoples have lower living conditions than even other non-black non-indigenous poor Colombians.

¹¹ Measuring Racial Discrimination. National Research Council of the National Academies. Washington, D.C. 2004.

Chapter 2

Well-Being and Poverty: The Perspectives of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous Peoples

Quality of Life and Well-Being

The concept of quality of life for Afro-Colombians and indigenous people includes desires, aspirations, and the particular way in which the physical, social, and psychological needs of a person or group are satisfied. The understanding of the concept of quality of life among indigenous and Afro-Colombian peoples is affected by factors relating to access to the basic components of subsistence such as housing, health, and education and socio-cultural aspects including their sense of identity and belonging to a community.

As a result of the work done in workshops and interviews, the term *quality of life* was equated to “*living well*” and “*having well-being*.”¹² This individual or collective well-being represents the ability to have all the conditions necessary to satisfy the basic, social, and cultural needs required to life in a suitable and dignified way.

However, this notion of well-being and quality of life changes depending on the specific cultural characteristics of each ethnic group—whether indigenous or Afro-Colombian—as well as its rural or urban location. For example, the perception of well-being in a rural black community differs from that in an urban settlement or municipal center. Similarly, indigenous communities and black communities view this concept differently. This difference is affected by each group’s vision of the universe as well as the historical process that each group has undergone.

General Elements and Fundamental Components for Well-Being According to Afro-Colombians

The notion of quality of life and well-being for Afro-Colombians is associated with obtaining the elements necessary for a dignified life,¹³ with equality in terms of conditions and opportunities while maintaining the black culture’s own referents. These elements, which reflect some basic needs, may be tangible or intangible and cannot always be valued or measured. In the first instance are elements essential to survival such as basic health services, education, housing, and employment, among others. The second group of needs includes values, feelings, and emotions that are needed for a person and a community to live and feel well.

Table 2 shows a hypothetical classification of the needs and components of quality of life and well-being as perceived by Afro-Colombian groups and individuals in the community workshops

¹² In most workshops the term “quality of life” was perceived as a concept foreign to the culture of these peoples. This concept, according to those attending the workshops, has been used to connote a dignified life according to values and standards as measured by Western culture.

¹³ When a dignified life was discussed in the workshops, reference was made to being able to have necessary things that anyone should have, such as health, education, and housing.

and in interviews. This classification makes a distinction between the needs and elements identified by rural and urban Afro-Colombians. These elements include the means necessary to meet the basic needs of any individual, but also nontangible social and cultural elements that are decisive in order for Afro-Colombian individuals and communities to achieve a good quality of life. These elements include basic needs such as health, education, and employment along with social recognition social networks, and emotional and individual needs. Well-being is thus a notion that includes different facets and factors that are interrelated. These findings confirm the conclusions of the Voices of the Poor study of the holistic perception in impoverished and marginalized sectors of poverty and its causes. Beyond these conclusions, however, it is clear that the sense of belonging to a community, family ties, and the need for recognition, affirmation, and acceptance of their racial condition are elements that specifically differentiate the conception of well-being among the Afro-Colombians from the rest of the society.

Table 2: Needs and General Elements Associated with the Quality of Life of Afro-Colombian Communities and People

<i>Needs</i>	<i>Urban Afro-Colombians</i>	<i>Rural Afro-Colombians</i>
Basic needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment, housing, health, education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land, health, education, access to markets for their products under favorable conditions.
Social and cultural needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living in peace with neighbors • Not being discriminated against in terms of access to housing and employment • Holidays • Opportunities to meet with others in the same ethnic group. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition of identity as ethnic group • Funeral rites, patron saints' days, and customs of black people.
Psychological-emotional needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having a companion—Married life • Recognition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family relationships • Having good relations with the community • Not being envious • Being safe on their territory • Having affection

Source: Interviews and working groups, 2004.

There are marked differences between Afro-Colombians who live in urban areas and those whose live in rural areas. Whereas rural-Afro-Colombians—similar to indigenous communities as the study shows further on—consider that territory is a fundamental asset associated with economic “security,” for the urban Afro-Colombians social relations and the consolidation of their identity are conditions closely associated with overcoming factors of social exclusion and racial discrimination and needed for quality of life.

Table 3: Conditions for Quality of Life in Afro-Colombian Communities

<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tranquility. This depends on access to work, housing, and health services • Having equal rights and opportunities • Not being discriminated against 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having security. This depends on land tenure, the absence of armed conflict, food security, and being able to participate in public decisions affecting their territories.

General Elements and Fundamental Components of Well-Being for Indigenous Peoples

“An Indian without land is not an Indian.”¹⁴ This sentence denotes the importance of land in indigenous life. Being part of a community and being able to rely on a spiritual leader (*dueño de maloca* [longhouse leader], *mamö* [priest], *paye* [shaman], *taita* [healer]), are other pillars of the concept of well-being.

The notion of quality of life from the indigenous perspective is *holistic* with each component closely linked to the others. As fundamental axes in these relationships, territory and culture are essential components upon which an entire series of socio-cultural relationships are built. Other components such as spirituality and traditional practices and customs are also fundamental to the concept of quality of life and to individual and collective well-being.

Secondarily, access to health, food, and education are part of the quality of life concept. However, how these needs are satisfied is usually framed by cultural values, such as traditional health and education.

For both urban and rural indigenous people, quality of life is a concept that contains the same common referents such as territory, culture, and identity. Although indigenous peoples have new expectations and needs to be met in the cities, such as the need for housing, jobs, and education, they retain the concepts of their indigenous vision of the universe and traditions, and their customs and rites persist, although they are not unchanged. In interviews conducted with urban indigenous people, the original territory was always an important referent, as was the link with the original community, although they may be far away.

Table 4 shows a summary of the categories of indigenous needs in rural and urban settings.

What is Poverty for the Indigenous Community?

In indigenous communities, the term poverty is most often associated with the lack of health, housing, employment, income, access to communications, education, and so forth. In addition, the notion of poverty takes on another connotation, primarily in traditional communities. The lack of territory is synonymous with poverty since not having territory alters all the social and cultural relationships on which community life is based. The territory is an integral part of the collective well-being of these peoples and its absence produces a situation of poverty. Within this context, all those things of a spiritual, axiological, and symbolic nature that are an integral part of the

¹⁴ Indigenous person in Putumayo. Interviews, 2003.

notion of well-being and that, if lacking, would be interpreted as a factor in “poverty.” For example, in some cases poverty is based on the lack of a spiritual leader or shaman to guide and protect the community. Example, “Poverty is not having a *payé*.”¹⁵

Table 4: General elements and Components Related to the Quality of Life of Indigenous Communities and People

<i>Needs</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
Basic needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment, housing, health, education • Ability to return to original territory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Territory and autonomy, health, access to markets for products under favorable conditions
Socio-cultural needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reaffirmation of identity in urban contexts • Equal rights • Participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition of identity • Community organization • Cultural recovery • Having a traditional leader • Being able to hold rites in sacred places
Psychological-emotional needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having a companion—married life • Belonging to an indigenous organization. Role of ethnic organizations • Meeting people from the same territory • Love and affection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being part of a community • Ties with elders • Ties with territory as a factor in identity

The infringement of individual and collective rights, the lack of attention from the government, the inability to obtain access to communications, and the lack of participation in decision-making on public policy were considered to be synonymous with poverty by the indigenous people interviewed.

For most indigenous people living in urban areas, poverty is associated with the lack of access to housing, work, and other necessary requirements to survive in cities, as well as a close relationship between people and their territory. For the urban indigenous people interviewed for this study, social and emotional relations remain closely tied to the territory of origin and are their permanent reference of identity.

In this context, the understanding that indigenous people have of the concept of poverty is associated both with the general parameters for measuring poverty (for example, access to health, education) and with specific socio-cultural elements that characterize the culture and logic of life of indigenous peoples.

¹⁵ Spiritual leader in the Vaupes communities.

Poverty from the Perspective of Afro-Colombians

The term poverty from the Afro-Colombian perspective is generally associated with not being able to provide for basic needs such as access to health, education, housing, and employment and the lack of cash income. However, it can be inferred from the interviews for this study, that the concept of poverty varies according to the rural or urban location of Afro-Colombian communities or individuals. In rural areas, poverty is associated with lack of access to the above-mentioned services, which has been seen as the result of the lack of attention from the State in areas of Afro-Colombian population and the absence of policies designed to improve the quality of life of this group. Poverty in this case is also understood as isolation from the rest of the country, including from municipal centers. Afro-Colombian relationship with the territory—as in the case of indigenous communities—is related to all of the economic, social, cultural, and identity activities that take place within the territorial space. However, as the study will show in the following section, there are differences between the relationship of rural Afro-Colombians with the territory and that of indigenous peoples. There are numerous reasons for this, which will be the topic of in-depth research, along with the historic and cultural reasons that cause this differentiation.

For Afro-Colombians who for various reasons have migrated to the major cities, poverty is associated with the lack of opportunities for obtaining access to education, housing, health, and work. This situation is closely tied to the discrimination and lack of opportunity that occurs in cities with respect to the black population. In this context, the concept of poverty for urban Afro-Colombians is also tied to infringement of individual rights, the breakdown of ancestral referents and identity (in the case of young generations of Afro-Colombians born in Bogotá), and the loss of personal relationships of affection and solidarity.

In summary, poverty from the Afro-Colombian perspective has to do with the lack of opportunities for obtaining access to basic services. This lack of opportunities varies according to the rural or urban location of the Afro-Colombian individual or community. For urban Afro-Colombians, poverty is directly tied to marginalization and social exclusion based on phenotypical characteristics—skin color, hair texture, physical characteristics.

The Priority of Elements for Well-Being

Once the groups and interview subjects had made a general list of their principal needs, they were asked to arrange them in order of their importance. The groups agreed on priorities through discussion. The results are presented below in Table 5.

Well Being: Prioritization of Components

The components that make up quality of life for Afro-Colombian and indigenous people were similar. However, as shown in Table 5, the priorities assigned to each of these components are different for indigenous and Afro-Colombian people and according to urban or rural residence. Gender differences were notable primarily among the Afro-Colombian groups.¹⁶

¹⁶ Although the group's gender balance was an important factor when designing and constructing the groups, there were no separate discussions for men and women.

The Territory: Essential Priority for Well-Being.

For both rural and urban indigenous and for rural Afro-Colombians, the territory seems to be the essential element for improving their quality of life. The territory is synonymous with life and is essential to the existence of these people as collective subjects separate from the rest of the population. What “territorial” means is essentially the same in the two groups, but it does take on different cultural connotations for each group.

For indigenous peoples, territory is the basic pillar on which the quality of life concept is built. On this subject, some of the people interviewed indicated: “Territory is the primary component from which well-being derives. Without territory, there is no life... it encompasses the environment that surrounds us, the trees, the animals, and the spirits...” Autonomy over its management refers to the ability to make decisions about the territory and the natural resources found in it. Collective ownership of the territories brings with it recognition of ancestral rights.

In turn, for Afro-Colombians in rural areas, their territory represents more a guarantee of subsistence and continuity of cultural traditions. As for indigenous peoples, territory for rural Afro-Colombians is closely associated with the ability to use it autonomously according to the community’s usage and custom. Unlike the indigenous peoples, Afro-Colombians place greater emphasis on family than on the community in the effective appropriation of land and its resources, although this does not negate a collective sentiment regarding the defense of territorial rights.

As shown in Table 5, the territory or “the land” was not a factor identified by the rural control group as being among the six most important priorities. However, the importance of caring for the environment, plants, and animals was fully discussed in the group.

Table 5: Well Being—Priorities

<i>Priority</i>	<i>Rural Indigenous</i>	<i>Urban Indigenous</i>	<i>Urban Control</i>	<i>Urban Afro</i>	<i>Rural Afro</i>	<i>Rural Control</i>
1	Territory	Health	God ¹⁷	Health	Territory	Health
2	Health	Education	Health	Work	Health	Food
3	Housing	Territory	Work	Education	Education	Work
4	Food	Food	Education	Food	Clothing	Education
5	Own government	Housing	Families	Housing	Housing	Housing
6	Cultural identity	Work	Recreation	Family	Food	Family

Source: Workshops and Interviews, 2004.

¹⁷ This concept was associated with being able to have tranquility, inner peace, and positive attitudes. Emphasis was placed on group work, with the concept of God not being tied to religious institutions.

Health and Illness

Generally speaking, the concept of health for indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians is associated with physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual well-being. In the workshops and interviews, health was associated not only with medical and hospital care but also with a series of factors that make a person feel well. From the indigenous perspective, it is an integral concept associated with emotional, spiritual, and physical elements in the person's relationship with the surroundings. Illness is generally associated with a disorder or imbalance between these elements. Managing health is closely associated with the proper management of the environment ("having a good relationship with Mother Nature"). Despite the greater importance of traditional medicine in the indigenous context, they also see the need to be able to obtain access to Western medicine through primary care centers and hospitals. However, indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians complain about inadequate and low coverage of government health services in the indigenous territories.

From the perspective of the black communities, the state must ensure health, providing access to basic medical services, creating new health posts, improving the quality of services and providing access to medications. The workshops placed great emphasis on access to the subsidized health system through the Health Service Providers (*Empresas Prestadoras de Servicios de Salud—EPS*) and Administrators (*ARS*).

In the cities, health was seen by indigenous and Afro-Colombians in terms of work and performance in work-related tasks. In the case of the urban control group, health was basically understood as the ability to obtain access to medical services and food. For rural non-indigenous and non-Afro-Colombian groups, health is more a synonym for physical well-being and self-esteem.

The differences between men and women in terms of the emphasis placed on health as a priority for well-being were notable, both in the interviews and in the group discussions. For women, health was essential, and in some cases more important than other needs. This is associated with the well-being of both the family and the community as a whole.

Housing and Basic Services

Generally for both rural indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians, housing must respond to the cultural traditions, the logic, and the lifestyle of the people. This includes being able to build a lifestyle in the ancestral territories according to the traditions and customs of each people. For indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians in urban areas, this concept is associated first with being able to count on having one's own home, with having access to basic services and with living in a "safe place".

From the indigenous viewpoint, a house is not just the dwelling structure. It is also the hearth and the place where the three cosmological spaces are found (that is, the world above, this world, and the world below). Crops and orchards form part of the home area. Water was seen as part of the 'house'. Water must be close to the house when there is no piped service.

The concept of housing for Afro-Colombians (urban and rural) was associated with basic services (for example, plumbing, sewer, electricity), hygiene (solid waste management), clean and potable water and "good equipment" (for example, furniture, appliances). Various interviews with urban

Afro-Colombians indicated, “the very condition of being black reduces our possibility of obtaining a house or rental.”

Education

For urban Afro-Colombians, education is considered a priority for living well. From the indigenous perspective, education includes the formal education imparted by the state together with the transmission of each people’s knowledge through the generations. Although state education is important for personal development and interaction with “non-indigenous people,” education cannot be disconnected from the education of traditional values and knowledge that the community passes to each of its member. Communal education is based on ancestral knowledge and the mechanisms by which it is transmitted from one generation to the next. On this subject, reference was made to the need to strengthen, respect, and maintain these systems of knowledge, giving them the same value as education imparted by the state. Thus, as the indigenous people themselves stated: “[education] is the transmission of the community’s own knowledge and the education provided by the state,” “it is being trained with the *paye* and also at the university.” In this context, bilingual education was considered essential as a mechanism for preserving the language and cultural heritage of the different indigenous peoples.

For Afro-Colombians, particularly those in rural areas, education in general is primarily associated with access to government educational systems and with traditions on a supplemental basis. Being able to obtain access to different levels of education means being able to have equal conditions and rights compared to the majority society and to have social status within the community.

In the workshops and interviews conducted in rural Afro-Colombian communities, education is synonymous with progress and better living conditions. It is associated with the ability to have the conditions and infrastructure needed to obtain easier access to schools, high schools, and universities. Urban Afro-Colombians insisted that having access to education was necessary to “make progress and get ahead.”

Work versus Employment

The concept of “work” is different for those who live in rural areas and those who live in cities. For indigenous communities, beyond being an economic activity that provides food and the means needed to live, work represents the ability to have a social activity that integrates and reaffirms community ties. Work, then, has a social and cultural connotation that goes beyond the conventional idea of a job as a means of subsistence. Urban indigenous people, however, referred to work as needing “to provide just compensation..., [and] guarantee the individual rights of the worker.”

For urban Afro-Colombians, work is associated with the ability to obtain access to dignified and fair employment that respects workers’ rights and provides equal conditions for black people. Work means “a good salary and good working relations, not being humiliated,” “good treatment, worthy treatment” as well as being “valued as an employee and as a person.”

The importance of the community as the place for developing and strengthening social capital acts as both an economic and an emotional system of social security, ensuring that the individual

has a permanent place in social life, and this is why there is a close association between the individual and the community, even when the individual is far away from the community. Good social and community relationships play an important role in the quality of life of indigenous and Afro-Colombian peoples. The well-being of the community and the individuals that comprise it depend to a large extent on social interactions within and outside the community.

Generational Differences

For young urban and rural Afro-Colombians, as for the younger indigenous generations, education, health, and employment are primary. Both Afro-Colombian and indigenous youth in urban and rural areas expressed the need for access to new technologies—particularly the Internet—and the use of new communications methods that allow them to interact with “other cultures” without losing their own cultural identity. Their insistence on the importance of the community infrastructure as the basis for development was expressed in all the urban and rural groups between Afro and indigenous youth ... sometimes irritating older people who also participated in the discussions.

Socio-Cultural Needs: The Most Notable Components

Cultural Identity

Cultural identity appears as an important element for the quality of life of indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians. There are three basic social referents in identity: the original community, cultural tradition, and territory. Identity as a social-cultural need was associated by indigenous and Afro communities interviewed for this study with “how things are seen and the world is interpreted, is thought.” In interviews conducted with indigenous people in Bogota, identity took on a great importance as an indispensable factor in the survival of indigenous persons in cities. The indigenous identity in the urban context becomes dynamic, and is maintained and adapted to the person’s new social-cultural conditions, while not losing essential elements of identity and reference to the territory of origin.

In the case of rural and urban Afro-Colombians, the family and its community of origin play a central role, similar to the case of the non-Afro-descendant urban group (the urban control group). For those Afro-Colombians interviewed the family is not only the emotional and support reference in difficult situations, it is also one of the principal sources of affirmation and reproduction of black identity. Thus, the Afro-Colombian identity, according to those interviewed, is associated with the family’s community of origin and their ancestral traditions, particularly with the permanence of the extended family, local and regional cultural factors, and with characteristics of race. In the first case, identity manifests itself in the sense of belonging to a community of origin and the life of fellow Afro-Colombians in the urban context;¹⁸ in the second

¹⁸ Social/demographic research in Cali shows the importance of family networks as the primary receiver of Afro immigrants to the principal cities of the country. Afro-Colombians that migrate for economic reasons are received in the homes of direct family members or members of the extended Afro-Colombian family. Women, as central figure in the Afro-Colombian family, play a crucial role in the reception and insertion of new immigrants to the dynamics of the district neighborhood or geographic residential area. For more details, see, “*Afro-Colombianos in the metropolitan area of Cali: Social/Demographic Studies.*” Barbari y Urrea, April, 1999. University of Valle, Cali, Colombia.

case, identity manifests itself through the symbolic family ties, traditional holidays, and death rituals. In urban contexts or contexts involving permanent contact with the “non-Afro” society, identity is associated with racial and ethnic solidarity. In the interviews conducted in Bogota, the cultural identity of Afro-Colombians—defined as the continuity of the traditions and values of the communities of origin—is not contemplated as a determining factor in the quality of life of the Afro-Colombians in the cities. This observation does not hold true for indigenous peoples. This does not mean that cultural manifestations are not kept in the cities, but perhaps indicates an important capacity to assimilate to cultural changes and the capacity to develop expressions of urban culture—for example, in music, rap, hip-hop, and so forth (P. Wade, 2002).

Security

The meaning of security was broken down by the indigenous groups and interviews into two factors. The first, tranquility, was directly related to the situation of armed conflict experienced in collective territories and the presence of belligerent forces (guerrillas, paramilitaries, army) that threaten the peace and security of the inhabitants. This concept of tranquility was not only related to the armed conflict, but to a series of elements that give tranquility—for example, having what is necessary to meet the daily needs of food, housing, and so forth. Tranquility “involves not having armed conflict but also being at peace, for example, being able to be tranquil means that someone can provide for his family—I don’t sleep peacefully because I know I can’t feed my children.” Combined with these elements is the security that the state must provide to all its citizens, and also the security that traditional authorities provide the community. To have security is “to be protected by the state and the security forces.” In other words, “what has been built in the community is my guarantee of permanence in the community and the protection of the community.” Such security means reaching agreements with armed groups.

For Afro-Colombians, security comes from state guarantees to protect the integrity of the communities and Afro-descendant persons within the “territories.” Afro-Colombians who were interviewed persistently testified about insecurity in the areas where a significant number of them live. Moreover, testimonial offered during the study with urban Afro-Colombian groups led the study to conclude that the racial discrimination felt by the Afro-Colombians is “a source of insecurity along with other insecurities... [sic] when there is a problem (fight) and everyone comes out running, we blacks better not run because there the police will go after us and pick us up, just because we are black.”

Communities and Community Organization

Community, as a space for building and strengthening social capital, is important as a social security system both economically and emotionally; community provides a person with a permanent place in the social life. In the case of indigenous persons, there is a close relationship between the individual and the community even if they are far apart. Good social and community relations fulfill an important role in the quality of life of the indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians. The well-being of the community and the individuals that comprise that community depends to large extent on the social interaction within and outside the community.

Community organizations were considered an important component for quality of life. This was associated with development of the *Planes de Desarrollo* for indigenous reserves and *Planes de Manejo* for collective territories of black communities. This is a new factor in the life of the

country's ethnic groups, the introduction of "modern" planning documents for the management of their territories and the delivery of basic services—health and education in particular—in the case of indigenous reserves. In some of these documents, the communities expressly state what they understand by well-being and quality of life. This element is included among the priorities of both indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities, linked to the notion of territorial autonomy.

Some Final Reflections

Urban and rural indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities have the same basic needs as all other individuals or social groups in Colombia. These basic needs include health, education, housing, and access to services. However, it is clear that in addition to these factors, their well-being involves social-cultural elements specific to the traditions, history, and the way these groups relate to the rest of Colombian society. For indigenous peoples, particularly the younger generations, access to formal education is as important as the keeping and reproduction of cultural values, community of origin, traditional and ancestral authorities, and the language. All of these traditional and ethnic ways are recognized in the Colombian constitution as an essential part of the diversity that characterizes the Colombian nation. The close relationship between the rural indigenous and Afro-Colombian groups with the territory as a space for building and reproducing economic, social-cultural, and environmental relations suggest the great importance of developing and consolidating the environmental resources and the social and organizational capital that the territory offers. The implementation of local development plans is a social and environmental investment that is essential for the creation of wealth, which in turn helps improve the living conditions of these groups.

There are important differences in the needs and the elements needed to ensure well-being among indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians. For Afro-Colombians, and especially the rising urban Afro population, family and the state appear to play crucial roles in creating conditions and opportunities for achieving well-being. While the family is the economic, emotional, and identity point of support, Afro-Colombians expect a proactive state role in the creation of opportunities for their development. These opportunities clearly appear to be limited due to the "invisibility" with which the Afro-Colombian community has lived and the discrimination that they expect to be subject to, according to the Afro-Colombians interviewed. As a result of this historic exclusion, Afro-Colombians consider public policies to be the most effective tool for reversing this historic reality. They want to be an integral part of Colombian society and their aspirations for achieving well-being are similar to those of both rural and urban non-Afro groups.

As expressed by the indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians, insecurity—the result of conflict and marginality in the urban zones—has had a particularly perverse effect on individuals, families, and communities. It has displaced communities, brought about the loss of material goods and environmental assets, and has threatened the reproduction of Afro-Colombians' rich social, political, and cultural capital.

The next section of this work uses statistics to explore the situation of indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians with regard to access and enjoyment of the basic elements and priorities for the achievement of their well-being.

Chapter 3

The Well-Being of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous Peoples in Numbers: Progress and Challenges Ahead

Introduction

Given what has been learned in the previous chapters, in the following pages, quantitative data will be the basis upon which to present the situation of indigenous and Afro-Colombian peoples in terms of achievements and gaps with respect to the elements and factors that indigenous and Afro-Colombian peoples identified as primary during the field work. The information shall be presented in the same order of priority as assigned by the groups. The chapter begins with reflections on the status of the official information available for the indigenous and Afro-Colombian groups and the tools and methods for gathering disaggregated information.

Statistical Information Available

Building an overall picture of the situation of ethnic groups in Colombia, based on statistics, has been an enormous challenge. Several difficulties were identified. Poverty related statistical information is collected using various instruments and methodologies; few of them allow for disaggregation of the data on indigenous and Afro-Colombian peoples because ethnic origin is not included as a variable. This limits the ability to do estimates and comparisons both between ethnic groups and the general population and within ethnic groups. Key information gathering Surveys (such as Household Surveys, Poverty Surveys, and so forth) do not reach the most remote indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities thus failing to capture data on these populations. Although the 1993 National census gathered included an ethnic self-identification question difficulties have arisen in writing the questions on ethnic and racial self-recognition and in interpreting the responses. As has been already noted, there are self-recognition difficulties, particularly for the Afro-Colombian population. The indigenous reserves are not included in the measurement and construction of the quality of life index, due in part to methodological problems; hence possibilities to estimate and compare achievements in quality of life between indigenous peoples and the general population are limited.

Thus, the disaggregated analyses of quality of life for indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations presented in this chapter are only an approximation of reality. Notwithstanding, statistical analysis is still the fundamental tool for the definition of public policy and the examination of the currently available data can provide guidelines for defining public policies that respond effectively to the needs, expectations, and specific characteristics of indigenous and Afro-Colombian groups.

Recommendations for improving the gathering of disaggregated information for indigenous and Afro-Colombian peoples are provided in Chapter 4, "Recommendations and Future Actions."

Circumventing the Challenges

The report relies on the 1993 national census and as explained in the introduction, uses the Quality of Life Index (1997) developed by the National Planning Office and the Social Mission Program. This is complemented by secondary sources of information.

In response to the large difference between the number of Afro-Colombians who recognize themselves as “blacks” in the 1993 census (502,334) and official estimates of the Afro-Colombian population (8.3 to 10.5 million), and in view of the concentration of Afro-Colombian population in specific geographic areas of the country (mostly in municipalities and Departments of the Pacific and Atlantic Coasts), a different approach based on territorial/geographic location is proposed in this work.

The study identifies and organizes all the municipalities of fewer than 300 inhabitants into four groups according to their population and level of rurality (40 percent) and identifies within these groups all the municipalities where, according to the estimates of the DNP, there is a 75 percent or more concentration of Afro-Colombians. These municipalities are treated as Afro municipalities. Municipalities with a population of Afro-Colombians estimated to be less than 75 percent are treated as control municipalities. The study explores and compares the quality of life indices and their different variables (education, health, housing, public services) achieved by the Afro and control municipalities.

Predominantly Afro-Colombian municipalities identified by the study are encountered in the departments of Antioquia, Atlántico, Bolívar, Chocó, La Guajira, Magdalena, Narino, San Andres, Sucre, and el Valle del Cauca (see Annex 2).

Table 6: Grouping of Municipalities with Less than 300,000 Inhabitants

<i>Groups of Municipalities</i>	<i>Population Size</i>	<i>% of Rural Population</i>	<i>No. of Municipalities</i>		
			<i>Afro</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Total</i>
Group 1	Less than 100,000 inhabitants	Greater than 40%	83	749	832
Group 2	Less than 100,000 inhabitants	40% and less	23	143	166
Group 3	Between 100,000 and 149,999 inhabitants	Greater than 40%	2	1	3
	Between 100,000 and 149,999 inhabitants	40% and less	1	8	9
Group 4	Between 150,000 and 299,999 inhabitants	25% and less	1	16	17
Total Municipalities			110	917	1.027

Source: Based on DANE, 1993 National Population and Housing Census.

(1) The 40% and more range includes three municipalities.

There are two major weaknesses in this methodology. First, it is not possible to make a comparison between blacks and non-blacks (whites, mulattos, and so forth) in terms of achievements. However, it is possible to make comparisons based on territories of Afro- and non-Afro concentration. Second, this methodology excludes the largest metropolitan areas where a growing Afro-Colombian population lives. To overcome this pitfall, secondary information on the Afro-Colombian situation in the cities will be used.

Fundamental Priorities of Afro-Colombians and Indigenous Peoples in Numbers

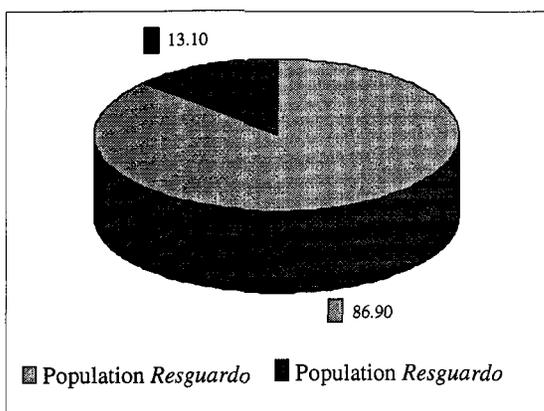
Territory: A Fundamental Good for the Quality of Life of Rural Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Peoples

Most indigenous peoples live in their collectively held territories that are known legally as *resguardos de indígenas*. This legal form of recognition of indigenous territorial rights started in the Colonial Period as a way to protect the native population. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Government undertook an aggressive program to establish *reservas indígenas*, which recognized collective indigenous usufruct but not ownership. The reserves established at that time were later declared to be *resguardos* by law, that is, a real and effective form of collective ownership of the land.

Between 1966 and 2001, the national government acquired an additional 189,716 hectares of privately owned land for the exclusive benefit of the indigenous communities. These lands were intended for restructuring, for expansion of the original colonial reserves, and in some cases for establishment of new reserves.

As of December 2001, there were 638 *resguardos* benefiting 682,504 indigenous peoples and covering an area of 30.8 million hectares or 27 percent of the national territory.

Chart 1. Indigenous Population with *Resguardo* and without Defined Territory, 2001



Source: DNP, 2003.

Of the titled areas, 98.59 percent corresponds to 583 *resguardos* established through the Agrarian Reform process, where 65.10 percent of the indigenous population lives; and 1.29 percent of the area recognized as owned corresponds to 55 *resguardos* of colonial origin inhabited by 21.80 percent of the indigenous population. Of the total indigenous population, 3.80 percent (29,863 people) occupies undemarcated territory. Of the total population, 9.17 percent (71,989 people) live in groups or are individuals land holders.¹⁹

The collective titling of Afro-Colombian lands is based on Transitory Article 55 of the Political Constitution of 1991, Law 70

¹⁹ DNP/INCORA 2002.

of 1993, and Decree 1745 of 1995. Land tenure by Afro-Colombians corresponds in customary law to the systems of kinship in family trees and domestic units. These groups exercise territorial rights over land areas based on the first occupation and generational succession on cultivated lands—for example, banana plantations—mines, and wooded land held as “back-up” on family farms or plots.

For all of the Afro-Colombian territories recognized by Law 70, the collective land titling process has led to the recognition of rights to nearly the entire Pacific shoreline, covering a total of 4,555,373,373 hectares, most of which is tropical forest. This area is held for the benefit of 270,972 people in 52,307 families. Approximately 20 percent of the total territorial mass recognized legally as Afro-Colombian ancestral territory is awaiting the land titling process. This task was pending at the time this report was being prepared for publication.²⁰ Despite the significant advances made in securing title to communal lands for Afro-Colombians, the territorial benefits of Law 70 have not been extended to black communities other than along the Pacific coast.

Table 7 shows the important advances made, particularly with respect to establishment of indigenous reserves. Still waiting, however, is a segment of the indigenous population for whom collective territories have not been secured. These are communities for whom it is more difficult to secure title because they live alongside peasant communities or other ethnic groups or because there is limited access to sufficient amounts of land. The principal departments where the question of land is critical are Putumayo (Páez and Awa from the Andean area), Tolima, and Nariño. In the latter two departments, indigenous peoples have small farmsteads and poor quality lands.

The delineated indigenous and Afro-Colombian communal territories constitute in their entirety one of the largest reserves of biological diversity worldwide. The Colombian Amazon region and the Chocó biogeographic region are both covered by extensive forests that have been preserved due to the presence of traditional communities that have historically properly exploited the natural resources of their territories. The exploitation of the biodiversity potential and the mining and energy resources of the collective territories must not challenge the ways of life of the peoples and communities.

Table 7: Afro-Descendent and Indigenous Population in Terms of National Total

	<i>National</i>	<i>Indigenous</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Afro</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Indigenous + Afro</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Population</i>	43,000,000	785,356 ²¹	1.8	8,300,000 ²²	19.3	9,085,356	21.1

Source: The authors, 2004.

²⁰ In 1994, the World Bank approved a loan for US\$39 million to support the Natural Resource Management Program on the Pacific Coast of Colombia. Major achievements include securing collective title to 2,359,204 hectares, benefiting 497 Pacific black communities. The program also supported the establishment and expansion of 56 reserves, which means an expansion of 324,288 hectares benefiting indigenous peoples. E. Sánchez, Roldán Titulación territorios Comunales afro-colombianos e Indígenas Costa Pacifica de Colombia. World Bank, 2002. Washington, DC

²¹ DANE, 1993 Census adjusted to 1997.

²² U. Valle, estimate.

Health Achievements for Indigenous Peoples

According to the 1993 national census, infant mortality rate (IMR) for indigenous communities was 63.3 for every 1,000. The country's IMR was 41.3 for every 1,000 live births; the rural IMR was 50.5 for every 1,000 live births. This high rate shows the disadvantaged situation of the indigenous inhabitants in terms of health conditions and healthcare as compared to urban residents. The data show higher and worrisome female mortality in those under age four. (M. Piñeros and M. Ruiz, 1998). The health situation is a concern given the incidence in the indigenous population of contagious diseases, along with a high incidence and prevalence of diseases associated with conditions of poverty, particularly those that seriously affect the infant population. Although there is no specific assessment, in the view of many there is an incidence of malnutrition, a phenomenon that particularly affects children in communities whose systems of production have been changed by the expansion of illegal crops and violence.

Indigenous peoples have high coverage under SISBEN and have set up health services providers.

Indigenous Colombian Illiteracy and Participation in the School System

According to the census data, the indigenous illiterate population includes 106,221 people, or 24.7 percent of the total indigenous population and 0.37 percent of the country's illiterate population. Of the total number of indigenous people over aged 5 who speak Spanish (318,458) and who represent 59.8 percent of the total for this population group, 33.4 percent do not know how to read or write. The enrollment rate for the indigenous population aged 5 to 24 years is 31.2 nationally. School attendance is roughly similar for indigenous girls and boys in the group aged 5 to 14 years; from age 15 on, the rate for females declines significantly. The percentage of illiteracy among the indigenous population is critical in the large majority of departments.

Living Conditions of Afro-Colombians: A Municipal Perspective

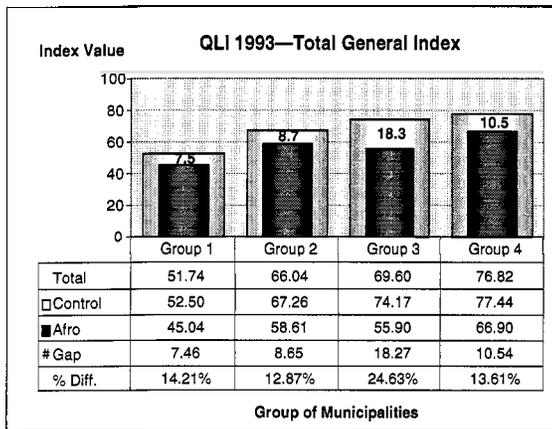
The data that is presented in this section are the result of comparing quality of life indicators for municipalities with Afro-Colombian populations estimated at 70 percent or more²³. The identification of the 'predominantly Afro-Colombian population' was based on estimates made by the National Planning Department, and classification of the size and rurality of the municipalities was based on the 1993 National Population and Housing Census. Access to education, infant mortality, housing, and public services shall be examined and compared.

Differences in the General Quality of Life Index

There is, without exception, a generalized difference in quality of life between municipalities with a predominant presence of Afro-descendant populations regardless of the size of the municipality, and the proportion of urban or rural population. This implies lower access to all the variables used in the construction of the Index of Quality of Life, namely education, health, housing and public services. The differences between the Afro and non-Afro municipalities studied present percentage gaps in the quality of life according to a pattern whereby the larger the size of the municipality and the greater their concentration in urban areas, the larger the gaps. In

²³ National Planning Department. Plan Nacional de Desarrollo de la Población Afro-Colombiana, Bogotá, Colombia, 2002.

Chart 2: Difference in Quality of Life in Predominantly Afro Colombian Municipalities



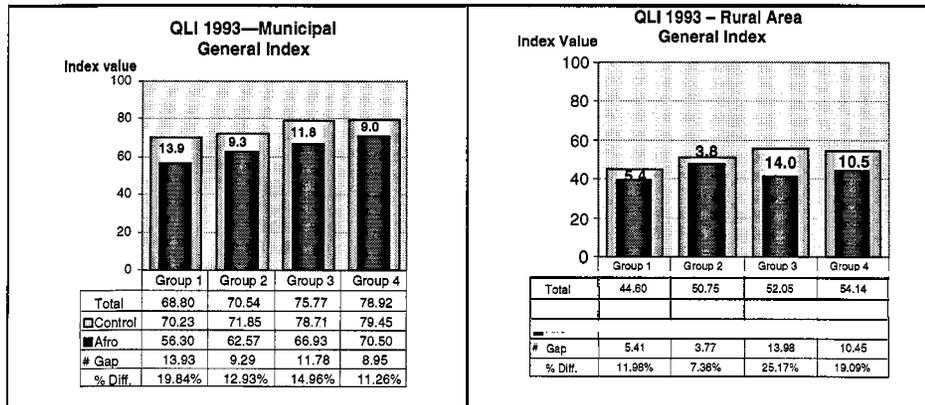
Source: Authors. Based on DNP, Social Mission, 1993 Census.

municipalities. These data correspond with previous studies and estimates that indicate that Quibdo and Tumaco are among the most impoverished zones of the Pacific. These two municipalities in effect are grouped under municipality group 3. Chart 2 shows the general differences in the Quality of Life Index for the four groups of municipalities and their respective controls.

There is, however, a caveat to this observation. Despite the gaps in access for Afro-Colombian municipalities, which is expanded the larger the size of the municipality, the living conditions of Afro-Colombian living in the urban areas of municipalities with 300 thousand inhabitants are higher as compared to small and more rural municipalities (Chart 3). This marks the differences between rural and urban living conditions.

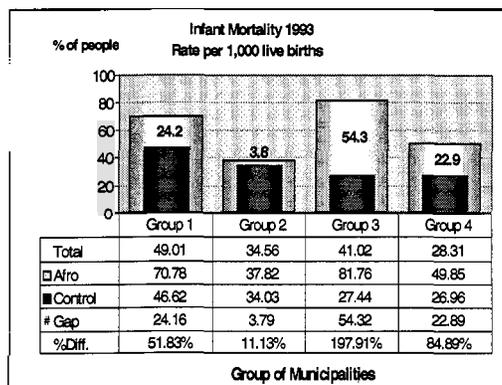
other words, the more rural and the smaller a municipality is, the fewer differences there are. This indicates high levels of poverty in the areas where Afro-Colombians live, even with significant differences, even when the generalized poverty that affects the municipality is shared. Particularly noteworthy in this pattern is the situation of medium-size municipalities in group three, whose rural population is 40 percent or less. In these municipalities, the pattern is broken, showing a major gap for the case of predominantly Afro-Colombian municipalities compared with the control municipalities for the same group of municipalities. Indeed, municipality group 3 would appear to have living conditions more like smaller, more rural, and more impoverished

Chart 3: Imbalances between Municipal Centers and Rural Areas



Source: Authors. Based on DNP, Social Mission, 1993 Census.

Chart 4: 1993 Infant Mortality in Groups 1-4 (rates for 1,000 live births)



Source: Based on DNP-UDS-DIOGS, (SISD), 1995-1998; in turn based on DANE, 1993 National Population and Housing Census.

in municipalities with a higher urban population. In short, the quality of life indices in municipal urban centers are significantly higher than in rural areas. The increasing migration of Afro-Colombians to urban areas is therefore not surprising. In the case of Afro municipalities, the rural quality of life index is 44 points, whereas the urban index is 70.50 points. The difference underscores the abysmal living conditions in rural areas.

Following the general trend in the index, small and highly rural municipalities generally have higher mortality rates that decline as the size of the municipality increases and the size of the central provincial city grows. However, in the case of Afro-Colombian municipalities, the patterns are irregular. Municipality group three breaks with the pattern and shows extremely high rates of infant mortality. As the study will show in subsequent pages, the high rates of infant mortality could have a close relationship with the low levels of community service infrastructure (drinking water, disposal of solid waste, and so forth). Also it is probable that there are problems related to the death records in the health centers located in the heads of provinces. If this is the case, the data could also be showing a low infrastructure of hospitals and healthcare centers in this municipality group. It is interesting to note that in the case of the municipalities in the second group (less than 100,000 inhabitants with 40 percent or less of the population in the rural area), the differences between Afro and non-Afro municipalities are the lowest.

Urban-Rural

The imbalances between municipal centers and rural areas are striking for all the municipalities. When the information is disaggregated, the general index of quality of life in rural areas for non-Afro municipalities starts only at 45.16 and reaches 54 points. In other words, half of the rural population of non-Afro-Colombian municipalities is just halfway to achieving quality of life. There seems to be a general lack of attention to rural areas, particularly those in larger municipalities. This lack of

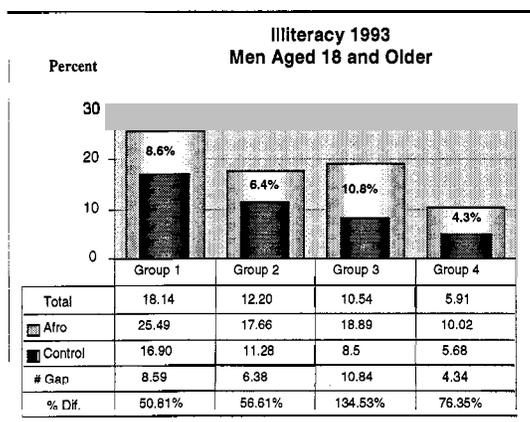
municipalities. The harsh living conditions in the rural areas, particularly among Afro-Colombian municipalities, are present even

Table 8: 1993 Infant Mortality in Group 3 Afro Communities (rates for 1,000 live births)

Department	Municipality	Infant Mortality	
		(b) Rate	(b)/(a)
Afro Municipalities			
Chocó	QUIBDO	106.76	3.9
Nariño	TUMACO	97.63	3.6
Magdalena	CIENAGA	40.89	1.5
Average for control municipalities (a)		27.44	1.0

Source: Based on DNP-UDS-DIOGS, (SISD), 1995-1998; in turn based on DANE, 1993 National Population and Housing Census.

Chart 5: Illiteracy in Afro and Non-Afro Municipalities by Gender



Source: Authors. Based on DNP, Social Mission, 1993 Census.

Access to Education and Gender Differences

Being able to read and write is essential for individual development. The Afro-Colombians interviewed during the fieldwork saw education as a means to “get ahead” and to improve their living conditions. Beyond this, education was seen as a fundamental means to gain legitimacy, respect, and recognition. However, educational access and achievement for Afro-Colombians living in predominantly Afro municipalities are lower than in non-Afro municipalities, which in turn have lower educational achievement than the national average. Although during the period 1993-1997 the percentage reduction in illiteracy in the Pacific region was 5.4 percent (from 18.9 percent in 1993 to 13.5 percent in 1997), unlike the national average of only 1.6

percent, the Pacific region has the least cumulative education. According to the report on the analysis and sectoral results of decentralization (DNP-DDT, 2002), in this region 29.3 percent of the population in the poorest quintile still has not joined the school system.

There is a gap in literacy levels for women in all municipalities. This gap widens dramatically among rural Afro-Colombian women.

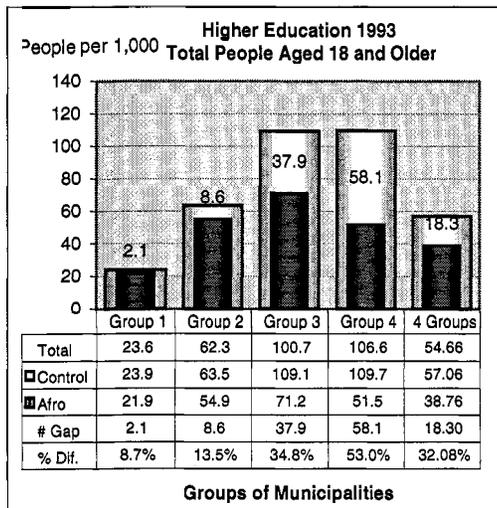
Few Afro-Colombians complete the full cycle of secondary education and still fewer complete higher education both in urban areas and in the Afro and non-Afro municipalities studied. In the specific case of the Pacific region, despite improvements in school attendance, the achievements have certainly been limited. It is estimated that in 1993, 33.1 percent of the region’s population entered secondary school and that 19.3 percent managed to finish; in 1997, 36 percent entered secondary school and only 18.4 percent managed to finish. The situation with regard to admission to university is striking. In 1993 18.7 percent of the population in the region entered university and only 1.7 finished a career. In 1997 an estimated 17.8 percent entered and 2.8 finished university.²⁴ In spite of the increase in the number of students that complete a university career as shown in Chart 5, these data are far removed from the university attendance averages when Afro- and non-Afro municipalities are compared.

Gaps in Education and Access to Employment

These gaps in participation in intermediate and higher education among Afro-Colombians has been seen by Colombian researchers as a factor reducing the “employability” of Afro-Colombians in the urban labor market. According to Urrea and Ortiz (1999), “the decline in school attendance among Afro-Colombians in the group aged 15-19 years puts pressure on the labor market, particularly among the youngest job seekers...this group is practically unemployable, particularly in the context of the pattern of modernization with the opening up of an economy that requires a

²⁴ DNP, 2002.

Chart 6: Afro and Non-Afro Secondary and Higher Education Gaps



Source: Authors. Based on DNP, Social Mission, 1993 Census.

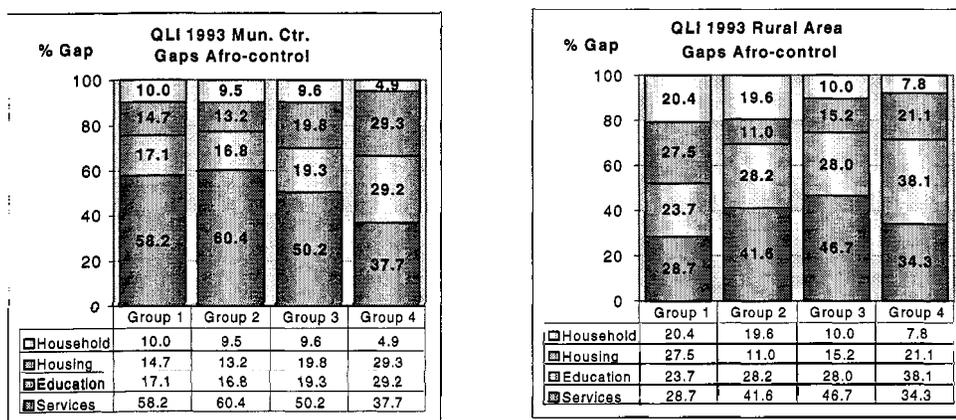
more educated labor force.”²⁵ According to a study conducted by the National University—Social Studies Center (UN-CES), 60 percent of employed Afro-Colombians have not completed secondary education (UN-CES, 2002:92) and Afro-Colombians receive less income than non-Afro-Colombians doing the same work.

Access to Public Services and Utilities

As expressed by the Afro-Colombians consulted in the fieldwork, housing quality and access to public utilities were seen as being related to achieving well-being. A “well-equipped” house also needs clean drinking water. The limited access to residential public utilities is

simply extraordinary in Afro-Colombian compared to non-Afro-Colombian municipalities. These deficiencies could to a great extent explain the different total quality of life indices for Afro-Colombian municipalities. The gaps for Afro-Colombian municipalities are between 58 and 37 percent higher in rural areas, declining toward urban areas. Again striking is the critical situation, practically a constant across all the variables, in the municipalities of Quibdo, Tumaco, which are in group 3. There is a 50 percent gap in access to public utilities between these municipalities and non-Afro-Colombian municipalities with similar populations and rurality. Housing deficiencies are particularly striking in rural areas, although there is a significant housing deficit in the municipal centers that is nearly equal to the educational deficit (Chart 7).

Chart 7: Municipal Centers/Rural Area QLI Deficit



Source: Authors. Based on DNP, Social Mission, 1993 Census.

²⁵ Urrea, Ortiz. *Social-Demographic Patterns, Poverty and the Labor Market in Cali*. CIDSE-World Bank-Univalle. Cali, 1999 p. 16.

In urban areas, specifically in the city of Cali, the distribution map of the Afro-Colombian population in the city coincides with notable imbalances in the distribution of the city's public utilities. The study done by Urrea and Ortiz (1999) for the World Bank on poverty and the labor market in Cali clearly shows how poverty, and deficient access to public utilities coincide in the *comunas* with concentrations of Afro-Colombians. Forty percent of Afro-Colombians surveyed by the UN-CES in Bogotá (2002) lived in precarious dwellings (rooms and rentals). Close to 50 percent of the homes used only one room. Close to 73 percent of households were rentals or sub-leases.

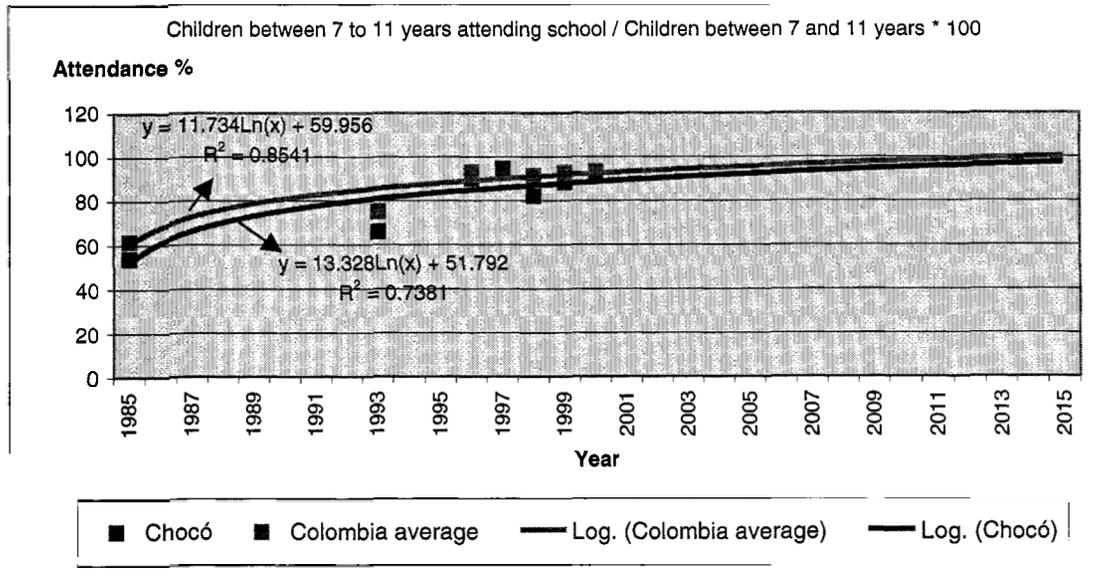
The Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Colombian Ethnic Groups

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were approved in September 2000 by the states of the United Nations as a commitment of individual states and the international development community to working toward eliminating poverty and sustaining development. The goals are grouped under nine priorities and include halving poverty, enhancing environmental management and improving access to water, land and natural resources for the poor. The goals represent an opportunity to address the current levels of poverty and inequality affecting indigenous peoples and communities of African descend in the Latin America Region and in our particular case in Colombia. The situation of indigenous and Afro-descendant groups in relation to the possible scope of the goals established in the MDGs has just begun to be studied in the Latin American region.

Information available and gathered by this study indicates that reaching the Millennium goals for ethnic groups in Colombia implies the adoption of different policies, plans, and programs, primarily to deal with less-developed regions. For illustrative purposes in this study, the study uses the results from the 2003 dwelling survey and data from primary school attendance and infant mortality for the department of Chocó and compares them with national trends. With regard to primary education (7-14 years) as shown in chart 8, the sharp increase in the overall rate of school attendance in the department, if kept at their current levels, could favorably position the scope of the millennium goals in the department of Chocó with regard to primary school attendance.

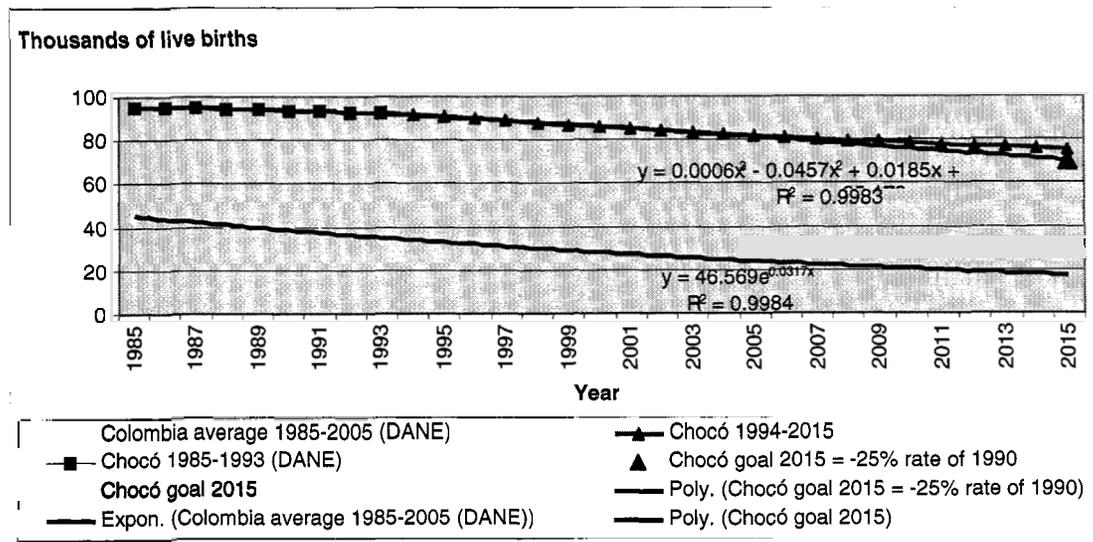
The situation of infant mortality for the Department of Chocó is not so favorable. As shown in chart 9, a significant effort will be needed to reduce the high rates of infant mortality in Chocó compared to the national averages. However, if infant mortality were to go down at the same pace as the national average from 1985 to 2005, the Department of Chocó could see a reduction of 17 points in its infant mortality rate by 2015. This means, its rate of mortality would go from 92.2 per thousand live births to 75.4 per thousand live births. Even though the difference would be significant in comparison with the national average, this reduction would represent an important improvement in the quality of life of the communities of the department of Chocó.

Chart 8: Projected Primary Education Coverage 1985-2015, Department of Chocó and Colombia Average



Source: 1993 and 1996-2000, Social/demographic Indicator System, DNP-UDS-DIOGS; 1985 and 1993, DNP, Social Mission Report 1998.

Chart 9: Projected Rate of Infant Mortality 1985-2015, Department Chocó and Colombia Average



Source: 1993 and 1996-2000, Social/demographic Indicator System, DNP-UDS-DIOGS; 1985 and 1993, DNP, Social Mission Report 1998.

Some Final Reflections

In spite of the limitations of disaggregated information concerning basic indicators of well-being for individuals and Afro-Colombian communities, it is possible to identify some patterns.

First, significant progress has been made in the past decade in the delineation and land titling of indigenous and Afro-Colombian territories in spite of the fact that an important part of the ancestral black territories are still waiting to be titled.

Second, there are gaps in the access of indigenous and Afro-Colombian groups to basic services, social assets, and opportunities that must be closed for these groups to achieve well-being. Improvements have been made over the past decade (for example, the creation of greater educational opportunity in the areas with a high concentration of Afro-Colombian and indigenous populations). However, high levels of illiteracy and infant mortality, combined with a low access to public services, are common to the indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities. Because of historic deficiencies in the offering and providing of services and goods in municipalities with concentrations of Afro-Colombian and indigenous peoples, the situation can only be improved through a major financial effort by these municipalities. There also needs to be accompanying incentives both from the communities and from institutions to increase the social, financial, and environmental capital of the area.

Third, there is general poverty in the rural areas of municipalities with a concentration of Afro-Colombians regardless of the size of the municipality. In fact, the data appear to indicate that progress made in the offering of goods and services in the leading areas of provinces might be occurring at the cost of developing new opportunities and expanding the offer of services in rural areas. Municipalities with a concentration of Afro-Colombian population have even lower levels of illiteracy and sanitary services than the rural areas, the. In rural areas, the difference between Afro-Colombian municipalities and non-Afro communities is also significant. It should be noted however, that in urban areas, there is a greater offer of services and opportunities, which translates into a higher level of well-being.

Fourth, the most noteworthy gaps deal with access to education and infant mortality. A little more than half of the indigenous population is under the age of five, and a third of these children does not know how to read or write. For Afro-Colombians, the challenge is middle school. Approximately one third of young people of African descent in the municipalities and departments of enter secondary school, but few finish and even fewer go on to study at the university. These low levels of access to secondary education appear to affect employment options and the income levels of the Afro-Colombian population.

With regard to infant mortality, indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians are clearly disadvantaged compared to the rest of the country according to municipality statistics. Even though there were no correlations made in this study in the performance of the different variables analyzed, municipalities that offer a low level of services also evidence high rates of infant mortality.

Colombia has high levels of poverty and a lack of well-being in population groups and regions without concentrations of indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations. However, the situation of these groups is clearly below the national average when comparing similar geographic areas where these populations have not been historically concentrated. This reality suggests the need to strengthen policies and programs that specifically target indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations. The following chapter will explore some possible actions.

Chapter 4

Closing the Gap: Components of a Program of Action

The results of this analysis indicate the need to implement a strategy and a series of public initiatives targeting indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations and their geographic territories with rural and urban concentration, in order to improve the living conditions of these groups. For indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities, these initiatives need a different approach as a way of adapting them to their expectations of well-being, social and cultural specificities, and to the size and population proportion that each represents with regard to the total population of the country. In Colombia, there are currently affirmative action types of experiments being conducted in indigenous communities with relation to the recognition of territorial rights, electoral districts for ethnic groups, and measures that facilitate indigenous access to higher education could be extended to employment, health, housing, and productive activities, all central aspects in what consider basic to “living well.” There are also efforts to increase the offer of primary education in predominantly Afro-Colombian municipalities that could be extended to the indigenous population. Common to both populations are the needs to reduce infant mortality, increase the offer of public services in their communities, and support of the sustainable exploitation of environmental resources. Attention is also needed for displaced indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations.

The design and monitoring of programs targeting indigenous and Afro-Colombian peoples requires including the question of ethnic self-recognition in official censuses and surveys. Along these lines, valuable advances have been made by the DANE but consideration would have to be given to including ethnic self-recognition in the Ongoing Household Survey, the Quality of Life Survey and the Survey on the Information System for Identification and Classification of Potential Beneficiaries of Social Services.

The more traditional indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities need more and better attention from the State. The qualitative aspects of the services provided to these communities, particularly in education, health, and productive services must serve the specific cultural characteristics of these populations. In the development of this work, there was a general feeling noted among rural indigenous and Afro-Colombians that the services provided to them do not consider the characteristics of their lives and culture. These are also communities that, because they have legally recognized and defined ancestral territories, have a strong sense of belonging to the land and seek greater participation in public decisions that may affect their territories.

Policies, plans, and programs that seek to increase the quality of life and approach well-being find their foundation and justification in the Constitution of 1991 and the subsequent regulatory framework. For this reason, public action must contribute to strengthening the cultural identity and the institutions of ethnic groups, to promoting their effective participation, and to ensuring that ethnic groups benefit from the gains in well-being achieved by the society as a whole.

This approach involves recognition, respect for, and appreciation of ethnic groups, whether indigenous or Afro-descendent, by Colombian society. Along these lines, public action should

also be directed to promoting respect for their dignity, rights, and cultural singularity, an aspect in which the educational system and communications play a primary role.

Consistent with the Development Plan, technical and financial resources must be mobilized to allow the formulation of the National Long-Term Plan for the Afro-Colombian Communities. The mobilization of community councils and grass-roots organizations must become an opportunity to undertake a process of participatory planning from the bottom up. A similar opportunity is provided by the territorial arrangement leading to the adoption of Indigenous Territorial Entities (*Entidades Territoriales Indígenas*—ETIs) included in the Draft Organic Law on Territorial Organizations approved in the first hearing by the Congress of the Republic.

A strategy directed to ethnic groups and that recognizes progress made needs the following strategic guidelines.

1. Improving the quantity and quality of information on the living conditions of indigenous and Afro-Colombian peoples by including questions relating to ethnic self-recognition in official censuses and surveys. Along these lines, valuable progress has been made by the DANE but consideration should be given to permanent inclusion of self-recognition in the Ongoing Housing Survey, the Quality of Life Survey, and the Survey on the Information System for Identification and Classification of Potential Beneficiaries of Social Services.
2. Affirmative actions for Afro-Colombians should on the whole represent another pillar in the strategy, taking into account the opportunity costs of public investment.

Easier access to productive assets for the population in indigenous reserves and collective territories of black communities, expanding the general social security system by targeting communities, families, and individuals access to health, creating incentives to attract and retain Afro-Colombians in secondary education are all measures that will contribute to reducing the gap between the living conditions of the Afro-Colombian families and individuals and the rest of national society.

The design of a specific strategy to improve the social and economic situation of indigenous and Afro-Colombian groups in the context of the Millennium Declaration and Millennium Development Goals may also be an opportunity to guide public actions and mobilize the entire population around the need to create special programs aimed at reducing infant mortality among indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities and at increasing literacy in the indigenous communities.²⁶

3. Completing the demarcation of the collective territories of the “black communities” and providing technical and financial support so that these communities as well as the indigenous reserves can produce development alternatives based on the sustainable use of biodiversity resources. Strengthening the administration and governance of the ethnic territories is extremely important in that this could help to protect natural resources and strengthen collective mechanisms for dealing with the threat of forced relocation.

The informed participation of the peoples and communities themselves in the formulation of policies, plans, and programs is a very important component of the strategy for ethnic groups.

²⁶ The Department of Bolívar has taken the initiative to adopt a special program to monitor the Millennium Goals. A pilot program could also be adopted in that department for the settlements of Ciénaga de la Virgen and the municipality of Marfalabaja.

This means revising the mechanisms provided in regulations such as the *consultivas* of Afro-Colombian communities and the indigenous *mesas de concertación*, as well as the mechanisms provided for consultation on the use of natural resources, seeking greater participation from grass-roots organizations and better coordination between localities, regions, and the national level.²⁷ It is necessary to imagine and design efficient instruments and opportunities for consultation and planning, seeking alternatives, not necessarily based on the regulations, to allow for flexible dialogue between the communities and public institutions, increasing the use of the communities' cultural resources (Davis and Partridge: 1994).

4. Differentiating the attention given to the displaced indigenous and Afro-Colombian population. The design of targeted programs should include as an integral part: (i) improved registration of and information on displaced Colombian families and individuals, and to identify in the registration the ethnic origin of the displaced (ii) protections of the assets acquired by the all displaced with particular emphasis on land and other assets legally ascribed to indigenous and Afro Colombians, and (iii) creation of networks to serve the needs of minors and provide training and access to micro loans for displaced women who are heads of households.
5. Educating for diversity and not racial and ethnic discrimination. Collective attitudes of discrimination change based on the modeling of inclusive behaviors by the State, but also based on intensive processes and broad coverage of education for equality. The marked feeling of discrimination expressed by Afro-Colombians, the uneven living conditions and marked differences in opportunities existing between ethnic groups and the majority of the population point to the need to develop ongoing and mass education for equality programs. These should include schools, workplaces, and public offices that foster discrimination.
6. There should be no contradiction between public development goals and actions, and the aspirations of the indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities. For this reason, sectoral policies, plans, and programs must be harmonized with the directives that the national government issues and maintains on the subject of ethnic groups.²⁸ Along these lines, it is important to keep the indigenous and Afro-Colombian territories in mind in organizational plans and in the design and construction of infrastructure projects, so as to avoid infringement of the rights of these populations and to preserve the integrity of their territories and cultures.
7. Financial, administrative, and technical resources must be given to the lead institution on matters relating to ethnic groups, the Directorate of Ethnic Groups of the Ministry of Justice and the Interior, in addition to seeking greater efficiency in public investment in programs directed to serving ethnic groups. This directorate has a great deal of political will and profound knowledge of the problems of ethnic groups, but the lack of resources for its operations limits its sphere of action and the effectiveness of its work.

²⁷ Notable in the Colombian case are numerous areas where indigenous peoples have representation—the CARs, for example, and many state bodies—where there has been as yet no assessment of the results and effectiveness of this participation.

²⁸ For example, it is not logical for a policy on conservation and use of natural forests not to consider the indigenous reserves and the Afro-Colombian collective territories that together cover more than 60 percent of the country's continuous forests.

The creation of appropriate monitoring and evaluation mechanisms and ongoing training for indigenous and Afro-Colombian public administrators and officials in their ethnic territories and municipalities can contribute significantly to improving the levels and effectiveness of public investment. Greater public investment without monitoring and training may turn out to be insufficient.

During the work done for this study, the Bank team heard numerous opinions expressing concern about the allocation and efficacy of the indigenous share of resources from the current revenues of the nation - PICN - on the part of indigenous reserves. Between 1994, when this process began, and 2001, these resources amounted to 197,612,000,000 constant 2001 pesos (DNP-DDT 1994). For the situation of the municipalities and departments of Afro-Colombian concentration, the Department of Chocó received 253,400 million pesos (at the year 2000 value) between 1998-2002, which represents 0.89 percent of the total national allocation equal to 28,450 billion. The Department of Chocó received proportionally higher per capita allocations compared to departments such as Antioquia and Valle del Cauca. Regarding these resources, which are expected to grow by an estimated 2 percent per year, there has as yet been no impact assessment. This assessment would help greatly to redirect investment based on successful experiences such as those noted in the department of Cauca, and to overcome the difficulties encountered.

Recommendations

Recommendation No. 1: Improvement and Disaggregation of the Information on Ethnic Groups

Information systems are today a necessary condition for the planning and adoption of policies, plans, and programs to improve the living conditions of ethnic groups.

The concern for increased information regarding living conditions and the phenomena of poverty and the quality of life among indigenous and Afro-Colombian peoples and communities is recent. With respect to the indigenous peoples, there have been some efforts since the 1970s to learn about their demographic characteristics and well-being. For black communities, this concern is recent and derives from the 1991 Constitution.

The development of a baseline has now become necessary due to the legal mandates contained in the 1991 Constitution and the increasing visibility and inclusion of the indigenous and Afro-Colombian population in planning processes and institutional actions, particularly in the fields of health, education, and recognition of territorial rights.

DANE has been including systematic information on indigenous groups since the 1970s. However, the institutional information is spread out. There is generally an enormous gap in information and research on the quality of life of indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians. Statistical work on ethnic groups is also seriously limited due to absence of adequate indicators and measurements for the indigenous or Afro-Colombian population that would allow for standardization and comparability of data.

The 1993 census had problems capturing the Afro-Colombian population. The information on this sector of the population, despite the census effort, is very deficient. The question in the census form was not fully understood. This has led to a lag in demographic information on Afro-Colombians. The 2000 Household Survey and the 2003 Quality of Life Survey have made it

possible to improve the information and there are optimistic expectations regarding the next census.

Actions Recommended:

1. ***Improve the self-recognition question and the operational strategy for the 2005 census in order to better capture the population belonging to ethnic groups; include the ethnic variable in the Ongoing Household Survey and the Quality of Life Survey of DANE and expand the population samples used in order to capture a higher number of indigenous and Afro-Colombians.*** Evaluation of the 1993 census has indicated the need to improve the ethnicity question in the census form and to improve the awareness and training components. It also points to the need to capture the Afro-descendent population in the cities. The Socioeconomic Research and Documentation Center (CIDSE) at the University del Valle and the Research Center for Social Dynamics (CIDS) at the National University have explored methodologies for studying Afro-descendents that should be taken into account.

The inclusion and participation of ethnic groups in the census project requires setting up a national committee of ethnic groups for participation in the 2005 census project, an initiative framed as part of the World Bank-DANE cooperation agreements on the MECOVI project and follow-up to the meeting in Cartagena and Lima on “We All Count.”

A strategy for the systematic and updated gathering of data concerning the living conditions of the indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations must include—in addition to a question on ethnic self-identification—expanded population questionnaires that are used in the ongoing dwelling surveys and in the poverty studies. Considering that costs incurred by the increase in size and geographical location of the samplings, it is recommended that an oversampling be performed in the geographical areas of indigenous and Afro-Colombian concentration at least once a year.

2. ***Include membership in ethnic groups in the survey of the SISBEN.*** This is the principal instrument for capturing poor people and guaranteeing on a personal basis the delivery of basic services.
3. ***Develop a quality of life index adapted to the specific characteristics of ethnic groups based on the QLI/DNP/National Human Development Program methodology.*** According to this study, the QLI developed by the National Human Development Program of the DNP offers the best opportunity for developing, within the same conceptual and methodological framework, a quality of life index for ethnic groups.

Recommendation No. 2: Complete the Demarcation and Titling of Collective Territories of Black Communities.

Strengthening the indigenous reserves and the collective territories of black communities is the starting point for a strategy directed to guaranteeing the conditions for the current and future existence of indigenous peoples and traditional Afro-Colombian communities.

The ties to the land are an essential part of the community condition and the sense of belonging and identity. As of December 2001, there were 638 reserves, benefiting 682,504 indigenous peoples, with an area of 30.8 million hectares, which represents 27 percent of the national territory. The process of securing collective land title for black communities (Law 70) has led to

the recognition of territorial rights over practically the entire Pacific coast, covering a total of 4,555,373 hectares, most of them in rainforests, benefiting 270,972 people grouped in 52,307 families.

Actions Recommended

1. Lands

Evaluate, together with ethnic groups, the situation of legally recognized ancestral land of Afro-Colombian communities that still have no demarcated territory in order to move ahead with securing title. This includes Afro-Colombian communities in the Andean and Atlantic regions.

2. Natural Resources

Support the generation of grassroots development alternatives based on the sustainable use of biodiversity resources. Based on the biological heritage of the indigenous reserves and the collective territories of black communities, sustainable alternatives for generating income that contribute to the well-being of the population and the appropriate use of natural resources must be developed in collaboration with the communities themselves. This also involves practical measures to protect, recover, validate, and promote the traditional systems for learning about, managing, and sustainably using biological resources so that there will be policy guidelines like those contained in the 1998 National Biodiversity Action Plan.²⁹

There should be cooperation with peasant productive systems in the economy so that these systems can reach sustainable levels of productivity. As a result, a special credit, finance and technical assistance policy should be established for the indigenous reserves and the collective territories of Afro-Colombian communities with a model for technology transfer that values local knowledge and practices.

Extending the coverage of the Agricultural Guarantee Fund (FAG) and the Incentive for Rural Capitalization (ICR) to places where there is no *Western* business rationale is not sufficient. The Ministry of Agriculture could evaluate past experiences like the PPCI Program for Cooperation in the Development of the Cauca, international cooperation projects in the Pacific and in the Amazon, and the experiences of many NGOs and, based on lessons learned, could create a special program for ethnic groups.

It is important for the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of the Environment (MAVDT) to actually keep ethnic groups in mind when adopting policies and measures to protect the rights and intellectual achievements of the communities with respect to their knowledge, practices, and innovations, so that these achievements will be recognized and properly protected and so that the aspirations of these groups will be reflected in the producers' rights that must be developed and implemented by the national government, if the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) treaty is ratified.

²⁹ These directives formulate three important aspects of policy: a) Ensure social and cultural conditions to allow communities to produce and transmit their intellectual achievements, b) Preserve the territories of ethnic groups and local communities and the biodiversity that exists there, the basis for their material and cultural life, and c) strengthen community organizations. See: Alexander von Humboldt Institute for Research on Biological Resources. Colombia Biodiversidad Siglo XXI: Propuesta técnica para la formulación de una plan de acción nacional en biodiversidad. Ministry of the Environment. Bogota, 1998

3. Administration and Governance of Ethnic Territories

Support the (indigenous) Territorial Development Plans the (Afro-Colombian) Community Management Plans for the organization, management, and administration of their territories. Many communities already have these plans and internal regulations. It is necessary to move ahead in this direction so that all reserves and collective territories have these planning and management tools.

Recommendation No. 3: Care for Basic Needs in Health, Education, and Basic Sanitation.

1. Education

The conditions of well-being of ethnic groups are uneven and unfavorable in comparison with the rest of the population. There are generally higher rates of poverty, illiteracy, and infant mortality as well as many other indicators.

The premise is that if individuals, families, and communities belonging to ethnic groups had better access to education, health, and basic public services the gap between the living conditions of this sector of the population and the rest of the national population would be reduced.

Actions Recommended:

Increase the enrollment (and retention) rate in basic education for indigenous people and intermediate education by expanding primary education services to indigenous communities. This involves specific actions to design curriculum content consistent with the communities cultural characteristics, and an ongoing program of consulting, monitoring, evaluation, and production of teaching materials in their native language. It also means pedagogical training and updating of indigenous teachers. Incentives for an increased enrollment and retention of Afro-Colombians in secondary education includes the creation of educational loans and fellowships for Afro-Colombian youth. Support academic strengthening of Afro-Colombians from less developed neighborhoods in order to reduce grade repetition and dropout rates and facilitate movement from one level to the next.

Increase the supply of technology (computers, Internet) in schools located in departmental capitals and municipal centers with high concentrations of Afro-Colombian and indigenous populations. The experience of the Computer for Education program could be developed and expanded for this purpose.

2. Health

Infant mortality in the indigenous population and rural and coastal Afro-Colombian population, with a high incidence and prevalence of diseases associated with precarious environmental health conditions, are concerns.

Actions Recommended:

Consistent with the Millennium Development Goals, reduce infant mortality in 2015 by up to two-thirds among the Afro-descendent populations on the Pacific coast and in the indigenous reserves. This involves generating statistics on morbidity and mortality in the municipalities and urban sectors inhabited by people belonging to ethnic groups, a follow-up and monitoring system, and thus a specific plan that considers, among other components, environmental health, nutritional care, vaccination, and maternal health.

The expansion and correct implementation of the SISBEN survey allows for better targeting and for reaching the population most in need. The management of subsidies should be revised to ensure greater transparency and efficiency. It is also important to expand coverage of basic healthcare services in rural areas, taking into account the health resources of the communities themselves, an area in which the country has a great deal of experience.

There is an urgent need to improve conditions and basic services with appropriate technologies that have been tested in the communities themselves to provide good quality water, including rainwater capture, use of aquifers, manual pumping equipment, and disposal of human waste and trash. The National Preinvestment Projects Fund (FONADE) could open up a specific line of financing for this purpose. The Institute for the Development of Science and Technology (COLCIENCIAS) could support competitive grants for research in this field and could encourage the testing of suitable technologies for making water potable and treating sewage, in order to improve basic services in indigenous and Afro-descendent settlements.

Recommendation No. 4: Differentiated Attention to the Displaced Population Belonging to Ethnic Groups.

Strategies to protect the rights of ethnic groups inhabiting territories affected by violence must be designed and implemented.

One of the theaters of the armed conflict has been the territories of the ethnic groups, places that because they are difficult to access and because of their forests provide refuge to armed agents that set themselves up there by force, creating problems of security for the communities and breaking down the internal traditional systems of authority. Everything seems to indicate that violations of basic rights and displacements of families belonging to ethnic groups, particularly Afro-Colombians, have increased during the period 2003-2004, although there are currently no official figures on the magnitude of this phenomenon and its impact on ethnic groups

Actions Recommended:

Improve Recording and Information on Families and Individuals in Displaced Ethnic Groups for which it is necessary to analyze the behavior of the question on ethnic self-recognition currently on the reporting form, with a view to improving it. In addition, strengthen studies and statistical analyses that may derive from the System for Estimating Forced Displaced by Contrasted Sources (SEFC) and the Single Registration System.

Expand attention provided to displaced persons (particularly all Afro-Colombian women and children) by creating networks of homes to care for children, expand school cafeterias, increase emergency humanitarian aid, and implement training and micro-credit programs. In addition to being uprooted from communities and territories affected by displacement, displaced persons do not always have coordinated temporary assistance systems. Children often do not have guaranteed access to minimum food supplies and basic healthcare. The experience of the Special District of Bogotá in caring for vulnerable children could be taken up and extended to other places, as could the work of many NGOs that have developed interesting models for promoting women, particularly heads of households.

Recommendation No. 5: Educating for Diversity and Non-Discrimination

The feeling of discrimination noted by the Afro-Colombians approached in this study indicates that the government and non-governmental organizations need to make efforts to develop programs on educating for diversity and non-discrimination. Along these lines, it is suggested that a national campaign be developed in schools, worksites, government offices, and through the media on behalf of diversity and non-discrimination.

Recommendation No. 6: Institutional Strengthening

Institutional strengthening means improving the capacities of grass roots organizations and placing the subject of ethnicity in public institutions.

The fiscal crisis has limited the ability of the Directorate of Ethnic Groups of the Ministry of the Interior and Justice to attend to the requirements in this area. This has in turn generated a widespread weakening of the subject of ethnicity in various government agencies.

Actions Recommended:

Strengthen the Directorate of Ethnicity of the Ministry of the Interior and Justice, both technically and financially, to monitor public actions. Specialized agencies at the central level should also be strengthened, particularly in the Ministries of Health, Education, the National Planning Department, the Office of the Attorney General, the Ministry of the Environment, Housing and Territorial Development, and DANE.

Without weakening the central level, thought could be given to a decentralized planning model and efforts through inter-institutional working groups in the departments and/or regions, with participation from representatives of ethnic groups with medium- and long-term agendas. The model of “indigenous affairs commissions” of the 1950s and 1960s could be reinterpreted with a new scheme of ethnic participation and shared participation by regional entities as well as departments, development corporations, and municipalities.

Conclusion

The gaps in the well-being of Colombian ethnic groups compared to the rest of the society is a study topic that has only recently begun to be explored. The historic remnants of the regions inhabited by indigenous and Afro-Colombian are generally difficult to access. Their economies have been extractive in nature (wood, gold, fishing) with a low accumulation of capital and a slight presence of public institutions. Furthermore, these are regions that have not made a demographic transition and which are losing population in a migratory process towards large urban centers. The migrants are searching for better opportunities and greater security, with regard to the internal armed conflict that the country is experiencing.

Security in the collective holding of the land given to the indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians of the Pacific has contributed to stabilizing the rural population. In the case of Afro-Colombians, the collective territories are for the most part in municipality Group 1. There is a gap between these municipalities and the rest of the country, exemplified by the weak presence of public institutions. Furthermore, health, education, and basic sanitary services are poorly adapted to the cultural and social specificities of the more traditional black communities.

The behavior of the groups studied leads us to believe that cities in groups 3 and 4 of this study such as Tumaco, Quibdó, and Buenaventura—the largest city of the Pacific—do not have the population that comes from the rural peripheries or the population that achieves a better education, going to the large urban centers.

In the cities, members of the ethnic groups become part of normal residential areas and mix in with other urban poor people. However, African descendents have the additional burden of social exclusion due to racial discrimination.

Colombia has not been fortunate in the design, formulation, and continuity in the public policies that take care of the needs of the regions in which the Afro-descendants live, in particular the Pacific region. There has been a lack of clarity and continuity with regard to the indigenous territories.

The growing significance of public investment in regions where ethnic groups live, at higher rates than the national average, shows in the opinion of many specialists the historic baggage with regard to the attention of the state. Furthermore, the low administrative capacity of the regional and local public entities renders the investment ineffective. Finally, the services provided by the public institutions are poorly adapted to the specificities of the traditional indigenous and Afro-descendant communities.

The municipalities of the Afro-Colombian population are highly dependent on the central level of government and have a very low capacity to generate their own income through the conventional mechanisms (property tax, for example). New strategies need to be devised for generating their own resources. The Law of Territorial Ordering (LOT) currently being debated in Congress, may provide an opportunity to create these strategies.

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Annex 1

Methods for Setting Up Workshops in the Field and Interviews

The main goal for setting up workshops and interviews was to get an in-depth knowledge of ethnic groups' perception regarding the concept of quality of life and the specific elements that comprise it. The study also sought to determine the priority and evaluation that these population sectors give to the various elements involved in the quality of life understood by most people how to "live well."

To set up the workshops, three communities base were selected – two indigenous protected areas and an association of black community councils, a social organization of black communities and an urban settlement of black communities in Bogotá. This selection was made to observe urban as well as rural situations and various organizational processes.

Workshop with black communities:

- Francisco Pizarro township, Vereda el Novillal/Salahonda Nariño, Association of Community Councils of the Patía river delta (ACAPA). July 6
- Buenaventura Valley. Process of Black Communities (PCN). July 8
- Bogotá, Villa Rosita district – Foundation of life. July 13

Workshops with indigenous communities:

- Indigenous Protected Area of Cristianía, Municipality of Jardín Antioquia/representational organization de Cristianía (Emberá Chamí people)—Indigenous organization of Antioquia (OIA). July 24
- Municipality of Caldono, Vereda el Pescador—indigenous representational organization of Siberia (CIPASLA). August 3

The following table shows the population in question for holding workshops and interviews.

Table A.1.1: Quality of Life Workshops

AFRICAN-COLOMBIAN			INDIGENOUS		
<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	
	Traditional territories	Settlers		Amazonian	Andean and others
Migrant families that seek better opportunities in the city, many displaced by el domestic armed conflict. Tend to group themselves residentially.	Traditional communities that live in collective territories occupied since the 18 th century in the forest region of the Pacific	Families and African-Colombian communities that moved to the department of Putumayo in the Amazon region to work in the oil fields.	People from the Amazon regions, particularly from the Caquetá region, residents in Bogotá	Cubeo Witoto Muinane Tatuyo Tikuna Puinabe Inga kamsá	Pasto Naza Gumbiano Arhuaco Embera Sicuni

Methods

Workshops

By means of a collective exercise, the workshops sought to identify and clarify the concept of quality of life in the community, the elements that are necessary for a good quality of life or without which it is not possible, the ranking according to priority and the evaluation of each of these factors, to finally be able to determine the current condition of the community's life by means of an evaluation scale. The point of departure was a perception built into the leader's dialog.

By means of these methods, work in groups made it possible to get a critical overview of all of the factors. The group came up with a preliminary ranking and eliminated factors it did not consider as being fundamental. Then, it combined, added or subtracted factors. This is a very complex critical process that reveals interests and conceptions. The group work and the discussion to some extent prevents the leader from imposing or drawing others to his position.

Methodologically, the workshops adhered to the following steps:

- Group definition of concepts
- Initial perception – dialog with the workshop leader -
- Work in small groups (minimum of 3) elements that make up the quality of life
- Compilation of the work done in groups
- Group work: prioritization
- Discussion among the group leaders to make a common proposal of elements and priorities that will be taken to the entire group for discussion.
- Collective drafting of a weighting table.
- Evaluation of the local situation. Preparation of a local quality of life index. (Only done for indigenous communities).

In the first exercise—Exercise 1—that started off the workshop, the participants prepared the concept of quality of life and the elements required for this from their perspective. This exercise was carried out in subgroups of 4 to 5 people, in 15-20 minutes. After this exercise was completed, each subgroup explained to the entire assembly the general consensus regarding the concept and the elements selected as indicative of the quality of life.

After all the elements were explained, the representatives of each group had to rank them according to their importance and this result was to be provided to the entire group, which decided whether there was a consensus on the rank provided by the representatives or if it should be revised. In this part of the exercise, the group also attempted to place elements together and tried to end up with the fewest possible number of fields or to emphasize those elements considered as fundamental.

The prioritization of elements that resulted from their rank, continued with the following exercise—Exercise 2—which sought to give a value to each of the variables selected by the group. This evaluation was done by an exercise that consisted of giving 20 cards to each group, which they had to distribute among each of the elements that had been selected in the previous exercise.

As a final result of the entire exercise, the community could establish the index of quality of local life according to their culture, expectations and needs. In some workshops this led to a very interesting discussion on the strategic lines of work of the organizations.

The discussions were carefully monitored by the leaders or outside observers. It was easy for people to establish sets of 3 values. For example, according to the same example of the Patía river:

Table A.1.2: Necessary Elements for a Good Quality of Life

	<i>High value</i>	<i>Middle value</i>	<i>Low value</i>
Territory	The collective territory is legalized	The territory is in the process of being legalized	The territory is not legalized
Housing	Housing has electricity and clean water near	Housing only has one of these two services	Housing has none of these services
Health	There are Western and traditional medical care	There is only traditional healthcare	There is no healthcare

The Interviews

This exercise—performed like a game and with no theoretical pretensions—was used by the authors to identify the main factors that the people in the groups consulted considered to be part of their concept of “living well.” This was supplemented with interviews that had a structure similar to the workshop. During the interview, people individually did their own exercise of identifying factors, evaluating and weighting them.

A total of 98 guided interviews were conducted. Each interview was conducted according to a guide that the interviewer had and was tape-recorded. The interviewers were almost always African-Colombian or indigenous.

Of the interviews, 51 were conducted corresponded with African-Colombians and 47 with indigenous persons.

Among the African-Colombians, 35 interviews were conducted in Bogotá with displaced persons and migrants of which there were 30 women and five men, for the most part from Nariño, Cauca, Chocó and Valle. The rest of African-Colombians lived in the municipality of Port Caicedo in Putumayo—16 interviews—7 women.

47 indigenous people were interviewed Cubeo, Pasto, Wayu, Cocama, Witoto, Muiname, Embera, Tatuyo (Pirá Paraná), Muruy, Tikuna, Puinave, Sicuani, Arhuaco, Inga, Kamentza

The results of the interviews were compiled in a response table and analyzed according to the frequency of the elements as illustrated below.

Table A.1.3: Group Concepts of “Living Well”

<i>Indigenous Response Table</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Health	14
Housing	10
Education	13
Good relations	5
Self-governance	7
Chaman	7
Food	8
Identity	7
Territory	10
Spiritual	1
No armed forces	2
Exercise of own law	2
Money	1
Family	3
Security and peace	1
Recreation	2
Work	6
Health	7
Communication	1
Political participation	1
Water	3

Table A.1.4: Frequency of “Living Well” Elements

<i>Order of Priority</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>
Housing	3	4	3	2					
Health	5	6	4		1				
Education	1	3	5						
Food	3	1		1					
Good relations			1						
Self-governance	1		2						
Territory	4								
Identity	2	3	1		1				
Safety			1			1			
Communication				1					
Own language				1					
Work		2		1	1				
Family	1		1	1					

The interviews are rich in concepts that were used in the preparation of this report. To illustrate these interviews, one is transcribed that was conducted with a Sikuani indigenous:

INTERVIEW

1. What does living well mean for you or your community?

Reply. Living in peace with nature and others. Having good relations with your parents and friends. For these relations to be permanent. Living has more of a spiritual than material sense. Having a spiritual life means having good relations in the community and this is living well.

2. What does living badly mean?

Reply. Living with envy—like Siquirriri, a mythic character of Sikuani-Vivir origin; it is bad to be far from the community

3. Tell me what is necessary for a community to live well?

Reply.

- Having a territory where you can live in safety
- Have a good education
- Culture as a pattern that guides the life of the community, particularly education
- Have enough food
- Health
- A good relationship with nature

4. Let's take the things that you have said and rank them according to their importance

Reply.

1. Having a safe territory
2. Food
3. Culture
4. Education
5. Health

5. Which of these things could a community do without and which could it not do without for it to live well?

Reply. The territory is the life of the community. Culture and education go together. Currently, the culture is more threatened than the territory.

The community cannot do without any of the things I have mentioned.

6. What are the principal needs of your community?

Reply.

Education. We need a good indigenous and bicultural education, that serves the community. We currently don't have this.

Organization. We have many problems in organizing ourselves into communities and regional organizations and indigenous zones.

7. What does the following mean for you

a) To eat well?

Reply. To be able to have enough food. This is having enough and a variety of food products from hunting, fishing and from the Conuco (garden plot)

b) To have good housing?

Reply. It needs to be large, to hold several families. For us, a small dwelling is a sign of small-mindedness. Housing is in relation with the Conuco, the crop fields and it is important for the Conuco to be large and varied.

c) What does health mean for you and what does good health mean?

Reply. Health is more spiritual than physical. To have good health is to have a good spiritual life, to be without fear.

d) What does education mean for you and what does having a good education mean?

Reply. Good education is part of one's culture. But one should be bicultural so we can learn things from white people that we need.

e) What does having good work/employment relations mean for you?

Reply. It means having sufficient territory, where it is possible to have a good conuco.

f) To have a good recreation?

Reply. For this, you need to have peace, tranquility.

Annex 2

Predominantly African-Colombian Communities Considered in the Study, According to Population and Region

Department	Municipality	Group 1993	Total population 1993	% Rest 1993
Valle del Cauca	Buenaventura	4	227,478	14.40%
Chocó	QUIBDO	3	102,003	35.39%
Magdalena	Cienaga	3	130,610	49.29%
Nariño	TUMACO	3	115,674	49.48%
Antioquia	Apartado	2	67,591	16.66%
Antioquia	Chigorodó	2	38,660	22.77%
Antioquia	El Bagre	2	38,792	37.28%
Antioquia	Murindó	2	2,329	38.64%
Antioquia	Nechí	2	9,463	31.59%
Atlántico	Polo Nuevo	2	11,224	18.67%
Atlántico	Sabanagrande	2	17,027	6.33%
Atlántico	Sabanalarga	2	66,309	34.03%
Bolívar	San Estanislao	2	14,161	27.47%
Bolívar	San Juan Nepomuceno	2	31,245	36.22%
Bolívar	Soplaviento	2	12,327	38.67%
Bolívar	Turbaná	2	10,361	20.16%
Bolívar	Villanueva	2	13,151	18.69%
Cauca	Puerto Tejada	2	38,249	10.34%
La Guajira	Riohacha	2	97,289	20.77%
La Guajira	San Juan del Cesar	2	30,052	27.35%
Magdalena	El Banco	2	54,992	33.08%
Magdalena	Fundacion	2	51,251	29.14%
Magdalena	Plato	2	48,629	39.26%
Sucre	Buenavista	2	7,449	26.51%
Sucre	San Onofre	2	38,931	35.74%
Sucre	Tolú	2	28,424	37.86%
Valle del Cauca	Jamundí	2	48,145	31.21%
Antioquia	Arboletes	1	20,260	62.86%
Antioquia	Belmira	1	5,114	72.74%
Antioquia	Carepa	1	26,951	56.09%
Antioquia	Mutatá	1	10,542	73.23%
Antioquia	Necoclí	1	28,125	77.00%
Antioquia	Pueblorrico	1	9,198	51.23%
Antioquia	San Juan De Uraba	1	15,989	54.29%
Antioquia	San Pedro De Uraba	1	23,226	69.87%
Antioquia	Turbo	1	78,529	60.82%
Antioquia	Vigía Del Fuerte	1	7,219	66.32%
Atlántico	Ponedera	1	13,961	46.29%
Bolívar	Mahates	1	18,412	62.39%
Bolívar	María la Baja	1	36,474	62.56%
Bolívar	San Fernando	1	9,207	82.78%
Bolívar	San Martín de Loba	1	29,001	79.87%
Bolívar	San Pablo	1	20,965	56.22%
Bolívar	Talaigua Nuevo	1	21,446	79.85%
Cauca	Buenos Aires	1	14,624	93.25%
Cauca	Caloto	1	31,709	90.07%
Cauca	El Tambo	1	38,073	92.80%
Cauca	Guapi	1	23,505	57.51%
Cauca	La Vega	1	22,201	93.33%
Cauca	López	1	17,289	91.42%
Cauca	Padilla	1	8,705	64.01%
Cauca	Santander de Quilichao	1	69,660	56.52%
Cauca	Suárez	1	20,177	62.95%

THE GAP MATTERS: POVERTY AND WELL-BEING OF AFRO-COLOMBIANS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Department	Municipality	Group 1993	Total population 1993	% Rest 1993
Cauca	Timbiquí	1	22,922	87.00%
Cesar	Astrea	1	16,323	63.01%
Cesar	Pelaya2	1	13,812	40.91%
Cesar	Tamalameque2	1	13,134	72.16%
Chocó	ACANDI	1	10,056	58.27%
Chocó	ALTO BAUDO (PIE DE PATO)	1	17,394	90.93%
Chocó	BAGADO	1	13,596	76.06%
Chocó	BAHIA SOLANO (MUTIS)	1	7,505	63.56%
Chocó	BAJO BAUDO (PIZARRO)	1	20,862	75.95%
Chocó	BOJAYA (BELLAVISTA)	1	9,173	92.24%
Chocó	CONDOTO	1	15,914	51.12%
Chocó	ISTMINA	1	31,011	61.95%
Chocó	JURADO	1	4,280	56.71%
Chocó	LITORAL DEL SAN JUAN	1	7,667	88.91%
Chocó	LLORO	1	9,489	82.97%
Chocó	NOVITA	1	8,150	82.13%
Chocó	NUQUI	1	5,176	49.00%
Chocó	RIOSUCIO	1	28,635	83.61%
Chocó	SIFI	1	2,063	91.27%
Chocó	TADO	1	20,551	66.12%
Chocó	UNGUIA	1	11,666	73.36%
Córdoba	Canalete	1	11,829	82.73%
Córdoba	Moñitos	1	17,686	80.66%
Córdoba	Puerto Escondido	1	10,887	74.88%
Córdoba	Puerto Libertador	1	16,207	56.37%
Córdoba	Sahagún	1	92,069	57.77%
Córdoba	San Andrés Sotavento	1	41,885	89.83%
Córdoba	San Antero	1	17,669	41.72%
Córdoba	San Bernardo Viento	1	24,555	71.46%
Córdoba	San Pelayo	1	31,746	84.96%
La Guajira	Barrancas	1	24,264	53.29%
Magdalena	Cerro San Antonio	1	17,992	72.18%
Magdalena	Chivolo	1	14,067	43.21%
Magdalena	El Piñon	1	14,867	70.80%
Magdalena	Guamal	1	19,920	70.21%
Magdalena	Pedraza	1	12,669	81.68%
Magdalena	Pivijay	1	43,850	55.35%
Magdalena	Puebloviejo	1	15,164	42.08%
Magdalena	Remolino	1	11,966	52.20%
Magdalena	San Sebastian De Buenavista	1	15,551	73.61%
Magdalena	Santa Ana	1	28,838	70.40%
Magdalena	Tenerife	1	18,746	70.73%
Nariño	BARBACOAS	1	22,071	79.27%
Nariño	EL CHARCO	1	15,806	74.56%
Nariño	MAGUI	1	8,883	76.36%
Nariño	MOSQUERA	1	8,040	72.14%
Nariño	OLAYA HERRERA	1	21,495	68.81%
Nariño	PIZARRO	1	7,075	47.27%
Nariño	ROBERTO PAYAN	1	8,903	90.19%
Nariño	SANTA BARBARA	1	15,476	77.37%
San Andrés	Providencia	1	3,840	65.89%
Sucre	Caimito	1	8,875	75.10%
Sucre	Coloso	1	8,152	56.78%
Sucre	La Unión	1	8,400	58.54%
Sucre	Majagual	1	27,998	75.70%
Sucre	Toluviejo	1	18,610	72.68%
Valle del Cauca	Candelaria	1	52,783	67.35%

Source: Based on DNP 2001 and DANE 1993

Annex 3

Index of Living Conditions and their Corresponding Point System

VARIABLE	POINTS
Education and Human Capital	39.44
1. Level of education attained by the head of the household	
None	0.00
Elementary incomplete	3.46
Elementary complete	7.37
Secondary incomplete	9.41
Secondary complete	10.53
College incomplete	11.42
College complete or more	11.52
2. Average education level, persons 12 and older	
None	0.00
Elementary incomplete	2.39
Elementary complete	6.54
Secondary incomplete	9.68
Secondary complete	11.54
College incomplete	12.11
College complete or more	12.31
3. Children 12-18 who attend secondary school or the university	
None	0.00
At least one attends	4.37
No children of this age	5.66
All attend	5.66
4. Children 5-11 who attend an education center	
None	0.00
At least one attends	0.00
No children of this age	5.69
All attend	9.95
Quality of housing	12.90
5. Material of the dwelling's walls	
No walls, guadua, cane	0.00
Rough wood	0.59
Bahareque	0.71
Zinc, canvas, cardboard	1.64
Mud wall or adobe	2.29
Block, brick, stone, pre-fabricated	6.11
6. Predominant flooring material of the dwelling	
Dirt	0.00
Rough wood, boards, planks	3.18
Cement	4.33
Tile, finished wood, vinyl, brick, carpet, marble .	6.79

VARIABLE	Points
Access and quality of services	27.42
7. Sanitary service	
Does not have sanitary service	0.00
Latrine	2.78
Shallow water	2.97
Bathroom with connection to sewer or septic tank	7.14
8. Water supply	
River or stream	0.00
Well, cistern or drilled well	0.78
Covered tank or public well	4.01
Aqueduct	6.99
9. Kitchen fuel	
Firewood or plant carbon	0.00
Coal, oil, cooking oil	4.83
Gas or electricity	6.67
10. Waste collection	
Throw it in a hole, ditch or dump	0.00
Burn or bury it	1.59
Throw in the river or burned	2.59
Collected by trash service	6.62
Size and composition of the home	20.25
11. Children 6 or under in the home	
More than 2 children 6 or under for each 3 people in the home	0.00
Between 1 and 2 children under 6 for each 3 people in the home	0.72
No children under 6	7.45
12. Room-sharing	
7 or more people per room	0.00
6 people per room	2.47
5 people per room	3.73
4 people per room	5.01
3 people per room	5.84
2 people per room	7.78
Fewer than 2 people per room	12.80
MAXIMUM POINTS	100.00

Source: DNP, Social mission.

Annex 4

The Forced Displacement of Ethnic Groups

Information on Displaced Ethnic Populations

Statistical information on forced displacement in Colombia is very relevant for the evaluation of this phenomenon given the difficulty of establishing actual figures that can be easily proven regarding the number of persons displaced, their characterization and their current situation. There are various systems for calculating the displaced population, including the Information System of Displaced Persons (SISDES), used by the Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement (CODHES), the Information System on the Displaced Population of the Episcopal Conference of Colombia known as RUT and the System for Estimating Forced Displacement by Contrasting Sources (SEFC).

Some of the methodological problems raised by these systems in collecting information on forced displacement of ethnic groups are related to the following factors:

- *the mobility of the displaced population* that moves continuously constantly before finally settling down;
- *the resistance of people to register as displaced* either for fear of retaliation from armed forces or other causes that result in the person remaining anonymous.
- *problems associated with the initial collection of information*, through official forms or other information systems.
- *the problem of ethnic self-recognition in the collection of information*. The only declaration form has shown that the question of ethnicity has had problems with regard to the lack of clarity, the way the question is asked and those who declare their ethnicity.

The Data

Of all the displaced persons between January 2000 and June 2002, it is estimated that 17.72% are black population and 3.75% are indigenous. Thus, 20.5% of the displaced population over two and a half years are from ethnic groups³⁰. This situation, which becomes more acute with the intensification and dynamics of the armed conflict, has led to estimates that the figures on displacement of ethnic groups for the period 2003, have increased without these statistics being broken down.

One of the main reasons that supports the increase in the displacement of this population is the armed confrontation in the indigenous and African-Colombian collective territories occupied by

³⁰ CODHES (SISDES) 2003 statistics.

outside armed forces seeking refuge and territorial control. The majority of these territories are located in strategic zones where the different interests and forces come into play with regard to the natural resources (gold, oil, silver, biodiversity), the paths of access and communication, illicit crops, etc. For the year 2000³¹, CODHES in the map of regional assignment, showed at least three corridors of intense confrontation, where indigenous and African-Colombian peoples are located: *“One North-South axis is particularly critical in the dispute for the Pacific and the south of the country; another East/West axis that goes from Urabá to Catatumbo (North of Santander), both border zones; and a third axis of displacement that goes from the former zone of expansion to the center of the country”*.

Accordingly, considering the significance of the territorial component in the displacement of ethnic groups, the study should point out that one of the most important factors in this context is the conflict between the ownership of the land and the economic interests related to the territory. The design, development and execution of agricultural, agro-industrial and livestock projects, and large infrastructure projects (construction of strategic highways, hydroelectric dams, etc.); the territorial appropriation of illegal activities such as drug traffic and the extracting activities of soil and subsoil resources; are some of the main factors that affect the displacements of ethnic groups considering the violence involved in land appropriation for the carrying out of these activities.

This situation has resulted in increased pressure from armed forces on indigenous and African-descendant people who live in these strategic zones, leading to assassinations and disappearances of leaders, massive displacements, and the break-up of social and cultural processes, etc. The ethnic groups most affected by this situation³² have been the indigenous embera, in the regions of the high Sinú (Córdoba) and Urabá, in Juradó (Chocó), the indigenous Uwa in the north of Boyacá, the indigenous people of the High Naya (Cauca), the indigenous peoples of the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta and Highland del Perija and the African-Colombian communities in the Urabá chocoano, the low and middle Atrato (Chocó), Montes de María and the south of Bolívar³³.

The Social Solidarity Network (RSS) and CODHES agree that those directly responsible for these violent actions that have affected the indigenous and African-Colombian peoples, and which have resulted in their displacement are the guerrilla groups, paramilitaries, official armed forces and cross fire among these forces. The percentages of the responsibility of each of these groups are imprecise and vary according to each source.

Impact of the Displacement among the Indigenous and African-Colombian Peoples

It is a reality that the forced displacement in Colombia has given rise to an unlimited number of consequences that are increasingly visible in Colombian society. For the specific case of indigenous and African-Colombian peoples, the impact of this phenomenon is closely related to their affect on the social and community structures of these peoples and the consequences thereof. Listed below are some fundamental aspects that are established indicating the violent actions of the armed forces as a whole on the ethnic groups and which have resulted in their displacement:

The breaking of the community ties of life and the maintenance and running of the forms of the communities' internal government. These effects are caused by the contradictions, conflicts and

³¹ 44 CODHES Bulletin.

³² The ethnic groups cited herein, are those that have been most characterized and identified, which does not exclude the existence of other cases of equal or greater degree of influence.

³³ Report from the High Commission of the United Nations 2000.

divisions that those responsible for the disturbance bring into the communities: the demand for young people (young men and women) to recruit to their detachments; the self-proclamation of the armed forces as agents of justice or the government, replacing community authorities; the destruction of the traditional values and internal orders and their replacement by the orders and rules imposed by the newly arrived. The effect is all the more serious as the imposition of the new conditions are supported, far from any ethical validation, in a whimsical willingness of the commanders or agents of the drug traffic.

The disturbance of the economic life and the forms of traditional work practiced by the communities. This disturbance is experienced in a number of ways. One of the more significant ways is by taking family members away from traditional daily activities, due to the demands of the armed groups or drug trafficking agents for the local people to occupy positions in their groups. Another is the forced exodus of entire communities to urban centers, with the abandonment of their land, housing and belongings. One other, among many, is the forced abandonment by many families of their methods of shared work (*minga* (collaboration), exchange of labor, etc.) due to the general upset and the divisions and conflicts among neighbors caused by the armed forces.

The breaking off from the traditional ways of managing nature and use of the natural resources and defense of the ecosystems. The following partly the occurrence of this effect: the introduction in the regional economy of illicit crops as a source for financing the armed conflict and enriching other sectors that sponsor it; the support granted by the agents of the armed groups, and on a number of occasions, the tolerance of the government officials for illegal activities carried out in the forests and mines, frequent forced contributors of the armed groups; the changes in values and the ways of working among families of the communities, that induce them to easy enrichment.

Deterioration of the conditions of people's and communities' quality of life. The consequences of the armed confrontation, the territorial battles and the heavy pressure of the armed forces on the population, has altered the traditional patterns of life of the indigenous and African-Colombian peoples and communities, diminishing the conditions of their quality of life. Factors such as food and health have been seriously affected by the violent actions inflicted on the collective communities, as detailed below.

The loss and deterioration of the cultural identity. The breakdown of the social structures and the cultural references of the ethnic groups that have been affected by the violent actions of the armed forces has resulted in an accelerated process of loss and deterioration of cultural identity. This situation is reflected in the absence of a common imagery.

Specificities of the Indigenous and African-Colombian Displacement

One of the most significant aspects on the topic of displacement of indigenous groups is the characterization of each of these populations and their specific situations of displacement. There are particular cultural characteristics of each ethnic group that influence their behavior vis-à-vis the forced displacement and that in the end must be considered when establishing programs for their assistance. Table A.5.1 shows some of these differences.

Table A.5.1: Displacement of Ethnic Groups

Displacement of ethnic groups	
<i>Indigenous population</i>	<i>African-Colombian population</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeks to return to their territory of origin • Seeks other indigenous communities. Their displacement is generally from rural zones to rural zones • Has serious problems in adapting culturally in the urban zones • Can be more easily assimilated into cities • Migrates with the entire family, • The indigenous displacement is massive and temporary • Direct violence is the main reason for the displacement. • The indigenous population tends to resist outside pressure more. • The mobility in space has resulted in the indigenous being less vulnerable when for reasons of Force Majeure they have to move to refuge sites • Seeks relatives in other communities of the zone 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The probability of returning to the place of origin is less. • Moves by stages seeking large cities. Their migration generally takes place from rural zones to urban zones. • Are more adept at adapting and becoming integrated to urban life • The displacement is worsened as a result of the exclusion due to racism for phenotypical and cultural reasons. • The displacement takes place first with some members of the family, wherein the wife is very important • The displacement is generally drop-by-drop and seeks to settle down permanently. • The displacement does not only occur for reasons associated to violence, but also for conditions of poverty and the search for opportunities. Occasionally, it is difficult to differentiate when it involves forced or economic displacement. • The black population is more prone to conditions of terror. They are more susceptible to economic blockages, which results in a large displacement • Black communities do not have a cultural tradition of migration as a group, which makes them vulnerable faced with a forced displacement • Seeks relatives and same age group in cities.

*The African-Colombian Displacement*³⁴

Different sources affirm that the African-Colombian population has been one of the human groups most affected by the phenomenon of forced displacement in Colombia, principally by being located in the zones of major armed confrontation of the country. For the year 2002, CODHES reported that Chocó—with 73.4% of its population composed of African-Colombian communities—is the department that leads in the expulsion (4,498/100,000 inhabitants) and reception of population (3,678/100,000 inhabitants). The Atrato river valley, in this department, with an expulsion rate higher than that of the department (6,648/100,000 inhabitants), is the region of the country with the second highest expulsion rate, followed by Catatumbo (14,007/100,000 inhabitants).

For the year 2002 and 2003 [sic], the solidarity network does not have official displacement figures of the African-Colombian population. For the same periods, CODHES reported that at least 33% of the total population expelled in Colombia, i.e., 83,650 people, were African-Colombian. These figures show that the period of 2002 was a dramatic year for the displacement of black communities, during which massacres occurred as the one recorded in the municipality of Bojayá and Vigía del Fuerte – Chocó in the first period of 2002³⁵.

According to CODHES estimated data, in their annual report³⁶ that contains a detailed study of the situation of the forced displacement, the expulsion rate of African-Colombian communities is 20% higher than the rest of the country: whereas at the national level, 586 people are expelled for every one hundred thousand inhabitants, the rate of the African-Colombia communities reached 736 for each one hundred thousand.

These figures that quantify the reality of the forced displacement in communities of African-descent explain the growing social and cultural impact that this sector of the population is currently dealing with. There does not appear to be a satisfactory response from the public considering that special programs with a differential focus neither been planned nor implemented. Moreover, there has not been a precise study that characterizes the situation of the forced displacement of African-Colombian communities, their different dynamics and the status of their settlement.

Indigenous Displacement

Indigenous peoples constitute another of the sectors significantly affected by the forced displacement in the country. As with African-Colombian communities, indigenous people live in zones strategic for the armed forces, who play out their territorial disputes in the territories in question. For the period 2002 and 2003, the Solidarity Network had no official figures with regard to indigenous displacement. There are estimates that show an increase in the displaced population in this period, which coincides with the figures reported by CODHES where it is estimated that for the period 2002, approximately 12,649 indigenous people had to abandon their ancestral territories due to pressure from armed groups.

³⁴ Within the principal studies conducted until 2002 regarding the displacement of the African-Colombian displacement, are those conducted by the Population Focus Team of the Social Solidarity Network in 2000-2001 and the studies conducted by CODHES on ethnic groups in 2001-2002.

³⁵ Report of the office in Colombia of the High Commission of the United Nations for Human rights regarding their observation mission in the Middle Atrato.

³⁶ Bulletin 44 of 2002.

This figure represents 1.75% of the total of the indigenous population of the country, and corresponds to 5% of the total of those displaced in Colombia. The most critical situation is experienced by the Embera peoples, in the departments of Chocó and Córdoba; the peoples of Kamtzá, Huitoto, Siona, Inga, Embera, Awá and Pasto, in the departments of Caquetá and Putumayo; and the peoples of Kankuamos, Wiwa, Kogui, Arhuacos and Yukpas of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and Highland de Perijá.

These figures increase according to the data managed by the indigenous organizations where it is estimated that in 2002, more than 21,720 people were subjected to this type of forced confinement: 5,500 Kankuamos in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (25%); 4,300 Nasas (Paeces) of the High Basin of the Naya river (20%); 4,000 Barís of the Highland of the Motilones, in the Basin of the Catatumbo (18%); 2,760 Emberas from the Middle Atrato, in the department of the Chocó (13%); 2,500 Yukpas of the Highland of the Perijá (12%); 1,850 Emberas in Dabeiba, Antioquia (9%); and 800 Emberas of Carmen de Atrato, in the Andean subregion of the Chocó (4%).

Figures provided by various sources regarding the magnitude of the indigenous displacement for 2002-2003, coincide as to the increase in number of people and families displaced from ancestral territories, without however, there being a consolidation of official figures for this period.

The Differential Focus

The Social Solidarity Network and the social institutions of the National System of Integral Assistance to the Population Displaced by Violence (SNAIPD) have recognized the need to adopt a differential focus with regard to the forced displacement of indigenous and African-Colombian peoples.

The differential focus³⁷, implies recognizing that each population group has different interests *with respect to “types, rhythms and purpose of productive activities and social reproduction; use and distribution of time; forms of use, production and distribution of knowledge; methods of territorial occupation and management; organization and purposes of community actions; forms of exercising power; the social infrastructure and production; forms of use of transportation; personal and professional services; personal and group safety; configuration and use of public and private space; recreation and leisure; nutrition, etc.; among others”*

Everything appears to indicate that there continues to be a methodological and programmatic lack regarding awareness of the indigenous and/or African-Colombian displaced person. Currently, awareness is raised regardless of the group, which in practice goes against the application of a differential focus.

³⁷ Complete Guide to the Displaced Population. Population Focus Chapter. 2001.