

**Management of a Marine Protected Area by a local NGO in Honduras: its
implications for local communities**

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Abstract

This study explores the factors that influence the management of a protected area situated on private land as well as the implications of these factors in the interaction between the NGO and the communities associated with this area. The protected area, Marine National Monument Cayos Cochinos, is an archipelago surrounded by reefs in the Honduran Caribbean. This area is home to a highly heterogeneous population of fisherfolk communities –most are members of the Garifuna ethnic group– and wealthy Honduran and foreign landowners. This case study also comprises three fisherfolk communities outside the protected area who fish in Cayos Cochinos. Local fishermen in Cayos Cochinos are settled in community-owned areas; however, these settlements started by the occupation of private lands. Wealthy landowners have either individual land titles or shares of a firm owning four of the islands. The protected area was established through the initiative of this firm to protect the natural resources. This area is nominally co-managed by a local nongovernmental organisation (NGO) and two government agencies; however in practice it is managed solely by the NGO.

This study discusses the influence of the nature of the Honduran legislation regarding protected areas and of the co-management agreement on the management of Cayos Cochinos. This research also shows that the management priorities of this protected area are only partially based on the Honduran government’s laws and regulations and the guidelines specific for this area. Lack of government participation in the co-management of the area, financial constraints, influences on the NGO of stakeholders in higher positions of power with respect to it, personal preferences of the NGO managers and issues regarding the communities’ leadership, have all had an influence on the management priorities of the protected area since its constitution. The combined effect of these factors has influenced the management of the NGO towards prioritising the natural resource conservation.

This area is managed under a ‘people-out’ conservation paradigm. The adoption of this paradigm has disadvantaged the fisherfolk communities inside and outside the protected area by restricting their access to the natural resources on which their livelihoods are highly dependent. However, the same situation has favoured the private landowners by limiting the access of the fisherfolk communities to the land owned by the former.

The privileging of one community sector over another has created conflicts between the NGO and the fisherfolk communities. However, these conflicts have been fuelled by other factors such as the steady contesting of the land titles over the territories occupied by the latter, and by the support that external organisations have given to the latter at the expense of the original owners of the land.

This research suggests that local NGOs in charge of the management of natural protected areas might have limited capacity to abide by national conservation and sustainable development priorities due to the likelihood to be influenced by external forces with different priorities.

Keywords: nongovernmental organisation (NGO), communities, protected area, conservation, management, power.

To my mom

To my dad

To uncle Fidel

To Funkadellic

To Pablo

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Acronyms

AFE	<i>Administración Forestal del Estado</i> Forestry Government Administration
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
COHDEFOR	<i>Corporación Hondureña de Desarrollo Forestal</i> Honduran Forest Development Corporation
COLAP	<i>Consejos Locales de Áreas Protegidas</i> Local Councils for Protected Areas
DAPVS	<i>Departamento de Áreas Protegidas y Vida Silvestre</i> Department of Protected Areas and Wildlife
ENGO	Environmental Nongovernmental Organisation
GAD	<i>Grupo de Apoyo al Desarrollo</i> Development Support Group
GEF	Global Environmental Facility
HCRF	Honduras Coral Reef Fund
ICF	<i>Instituto Nacional de Conservación y Desarrollo Forestal, Áreas Protegidas y Vida Silvestre</i> National Institute for Forest Conservation and Development, Protected Areas and Wildlife
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MBRS	<i>Mesoamerican Reef Barrier System</i> Sistema Arrecifal Mesoamericano
MIRA	<i>Manejo Integrado de Recursos Ambientales</i> Integrated Management of Environmental Resources
MNMACC	<i>Monumento Natural Marino Archipiélago Cayos Cochinos</i> Marine Natural Monument Cayos Cochinos
MPA	Marine Protected Area
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
ODECO	<i>Organización de Desarrollo Étnico Comunitario</i> Ethnic Community Development Organisation
OFRANEH	<i>Organización Fraternal Negra de Honduras</i> Fraternal Black Honduran Organisation
PA	Protected Area
SAG	<i>Secretaría de Agricultura y Ganadería</i> Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock

SAM	<i>Sistema Arrecifal Mesoamericano</i> Mesoamerican Reef Barrier System
SERNA	<i>Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment</i> Secretaria de Recursos Naturales y Ambiente
SIEC	<i>Sociedad de Inversiones Ecológicas S.A.</i> Society for Ecologic Investments
SINAPH	<i>Sistema Nacional de Áreas Protegidas de Honduras</i> Protected Areas System of Honduras
SINFOR	<i>Sistema de Investigación Nacional Forestal, Áreas Protegidas y Vida Silvestre</i> Research System for National Forests, Protected Areas and Wildlife
STRI	<i>Instituto Smithsonian de Investigaciones Tropicales</i> Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	The World Bank
WCPA	World Commission on Protected Areas
WWF	World Wildlife Fund for Nature

Chapter 1. Introduction

Protected areas are considered as one of the most important tools for conservation of biodiversity (Lockwood et al, 2006). Underlying the widespread acceptance of this tool is the emergence of the recognition that natural resources are finite and that some areas are special (i.e. the establishment of Yellowstone National Park), as well as the recognition of the importance of sustaining biodiversity and concurrently of the diversity of cultures. As much of the world's remaining important biodiversity and less damaged ecosystems are in the less developed parts of the world, there is a particular potential for conflict between the aspirations of those who seek the conservation of protected natural areas and those who seek to improve the socioeconomic situation of people living in such places. As part of an attempt to improve their socioeconomic situation while sustaining the environment in developing countries, mechanisms have been established to facilitate the transfer of funds and other resources from developed nations to the less developed. This has led to a substantive focus on donor and recipient countries and the mechanisms for delivering the assistance and ensuring it is effective. The latter is often described as accountability.

The aforementioned mechanisms, specially the accountability mechanisms, may have a significant impact on the nature of the relationships between donors and recipients affecting the operation of the recipient process and structures and impact on the design of sustainable development projects.

Honduras is a developing country with significant natural assets and special cultural and ethnic communities. The ninety-five areas existing in Honduras encompass altogether the vast majority of the ecosystems of the country and include lands of all the indigenous groups. These areas are increasingly managed through a decentralised scheme whereby local organisations undertake the operative management and external aid organisations provide financial resources for the operation of these areas. In relying on donor funding, it is likely that the management of Honduran protected areas be affected by issues derived from the accountability demands of their financial supporters.

This thesis explores the factors that influence the management of a protected area by a local nongovernmental organisation (NGO) that has gradually evolved towards the independence from significant donor funding, as well as the implications of these factors in the relationship between the NGO and the communities related to the protected area.

1.1 Background

The purpose of protected areas is the conservation of ecological processes and values, amongst which are the wildlife and the related cultural aspects.

Management for protected areas thus, requires prioritising the conservation of these processes and values (Worboys & Wrinkler, 2006). However, these priorities are not the only aspects directing the management of these areas. Factors of environmental, social, economic and political nature also contribute to shaping the planning and practice of protected area management. These factors influence the management in several ways, such as increasing the range of options, providing new perspectives and constraining the field of action of the management bodies. Therefore, these factors also influence the degree of achievement of the environmental and social purposes for which protected areas are established.

The protected area of this case study is the Marine National Monument Cayos Cochinos. This area, located in the North Coast of Honduras, is part of the Mesoamerican Reef Barrier. This barrier is a multinational ecosystem shared with Mexico, Guatemala and Belize.

Cayos Cochinos is a protected area managed by a local NGO. This protected area is reputedly a successful project of which its donors and managers report being proud. Indeed, the NGO and donors' documentation highlight the institutional stability of this NGO, full compliance with Honduran legislation, effective conservation, good relationship with the local communities and gradual independence from donor funding. It therefore seemed to be a useful project to explore the influence of donor accountability requirements on recipient organisations. However, as will be discussed, the fieldwork revealed unusual features of the situation that appear not to have received much attention in literature on the management of the protected area. This study therefore shifted its focus to explore these features while still retaining an interest in the accountability of the NGO to its supporters.

This case study explores the nature of the factors influencing the management of a Honduran protected area by a local NGO and the implications of these forces on the interaction between the NGO and the communities associated with the protected area. In the process it sheds light on the dynamics of power that determine the paradigms by which this protected area is managed.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The aim of the research was to understand how international aid procedures and practices had influenced the effectiveness of aid in the protected area. As will be discussed, the case study chosen had advanced beyond one of donor-recipient dependence to one in which the recipient had gained considerable autonomy. The research objectives consequently evolved to instead focus on the existing situation and the consequences of it. Specifically the objectives became to identify the main factors influencing the management of the protected area and to identify the implications of these influences on the interaction between the local NGO and the communities associated with the protected area.

1.3 Structure

This thesis comprises seven chapters. The remaining chapters are organised as follows:

Chapter 2 presents an interpretation and synthesis of the relevant literature for this research. The topics of this review include an overview of the importance of protected areas, a description of the evolution of the acceptance of the coexistence of people in protected areas, an analysis of the concepts of power and participation, and of the narratives around what is considered to be the role of NGOs, and a brief review of the latest recommendations for management of protected areas given by the IUCN.

Chapter 3 examines the methodology on which this study is based, including the research approach and methods used, the ethical considerations of this research and the constraints and risks faced during the present research.

Chapter 4 describes the case-study area as well as the organisations and people involved in this study.

Chapter 5 deals with the findings of the field research. This chapter gives a general overview of the livelihoods of the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos and describes the role played by the HCRF in sustaining these livelihoods. The role of the HCRF is examined from two different perspectives: firstly, through the influence of donors, government, Garifuna organisations and private islands' owners on the HCRF, and secondly, through the relationship between the HCRF and the communities since the establishment of the protected area.

Chapter 6 draws from the findings and the literature review to identify the main factors influencing the management of Cayos Cochinos by the HCRF and to understand the implications of these influences on the interaction between the HCRF and the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos.

Chapter 7 draws the thesis to a conclusion by commenting on the main implications of this case study for recent development and conservation narratives and for discourses defining NGOs. This chapter also suggests directions for future research.

Chapter 2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

To date, the extent of the sustainable use of natural resources within protected areas remains a contentious issue. Indeed, views range from the consideration of this use as a risk to conservation, to views that regard it as a practice inherent to the livelihoods of local and indigenous communities, and as a means to secure the livelihoods of these groups. Most protected areas in the world have people living within their boundaries or dependent on these areas for their livelihoods (Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari & Oviedo, 2004, p. xv). Therefore, the views underpinning protected area management can influence the destiny of these groups.

This chapter presents a synthesis and interpretation of the relevant literature in relation to the presence of local and indigenous peoples in protected areas, to provide a context for this study. This review begins with an overview of the importance of protected areas and a description of the evolution of the acceptance of the coexistence of people in protected areas. This is followed by an analysis of the concepts of power and participation, and of the narratives around what is considered to be the essence of NGOs (nongovernmental organisations, a type of institution often involved in the management of protected areas). This review finishes with a summary of the latest recommendations for management of protected areas from the perspective of the IUCN, arguably the world's largest conservation organisation.

2.2 Importance of protected areas (PAs)

Protected areas are geographical areas that are protected for purposes of conservation of natural and/or cultural heritage. There are two main definitions of the term “protected area” accepted worldwide. The governing body of the Convention on Biological Diversity¹ (CBD) defines a protected area as a “geographically defined area which is designated or regulated and managed to achieve specific conservation objectives” (Dudley, 2007). This convention was the first worldwide agreement for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity

¹ The Convention on Biological Diversity is a treaty agreed on at the Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

and represents a point of reference in international law (Lockwood, Worboys & Kothari, 2006, p. 80). However, there were several earlier conventions related to the protection of areas or species, as discussed below.

The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) however, has a narrower definition: “an area of land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed through legal or other effective means” (IUCN, 2000). The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) claims to be the largest conservation network in the world (Lockwood, 2006, p. 75). It is funded by governments, bilateral and multilateral agencies, foundations, member organizations and corporations (IUCN, 2008) and is in charge of several programmes and commissions, among which is the Programme on Protected Areas, which gives support to the World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA). The World Commission on Protected Areas is the world’s most important commission in terms of protected areas expertise, promoting the “establishment and effective management of a world-wide representative network of terrestrial and marine protected areas” (Lockwood, 2006, p.75).

From an ecological point of view, Protected Areas are considered as one of the most important tools for conservation of biodiversity, together with “conservation, sustainable use and restoration initiatives” (Lockwood et al, 2006, p.xxiv). These areas allow for the conservation of fractions or entire natural landscapes or ecosystems and their associated plants and animals.

However, the importance of protected areas goes beyond conservation of biodiversity. As the definition implies, protected areas have a number of other values. As Lockwood et al (2006, p.103) mention, protected areas can benefit people as a result of being in direct contact with these areas (on-site goods and services) and also, by indirectly supporting human activities and lifestyles that happen outside the boundaries of these areas (off-site goods and services).

Some examples of off-site goods and services are ecosystem services such as climate regulation, serving as water reservoirs and disaster prevention, disaster mitigation (e.g. in events of flooding, hurricanes, tsunamis and landslides and nutrient cycling). Correspondingly, examples of on-site goods and services include places for tourism and visitation, elements of cultural and/or religious significance contained in the areas, places to live on, sites in which

conduct research, and of course, the natural resources as such. Indeed, communities living within protected areas normally depend to a large extent on local animal and plant resources for their livelihood needs. These resources are used as either part of the staple diet, dietary supplements, medicine, construction, feed or firewood and ensure a year-round supply of food and materials, as well as serving as a form of insurance against bad crops and also, as tradable items (Pimbert & Pretty, 1995).

Aside from goods and services, several authors (Lockwood et al, 2006; Millenium Ecosystem Assessment Board, 2005; Manning, 1999) consider that people attribute non-material values to protected areas, either as members of a community or as single individuals. As members of a community, people can relate to protected areas for religious, spiritual, identity, and/or ethical reasons, that give them a sense of identity and belonging to these places. Lockwood et al (2006) denominate these values as non-material community values. According to Shultis (2003), Maller et al (2002) and Lockwood et al (2006), people also develop non-material individual values towards protected areas, as individuals. Personal development, physical well-being, artistic imagination and inspiration, as well as fulfilment are positive outcomes of being in contact with protected areas, according to these authors.

A particular type of protected areas is the Marine Protected Area (MPA). The IUCN defines a Marine Protected Area as “any area of intertidal or sub-tidal terrain, together with its overlying water and associated flora, fauna, historical and cultural features, which has been reserved by law or other effective means to protect part or all of the enclosed environment” (Kelleher and Kenchington, 1992, p. 13).

Marine protected areas provide additional benefits and services to society, besides from those already mentioned. One of the main additional benefits is the support provided to local and surrounding fisheries by serving as a refuge and breeding site for commercial species, thereby helping to increase degraded fish, marine flora and fauna, and seafood stocks. These areas also protect the physical habitat structure from anthropogenic impacts (Lockwood, 2006, p. 613).

2.3 Local people in protected areas. Historical considerations

From CBD's and IUCN's definitions, it is clear that the main objective of formal protected area management is the conservation of "all non-domesticated elements of living nature and the processes and places they depend on" (Locke & Dearden, 2005, p. 2). However, several human groups make use of protected areas. Among them are tourists, people in local settlements benefiting from protected areas' services and local communities benefiting from the goods provided by these areas. The constant use of resources by the latter group has been of particular concern for formal conservation management ever since the establishment of the first modern protected areas. This section examines the changes in people-nature narratives by conservation experts in the last four decades, to set the theoretical context of protected areas.

Up to the late 1970s, international discourses on management of protected areas considered protected areas as places established exclusively for protecting wildlife and landscapes and providing recreation opportunities (Phillips, 2003). This ideology, shaped by early conservation initiatives led by socially privileged classes (Jeanrenaud, 2002) sought to protect natural heritage indefinitely. There was a sincere concern for the environment in this line of thinking. However, there was also a strong opposition towards local peoples, who were considered as a threat to nature and whose local opinions and knowledge were disregarded. In other words, under this narrative, use and conservation of protected areas were considered to be incompatible (Jeanrenaud, 2002; Locke & Dearden, 2005; Lockwood et al, 2006; Phillips, 2003). Not surprisingly, whilst this ideology was dominant, protected areas management tended to remove local populations from protected areas in an attempt to preserve the pristine characteristics of the landscape. This approach, called 'people out' by Pimbert and Pretty (1995), justified mobilisation and displacement through enforcement.

At the end of the seventies, this narrative was substituted by a "people-nature narrative" that considered conservation and development to be interdependent (Jeanrenaud, 2002). There are several reasons for this change in thinking; some of them are unrelated to conservation management practices but some others are related to it. Among the first ones, two major causes can be mentioned. The first one is the organisation of local and indigenous groups as political forces. The second cause is an increased recognition of human rights, particularly the rights of indigenous peoples, supported by laws and declarations such as the International

Labour Organisation Convention No. 169 and the draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Inter-America Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Phillips, 2003, p.22).

There are two main reasons related to conservation management that prompted this shift in thinking. On one hand, as more protected areas were established in different countries, the traditional model of a protected area proved to be not applicable in every context (i.e. some areas were established for different purposes and new forms of management emerged). The international conservation community had to accept the presence of human groups in protected areas (Phillips, 2003). On the other hand, there was a growing concern over the sustainable use of resources and the underlying causes of environmental degradation (Jeanrenaud, 2002).

During the eighties, conservationists began questioning the validity of the traditional model of protected areas and the efficacy of earlier conservation management strategies. In doing so, they drew attention to the underlying causes of the deterioration of protected areas and for the first time examined the extent to which, and the reasons why, local people could be held responsible for environmental degradation. For example, Lockwood and Kothari (2006) have mentioned a series of factors that can give rise to unsustainable practises of use of resources by local people. Among these factors are: the loss of traditional knowledge, changes in lifestyle, increasing population densities and poverty. The last factor is considered by these authors as a limiting factor of people's livelihoods choices that cause the adoption of short term survival strategies, including an increase in the incidence of law-breaching activities such as poaching and hunting. Furthermore, lack of education, poor infrastructure and social conflict are considered as enhancers of the adoption of unsustainable practices.

During the 1980s decade also, local people started to be considered as important contributors to conservation, because of the potential to contribute to the understanding of the ecosystems in which they have lived for generations (Jeanrenaud, 2002).

These reflections induced a change in the management of protected areas, reorienting it from short term conservation projects (for example, campaigns to protect an endangered species) to longer-term focus on ecological processes and ecosystems (i.e. the protection of a particular rainforest). More importantly, this analysis concluded that, in managing protected areas,

people could not be ignored and could even make important contributions towards the conservation of the places in which they lived.

These observations could have been fuelled by several major international level events. Among them are the 1972 Conference on Human Environment, which highlighted for the first time the interdependence between human activities and the environment (Jeanrenaud, 2002). Also, in the early 1970s, the UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Programme developed the Biosphere Reserve concept. This concept conciliated development and conservation, by zoning protected areas into core areas for strict protection and buffer and transitional zones where human activities are permitted (Phillips, 2003). Lastly, the Third World Conference on National Parks and Protected Areas, held in 1982, highlighted the importance of protected areas in the sustainable development of local and indigenous communities.

This new line of thinking was substituted in the early 1990s by a series of narratives that questioned the validity of, and the reasons for, using classic conservation science principles as the only arguments to “define environmental problems and solutions” (Jeanrenaud, 2002, p. 16). (For purposes of this research this narrative will be referred to as the “1990s narrative”). These narratives also drew attention to the imposition of orthodox scientific views of nature over local and indigenous views, and attributed this situation to power inequalities between developed and developing countries, and among different sectors of societies. Therefore, these new perspectives focused more on understanding the effects of power relations and emphasising the importance of promoting the participation of rural people in conservation decisions.

These perspectives received support from research on environmental sciences and risk assessment. Studies in the first of these fields have shown that the low-impact practices of indigenous communities have shaped a great number of ecosystems and contributed to maintain the existing biodiversity. On the other hand, risk assessment studies have also proved that the inclusion of social factors and of opinions of main stakeholders in conservation management proved to be crucial in providing more realistic answers to situations of an environmental nature (Jeanrenaud, 2002).

Moreover, the evolution of general management practices in the last decades of the twentieth century influenced the shaping of the new conservation narratives of the 1990s (Phillips, 2003). For instance, the adoption of interdisciplinary approaches and adaptive management highlighted once more the importance of involving local people in the management of protected areas.

The importance of the new conservation narratives of the 1990s has been widely agreed upon in the later years (Phillips, 2003; Jeanrenaud, 2002; Lockwood et al, 2006; Alcorn, Luque and Valenzuela, 2003). The Fourth (Phillips, 2003) and Fifth (Locke & Dearden, 2005), World Congresses on National Parks and Protected Areas held in 1992 and 2003 respectively, gave further recognition to the sustainable use of natural resources. Drawing on those principles, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN, 2007) recognised that including local people in protected areas' establishment and management is crucial for achieving effective conservation. In the same sense, the Convention on Biological Diversity through its Programme of work on Protected Areas (Borrini-Feyarabend, Kothari & Oviedo, 2004, p.41) recognised that it is "unacceptable for protected areas to disempower or impoverish their resident communities".

Despite its wide acceptance, there are two major concerns around the applicability of the 1990s' narratives (Jeanrenaud, 2002, Locke & Dearden, 2005; Phillips, 2003). One of the concerns is about the relative importance that social science and natural science inputs should have in decision-making processes. For example, Locke and Dearden (2005) are of the idea that privileging social factors in decision-making processes could devalue the importance of scientific research and undermine conservation efforts, therefore impacting negatively on the ecosystems. In this sense, these authors maintain that "humans must leave some areas alone as core habitat for these species to reproduce and raise their young in secure conditions" (ibid, p.5). Along the same lines, Jeanrenaud (2002) believes that privileging local perspectives can preclude managers from focusing on wider environmental threats. Similarly, Locke and Dearden (2005) emphasise that when including local people in protected area management, caution should be exercised to prioritise development over conservation (moved here). In contrast, Phillips (2003) considers that protected areas need to be managed with social and economic objectives, in addition to conservation objectives. The idea behind this type of

management is that protected areas have the potential to accommodate poverty reduction projects and strategies.

The second issue around the applicability of the latest narratives is the feasibility of using participatory approaches in the management of protected areas. While participation is widely recognised as a pillar for achieving success in development (Chambers, 1995), several authors affirm that participation in protected areas management can also have major downsides. For example, Phillips (2003) considers that involving every stakeholder in conservation decisions can represent large demands of time, staff and money resources from protected areas' managers. This author also mentions that not all local communities are able or aware of the need to use resources in a sustainable way, therefore making it harder to achieve management decisions for the protection of a natural area.

Clearly, the extent of the applicability of the 1990s paradigm by protected areas' managers and planners is a very controversial subject. For instance, participatory exercises can create conflicts and confrontation when the priorities of different groups contradict one another. Moreover, some authors are of the idea that, even if consensus is achieved, the long term viability of protected areas can be severely compromised if short term goals (e.g. poverty reduction) undermine long term conservation goals (Locke & Dearden, 2005). There is a strong counterargument to this statement, in the sense that protected areas are not sustainable on the long term when they are not "of value, in the widest sense, to the nation as a whole and to local people in particular" (Beltran, 2000, p. 4).

According to the current body of literature (Borrini-Feyerabend, 2003a, 2003b; Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari & Oviedo, 2004; Chambers, 2005; Kothari, 2006a; Zuniga, 2003) it seems that the 1990s narrative (which one? Remind us) remains valid to the present, despite the controversies this paradigm has given rise to. Moreover, it appears that this paradigm has been reinforced by the worldwide recognition of Community Conserved Areas (CCA) (Kothari, 2006b) and their incorporation as one of the four types of protected areas recognised by the IUCN (see section **2.8**)

Community conserved areas are the "oldest and one of the most widespread types of governance of natural resources existing on the planet" (Borrini-Feyerabend, 2003b, p. 99).

However, many of them get limited praise by formal conservation bodies for several reasons including the lack of legal support and the lack of recognition of local capacities. Therefore, their recognition in the latest international conservation summits entails the recognition of their importance of the people that manage these areas and of a shift in favour of formal support for such approaches.

The relevance of this change is that this acknowledgement, –by formal conservation circles–, is underpinned by the recognition of the importance of local and indigenous people in conservation. These areas are examined in more detail in section **2.8**.

2.4 The role of participation in managing protected areas

Most of the recent literature in development studies and conservation recognises the importance of participation in community development and natural resources' conservation (e.g. Chambers, 1997; Chambers, 2005; Pimbert & Pretty, 1997; Colchester, 1997; Groves & Hinton, 2004; Jeanrenaud, 2002; Lockwood & Kothari, 2006; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2004; United Nations General Assembly, 1992; Wallace et al, 2006). Although there is no universal definition of the term “participation”, this concept can be understood as a mechanism that allows people to contribute to a particular outcome. Participation is considered as a good practice in conservation and in rural development. In rural development, participation is regarded as necessary to ensure that projects and programmes are adequate to fit the local culture and meet local needs, to keep people informed of plans, ongoing activities and results. Participation is also considered to give people the opportunity to influence decisions, and to secure sound long-term sustained goals (Edwards & Hulme, 1992; Fisher, 1997; UN, 1998; Wallace et al, 2006). The reasons for including people in conservation are not very different. As Principle 10 of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development of the Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development highlighted:

“Environmental issues are best handled with participation of all concerned citizens, at the relevant level. At the national level, each individual shall have appropriate access to information concerning the environment that is held by public authorities, including information on hazardous materials and activities in

their communities, and the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes. States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available. Effective access to judicial and administrative proceedings, including redress and remedy, shall be provided” (United Nations General Assembly, 1992).

As was discussed in the previous section, there has been a trend in conservation thinking over the last decades towards the increased participation of local people in the management of protected areas. Indeed, the initial recognition of the potential of local people’s local knowledge and hands-on work in the 1980s evolved into the acceptance that people could make a stronger contribution if they participated in every stage and activity related to protected areas’ management, in the 1990s.

Clearly, there is a wide range of ways in which people can “participate” in a project or a programme. In the aim of conceptualising the multiple meanings of participation, several authors have unfolded the term into types and degrees (Arnstein, 1969; Kanji & Greenwood, 2001; Pimbert & Pretty, 1995; UNEP, 1998). This research will make use of Pimbert & Pretty’s classification for the purpose of guiding the discussion in chapter 6. According to Pimbert & Pretty, there are seven types of participation: (1) passive participation, (2) participation in information-giving, (3) participation by consultation, (4) participation for material incentives, (5) functional participation, (6) interactive participation, and (7) self-mobilisation (See table 1).

Pimbert and Pretty’s (1995) classification of participation can be understood as a scale or a ladder along which the seven participation types are ordered according to an increasing degree of people’s involvement. So, for example, the involvement required in ‘passive participation’ (category 1) is less than that required in “participation in information-giving” (category 2). In the same sense, ‘self-mobilisation’ entails the highest level of involvement.

It is apparent that there is a direct correspondence between the levels of participation and the evolution of conservation practice. Old conservation paradigms are characterised by low levels of participation while more recent paradigms promote the highest levels of participation in the

Table 1. A typology of participation (Pimbert & Pretty, 1995)

Typology	Components of Each Type
1. Passive Participation	People participate by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. It is a unilateral announcement by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
2. Participation in information giving	People participate by answering questions posed by extractive researchers and project managers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research or project design are neither shared nor checked for accuracy.
3. Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted, and external agents listen to views. These external agents define both problems and solutions, and may modify these in the light of people's responses. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making and professionals are under no obligation to take on board peoples' views.
4. Participation for Material Incentives	People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Much in-situ research and bioprospecting falls in this category, as rural people provide the fields but are not involved in the experimentation or the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end.
5. Functional Participation	People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organization. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may become self-dependent.
6. Interactive Participation	People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local groups or the strengthening of existing ones. It tends to involve interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. These groups take control over local decisions, and so people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7. Self-Mobilization	People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. Such self-initiated mobilization and collective action may of may not challenge existing inequitable distributions of wealth and power.

scale. In this sense, Pimbert & Pretty (1995) have identified that participation types 1 to 4 ('passive participation' to 'participation for material incentives') are not enough to achieve effective conservation under the current paradigm. This is because when people participate exclusively by giving information or working as labour force, for example, no ownership is created.

There is an interesting trait associated with the sixth and seventh types. In these types, the objectives of projects or programmes are not predetermined but defined either with (interactive participation), or exclusively by (self-mobilisation) local groups. If interpreted through the lens of protected area management, these participation types refer to local people deciding over the fate of protected areas. What is interesting in this argument is that this idea implies handing in the power of decision over protected area design and management to local groups. However, this is not yet accepted in formal conservation circles. As Pimbert & Pretty (1995, p. 30) state: “Whilst recognising the need for peoples' participation, many conservation professionals place clear limits on the form and degree of participation that they tolerate in protected area management”, demonstrating that early conservation paradigms still permeate protected area management.

Evidently, the preferred degree of participation of local people in protected areas is related to the conservation paradigm embraced.

Scales of participation are a simple and effective idea to depict participation classes and orient development work. Nonetheless, Chambers (2005, p.105-107) has warned us against the use of these scales as the only mechanism to guide field practitioners. Indeed, as this author mentions, high participation levels do not necessarily imply better practices and *vice versa*. For example, ‘participating for material incentives’ (category 4) might be adequate if participatory exercises prevent people from going to work and earning their daily wage. In the same sense, ‘self mobilisation’ (category 7) can have great downsides such as enabling local elites to subjugate less powerful sectors of the same community.

Moreover, Chambers (1995, p.39-41) has also given additional words of caution about the expectations of using participation. This author highlights that, although sustainable projects and programmes require people to participate, the use of participative methods do not necessarily guarantee sustainability. This author states that other factors should be considered as well. Among these factors are: (i) being aware of what he calls the “upper-to-upper biases”. This term refers to the tendency to exclude the lower sectors of the community, such as the poorest, the women, the weak and the overworked. This can happen when interacting only with the elites, the men or the leaders, or as a result of time constraints. The second factor is taking into account that participatory exercises might lead to what Chambers (op cit)

denominates as the ‘self-sustaining’ myth’. This refers to the situation where people involved in participatory exercises act the way they think will please the researchers or managers. This situation, which is a consequence of power inequalities, leads to mutual deception by both parties. The third factor refers to the need to put aside rigid schemes and embrace a flexible environment that fully enables participatory exercises. Finally, the last factor is making certain that participatory methods are congruent with the “behaviour, approaches and methods” of the project or programme.

These factors are intimately connected with the ‘process approach’ that will be discussed in the second part of section 2.6.

2.5 Nongovernmental Organisations (NGOs)

2.5.1 Defining and demystifying Nongovernmental Organisations (NGOs)

The term *nongovernmental organisation* (NGO) is challenging to define due to a wide number of connotations existing in the literature (Fisher, 1997; Maslyukivska, 1999; Princen & Finger 1994; United Nations Development Programme, 2006; United Nations Department of Public Information, 2004).

According to Fisher (1997) the definitions of an NGO can be grouped in two main discourses. One of these discourses characterises NGOs as organised groups separated from within the nation that engage in activities contributing to the wellbeing of societies without generating profits, and whose members are voluntary rather than legally bound to the institution.

The United Nations Department of Public Information’s definition of NGO is an excellent example of this discourse. According to this organisation, a non-governmental organisation is a:

“not-for-profit, voluntary citizens’ group, which is organized on a local, national or international level to address issues in support of the public good. Task-oriented and made up of people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring citizens’ concerns to Governments, monitor policy and programme implementation, and encourage participation of

civil society stakeholders at the community level. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help monitor and implement international agreements. Some are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, the environment or health” (United Nations Department of Public Information, 2005).

Several specialists, including Escobar (1995) and Fisher (1997) believe that this discourse has a number of failures. In the first place, according to these authors, it stereotypes NGOs as institutions necessarily committed to social wellbeing. However, clearly NGOs differ from one another in nature and purposes. For example, the goals of some NGOs can be unrelated to social wellbeing (ie. protecting a particular animal species) or favour a specific societal group over others (e.g. NGOs supporting separatist groups). Moreover, as stated above, NGOs can have a wide range of ideological orientations, and in this sense, support the position of a particular party, either be that of its own Board of Directors, or that of the industry or the State (Fisher, 1997). In this respect, Bell (2003) argues that NGOs might act as agents of the government or other high level organisations implementing their practices in local communities. Furthermore, external pressure and orientation can detract NGOs from committing to social wellbeing. This will be dealt with in more detail in the next sections.

Secondly, as Fisher (1997) comments, there has been strong criticism about the real impact of NGO activities on societies. For instance, Fowler (2000) maintains that NGOs have a limited direct outreach compared to that of governments because NGOs tend to manage smaller scale programmes and projects than governments. Moreover, he argues that NGOs’ contribution to poverty reduction appears to be modest. This is because the support that a community can receive through NGOs’ work often targets only a small fraction of the obstacles that people face in trying to overcome poverty. Fowler (ibid) stresses that the outputs of development NGOs can be short-lived because the ongoing provision of the services provided by these institutions changes according to fluctuations in aid support. Thirdly, these critics argue that the consideration of NGOs as “not for profit” and “separate from the state” can be misleading. In fact, NGOs can engage in activities that generate financial gains and not necessarily are autonomous from government institutions. In this sense Boli (2006), indicated that “non profit” organisations can be closely related to both government and “for profit” organisations.

Picking up on this theme, Brown and Slivinski (2006) mention that despite their services tending to be free of charge or provided at low cost, it is common practice for NGOs to engage in income generating activities to further support their mission and to pay their overheads. Among these activities are the provision of ancillary services such as private consultancies or workshops as well as fundraising and the operation of shops. These authors also mention that many NGOs operating under financial constraints often resort to diversifying their sources of income (i.e. create income generating or commercial activities) as well as implementing strategies to attract new donors.

Brown and Slivinsky (2006) take up James (1983) classification of commercial activities of NGOs. This author distinguishes two types of these activities. The first type corresponds to services that have no direct impact on the NGOs' missions and the second type, to services that impact negatively on the NGOs' missions by distracting the NGOs or interfering with their goals. This situation will be dealt with in more detail in the section referring to aid trends.

Nonetheless, Brown and Slivinsky (2006) stress that income generating activities are normally not the main priority of NGOs but an option to generate revenues that can be used to fund mission-oriented services.

Similarly, in believing that NGOs are separate from the state, Fisher indicates that this view overlooks the connections and interactions between NGOs and their home governments. There are examples in the literature of NGOs that (1) create strong partnerships with their home governments towards the achievement of common goals (Lockwood et al, 2006) (i.e. disaster relief, management of protected areas), (2) participate in policy making processes by providing information or evidence in support or against official points of view (Bell, 2003), (3) are organised and/or maintained by governments (Constantino-David, 1992) and (4) where NGOs' actions promote changes in the views of policymakers and government policy (Bell, 2003; Princen & Finger, 1994). Moreover, as Fisher (1997, p.451) states, governments provide the public space where NGOs exist. In this sense, governments "affect NGOs orientation and their ability to organise freely"

Clearly, there are many examples of NGOs that defy the conventional discourse defining them. The second discourse identified by Fisher (1997) recapitulates on these observations and

proposes an alternative understanding of the nature of NGOs. This discourse highlights the diversity and evolving qualities of these institutions. In Fisher's opinion, NGOs are "one possible form of collective action and human community" (p.439) characterised by "evolving processes within complexes of competing and overlapping practices and discourses" (p.459).

There are a number of features derived from this definition. In the first place, it highlights that the term NGO encompasses an enormous diversity of institutions. Picking up on that theme, Princen and Finger (1994, p.6) support Fisher's argument and distinguish seven aspects in which NGOs can vary: "size, duration, range and scope of activities, ideology, cultural background, organisational culture and legal status". On the basis of this diversity, this discourse allows for the existence of NGOs whose purposes differ and even, contradict, the principles proposed under the conventional discourse. Therefore, contributing to social wellbeing, as well as operating separately from the government and commercial purposes do not define NGOs, but only describe the principles under which some NGOs are established and managed. Indeed, for Fisher, the wide scope of institutions denominated as NGOs can include a vast array of organisations that interact with other institutions by virtue of their priorities, purposes and ideologies. In fact, this discourse accepts the existence of NGOs that stem from, contribute to, or serve as sources of alternatives to the existing regimes.

An additional strength of this discourse is the recognition of NGOs as evolving entities that reshape and adjust to both external and internal circumstances. It is the connections and relations of NGOs with other institutions that trigger adapting processes.

This research will explore the case study NGO from the perspective of both discourses.

2.5.2 Local NGOs and process approaches: their importance in development

The definition of NGOs provided by the United Nations' Department of Public Information draws attention to the fact that the term NGO can be applied to organisations functioning at the local, national and international levels (Boli, 2006; Fisher, 1997). To avoid confusion, in this study I will distinguish between local and international NGOs.

For the purpose of this research, local NGOs are defined as civil society organisations operating in a particular locality or neighbourhood, primarily engaged in social and

environmental activities (UNDP, 2006; Wallace et al, 2006). International NGOs, – also called northern NGOs (Edwards & Hulme, 1992) –, are defined as transnational bodies that pursue “goals and purposes that transcend the boundaries of national territories and state jurisdictions” (Boli, 2006). This thesis will focus on the role of local NGOs.

Local NGOs have different origins, organisational objectives and modus operandi (Fisher, 1997; Fowler, 2000). However, much of the literature (Chambers, 1997; Edwards & Hulme, 1992; Groves & Hinton, 2004; Wallace et al, 2006) affirms that these organisations share similar operating principles, potentials and constraints.

Local NGOs are conceptualised as grassroots level organisations that engage in programmes and projects tailored to meet specific needs of local communities, planning and managing their activities through process approaches. These approaches are heavily reliant on the following principles. Firstly, the process approaches encourage participation to accommodate local knowledge and skills and increase the sense of ownership and commitment, as well as the likelihood of sustainability. Secondly, the process approaches encourage a flexible and adaptive style of planning and managing to allow for the incorporation of lessons learnt into subsequent phases of planning and implementation. Lastly, these approaches favour the strengthening of existing institutions and leadership to avoid the creation of parallel structures and to build local capacities (Bond & Hulme, 1992; Chambers, 1997; Edwards & Hulme, 1992; Fowler, 2000; Groves & Hinton, 2004; Wallace et al, 2006). The origin of, and the relationships of, the process approaches will be discussed in more detail in section 2.6.

Clearly, the process approaches favour a good understanding of the local context and foster strong and long term relationships with local communities. Besides, they are effective in reaching sectors of the society normally excluded from wider development initiatives (i.e. national level programmes).

Moreover, the use of the process approaches have the potential of increasing the pool of development knowledge as a result of experimenting with creative initiatives, some of which can become successful models of working with the poor.

The possibility of fine tuning with local needs that this approach conferred local NGOs resulted in a widespread recognition of these institutions as invaluable agents of social

development, particularly during the 1990's (Fowler, 2000). This recognition in turn, led donors and other organisations that support local NGOs to consider them as increasingly important institutions through which to channel aid support (Fowler, 2000; Wallace et al, 2006).

However, community development channelled through local NGOs faces a number of challenges. In the first place, the relatively small size of local NGOs limits the outreach of their activities (Fowler, 2000; Princen & Finger, 1994). This has several consequences. Amongst them is the lack of capacity to adequately address large scale issues (for example, poverty or ecosystem degradation) even when several local NGOs concentrate on the same issue. Indeed, as Princen & Finger (1994, p. 32) point out “a scattering of local projects, however, successful individually is not likely to meet in the aggregate the magnitude of regional, let alone global changes” Fowler (2000) believes this is due to inadequate coordination, competition and duplication of effort and mistakes. Moreover, in situations where synergistic and threshold effects are important (i.e. nature conservation) the combined effect of several local NGOs is even less efficient (Bell, 2003). All these authors maintain that in this sense, governments are better equipped to contribute to significant social change and in promoting environmental sustainability.

In addition, the small size that is characteristic of most local NGOs puts them in a disadvantaged position in respect to higher level institutions and forces. This constrains the ability of local NGOs to influence the political and economic forces that drive the situations NGOs deal with (Bell, 2003), and also, makes them vulnerable to external circumstances and forces, such as political crisis or policy changes (Dawson, 1992).

The second challenge in trying to achieve community development through local NGOs' work relates to a series of contingent factors allowing the implementation of the process approaches for planning and management. One of these factors is the adequate operation of these approaches by the local NGO. As several authors have mentioned, it can be challenging to ensure for example, that all voices are heard, that tensions, tedious moments, power issues, iterative and lengthy processes and other like situations are handled properly, that consensus is reached even though different members of the community hold different points of view, that people do not feel compelled to participate and that the community benefits from being

involved in the NGO processes (Chambers, 1995; Fowler, 2000; Wallace et al, 2006). As Chambers (1995) mentions, the behaviour and attitudes of the institutions and professionals responsible for planning and managing development projects and programmes can favour or hinder these outcomes. Along the same lines, Fisher (1997) emphasises the heterogeneity of local NGOs and highlights that not all of them are equally committed to social development. Therefore, this author warns against thinking that all local NGOs are direct representatives of the local poor. A specific case of this situation is local environmental NGOs. These organisations are set up for conservation purposes, and only support local populations as a consequence of their primary role.

Along with the concerns described above, the implementation of the process approaches by NGOs is largely dependant on the presence of certain characteristics in the local communities. These characteristics include strong community organisation and commitment to the collective well-being, as well as economic stability (Dawson, 1992; Pimbert & Pretty, 1995).

The last challenge in trying to achieve community development through local NGOs' work relates to a series of implications derived from external forces affecting the performance of these organisations. Among these forces are included donors' requirements. In this research, the term 'donor' refers to any institution providing financial support to local NGOs, such as specialised agencies of developed countries (i.e. NZAID), multilateral agencies (e.g. United Nations), international NGOs, foundations and charities, as well as funds from private sources.

Indeed, local NGOs are normally compelled to comply with external demands in addition to pursuing their own priorities and agendas. These demands are driven by local NGOs being dependent on external financial assistance. Compliance with these procedures and practices decreases the capacity of local NGOs to fulfil their purposes as a result of added workload and constraining adaptive management and participation. The next section will examine in more detail the power issues associated with NGOs.

2.6 Power in development and conservation approaches

The concept of power is of key importance in the management of projects and programmes. The purpose of this section is to discuss how power affects the management of protected areas and the performance of local NGOs.

Power, –as with participation–, is a term with many interpretations. In this research, ‘power’ refers to a hierarchical situation that allows a strong party to exert influence over a weak party. Or, in Chambers’ (1995) words, to a situation in which the ‘uppers’ exert influence on the ‘lowers’. Examples of uppers-lowers relationships are: donors–recipients, high ethnic groups–low ethnic groups, land owner–land user, rich–poor.

Specialists in protected area management and in development have pointed out that power is at the centre of interactions between people of institutions, permeating decisions at all levels in both fields (Benitez-Ramos, Barrance & Stewart, 2005; Bond & Hulme, 1999; Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari & Oviedo, 2004; Chambers 1995, 1997, 2005; Fisher, 1997; Fowler, 2000; Ghimire & Pimbert, 1997; Grove & Hinton, 2004; Jeanrenaud, 2002; Pimbert & Pretty, 1995; Phillips, 2003; Wallace, Bornstein & Chapman, 2006, Water, 2007).

Power has different manifestations, some subtler than others. As Fisher (1997, p. 458) mentions, power can be exercised through a direct “confrontation between two adversaries”, but more often, “through the strategic manipulation of the options of the other”. In this case, Fisher (1997, p. 458) maintains that power becomes a “question of government, in which to govern is to structure the field of possible actions of others”. Water (2007, p. 24) asserts that some manifestations of power are so subtle that they require a “deeper level of reflexivity in order to recognise the issues of power at play”.

In development, power is commonly wielded as an imposition of the world view (perceptions of time, space, progress, knowledge and values) of those who drive the development process over the intended beneficiaries (Water, 2007). In the opinion of Selener (1997) it is through power that development ‘experts’ impose their view on the beneficiaries, reproducing colonialist and imperialist forms.

In protected area management, this ‘world view’ tends to be constituted by elements of the 1970s and 1980s conservation narratives (see section 2.3), and is mostly driven by orthodox environmental science principles (Jeanrenaud, 2002) and prioritises conservation, as well as private interests from the international leisure industry and other commercial groups (Ghimiri and Pimbert, 1997). With some remarkable exceptions, this view neither gives the “weaker actors” (Chambers & Pretty, 1995, p. 137) a stake in decision-making processes, nor acknowledges local views and needs adequately (Jeanrenaud, 2002, p. 16).

Power wielded this way has several effects. For local groups associated with protected areas, the most immediate effect is a feeling of disempowerment and deep frustration towards externally imposed priorities that do not fit local situations (Chambers & Pretty, 1995). Under these circumstances, people see wildlife conservation as unfamiliar and discriminatory (Ghimire & Pimbert, 1997). For the natural environment, the effect of excluding local communities is manifested as a devaluation of “the values and belief systems that sustain ecological practices” (Borrini-Feyerabend, 2003a).

Sustained power over local people tends to cause increased hardship through loss of access to resources and spaces, and disruption of traditional livelihoods. This in turn results in people’s lack of support of, or even opposition to the project (Ghimire & Pimbert, 1997; Lockwood and Kothari, 2006). West, Igoe and Brockington (2006) have documented a number of cases where disregard, exclusion or displacement of people in protected areas has triggered social conflicts and destruction of the natural environment.

There are multiple studies related to the effects of power in development and it is beyond the boundaries of this review to deal with them extensively. However, it is of special interest to refer to the particular case when donors exert power on local NGOs.

As several authors have noted (Fisher, 1997; Fowler, 2000, Wallace et al, 2006), although some local NGOs are created and maintained by governments and commercial firms, most local NGOs are dependant on financial assistance from donors. Several authors (Chambers 1997; Chambers, 2005; Fisher, 1997; Fowler, 2000; Groves & Hinton, 2004; Wallace et al, 2006) have pointed out that local NGOs and donor organisations are not peers in practise but rather engage in a polarised situation where financial resources confer donors a dominant

status over that of the local NGOs receiving their resources. In other words, the relationship between donors and local NGOs is power unbalanced.

The clearest evidence of these differences in power is what Wallace et al (2006, p. 10) call a “framework of norms universally accepted and used” to deliver aid funds. This framework of norms is constituted by a series of conditions set by donors, with which NGOs are expected to comply. These conditions range from tools intended to guide local NGOs’ planning, management and activities’ reporting (i. e. logframes or reporting systems) and standardised accounting requirements, to donor requests in terms of adherence to specific timeframes and the production of measurable and predictable outputs (Brehm, 2001; Fowler, 2000; Groves & Hinton, 2004; Wallace et al, 2006).

There is increasing evidence (Brehm, 2001; Chambers 1997; Groves & Hinton, 2004; Wallace et al, 2006) that the compliance with these procedures and practices impacts negatively on the work of local NGOs. The reasons for this situation are multiple, and include, in the first place, the associated difficulties of local NGOs to comply with procedures and practices that have foreign structures and logics, are culturally different from the ones local NGOs normally follow and have timing regimes that do not adjust to NGOs timeframes. The second reason is that the rigidity and lack of flexibility of those procedures and practices exclude the possibility of adaptive management and participation. Lastly, these conditions are experienced as time and resource consuming processes that divert NGOs’ staff attention from development work to paperwork.

Clearly, the conditions and timetables imposed by donors constrain the development work of NGOs and undermine their independence, authority and accountability to the local communities. However, these conditions are commonly accepted by NGOs as the only mechanisms through which to be accountable to donors in order to secure financial support (Wallace et al, 2006) and consequently, to secure the continuity of the projects and fulfilment of their objectives as institutions..

Evidently, the recognition of power manifestations is crucial in achieving effective development. Chambers and Pettit (2004) maintain that when power is exposed, it becomes easier to find avenues of action to make development more inclusive (and management of

protected areas). This in turn, promotes social justice (Kothari, (2006a). As Ghimire and Pimbert (1997, p. 17) emphasise, “an appreciation of the different interests, values and agendas can help to understand, and deal with, the contested meanings and priorities different actors project onto nature”.

Power has many origins and ways of perpetuating itself. As Borrini-Feyerabend, Johnston & Pansky (2006, p,133) state, power can be the result of “having ‘unique’ knowledge or personal, family or group influence, political or financial influence, legal expertise, or the consequence of “violent coercion or non-violent civil disobedience”, among others. However, to help expose power, it is also important to acknowledge how power is maintained. In opinion of Chambers and Pettit (2004, p.137) power is maintained through “organisational norms and procedures combined with personal behaviours, attitudes and beliefs”. For a detailed analysis on these elements contributing to the maintenance of power, see Water’s analysis (2007).

The concept of power has been repeatedly taken up by the *process approaches*. These approaches, aimed at making development more effective, constitute the foundation of a shift in development thinking that started in the 1970s as a reaction to the negative effects of the implementation of conventional rural development.

Indeed, the implementation of projects and programmes during the first decades of modern development work (1950s to 1970s approximately) were characterised by what Chambers (1995) denominates the ‘Paradigm of Things’. This paradigm is built on the principles of objective rationality, profit maximisation, imported technology and external control and is focused on achieving economic growth. Past experiences have shown that most of the development outcomes from projects and programmes implemented under this paradigm are characterised by not being inclusive, reducing poverty, caring for the environment or being sustainable (Shepherd, 1998).

Process approaches evolved as a reaction to the results of the application of the Paradigm of Things, calling attention to “experimentation, learning, adaptation, participation, flexibility, building local capacities and organic expansion” (Bond & Hulme, 1999, p. 1339). The principles of the process approaches are recapitulated in the New Paradigm and the Paradigm

of People, described by Shepherd (1998) and Chambers (1995) respectively. Table 2 compares the main principles of the Paradigm of things and the Paradigm of people.

Table 2. Paradigm of Things and Paradigm of People (Chambers, 1995)

Point of departure and reference	Paradigm of Things	Paradigm of People
Mode	Blueprint	Process
Keyword	Planning	Participation
Goals	Pre-set, closed	Evolving, open
Decision-making	Centralised	Decentralised
Analytical assumptions	Reductionist	Systems, holistic
Methods, rules	Standardised, universal	Diverse, local
Technology	Fixed package	Varied basket
Professionals' interactions with clients	Motivating, controlling	Enabling, empowering
Clients seen as	Beneficiaries	Actors, partners
Force flow	Supply-push	Demand-pull
Outputs	Uniform, infrastructure	Diverse, capabilities
Planning and action	Top-down	Bottom-up

In the opinion of Chambers (1995), the essence of the shift from the Paradigm of Things to the Paradigm of People is a shift in power. When the power is shifted to the “lowers”: (1) participation at all levels is enhanced (2) the starting points of all decisions are local richness, priorities and needs and (3) avenues are created for learning and incorporating lessons into subsequent phases of development (See table 2). Through this, there are increased chances for sustainable outcomes, for learning and for local capacities, leadership and institutional strengthening.

Similarly, the evolution in conservation approaches since the 1970s represents a gradual transition to the increased involvement of those traditionally considered “lowers” in conservation, that is, local and indigenous people (versus conservation ‘experts’), local environmental NGOs (versus donors and government) and local policy implementers (versus national and international policy makers) (Jeanrenaud, 2002; Pimbert & Pretty, 1997).

To allow “lowers” to gain access to power and to give priority to local initiatives, institutions and knowledge, the paradigm shift should be manifested by changes in the organisational and social conditions in which development and conservation initiatives take place. Chambers (1995) and Pimbert and Pretty (1997) recognise that the “right” conditions are given by changes in the culture, procedures and priorities of development, research, teaching and conservation international and local organisations, as well as by changes in the behaviour and attitudes underpinning the relationships among the people working in these organisations. Of prime importance in conservation is the recognition of local rights over territory and resources. This condition enables people to be fully involved and to gain direct benefits from the initiatives (Pimbert & Pretty, 1997, p. 316).

In practice, these challenges are significant. Current economic regimes and a wide number of other sources of pressure on natural resources make the adoption of the required changes very difficult. However, in the light of the evidence, it seems that there are no other alternatives for ecosystems and their associated local and indigenous people.

This research will explore power relationships among the stakeholders involved in the Marine Natural Monument Cayos Cochinos. Special attention will be paid to relationships between stakeholders influencing the local NGO, between the local NGO and local people and within the local communities.

2.7 Financing of protected areas

The last thirty years have seen an exponential rise in the number of protected areas in the world. Indeed, since the creation of the first ‘modern’ protected areas in the 1860s, the number of these areas slowly increased to less than 20,000 protected areas in 1973. However, in 2005 there were 113,707 protected areas recorded in the World Database on Protected Areas (Chape, Harrison, Spalding and Lysenko, 2005).

These years have also seen increased pressure upon protected areas, particularly in developing countries. Economic development and resource utilisation in developed countries together with human population growth and poverty in developing countries have caused increased demands on natural resources and therefore, on protected areas (Lockwood & Kothari, 2006).

These trends, however, have not been accompanied by an adequate increase in the funds that worldwide are destined to these areas' management. According to Emerton, Bishop & Thomas (2006), in the last decades the growth in the number, extension and necessities of protected areas has exceeded the economic capacity to provide economic funding to sustain their management costs, not to mention the financial resources associated with community development. Lockwood and Quintela (2006) maintain that there are three main factors underpinning this situation. The first one is a state of chronic under-funding caused by donors favouring partners other than protected areas. This bias in preferences can be the result of prevalent low awareness of the overall importance of these areas, and is intensified by the recent shift in priorities of aid agencies away from protected areas and towards projects and programmes that are believed to contribute directly to poverty reduction, in accordance with the Millennium Development Goals (Emerton, Bishop & Thomas, 2006, p. 13). The second factor is a tendency in many countries to the restructuring of government agencies, causing the incorporation of protected area management units into broader ministries with a "consequent dilution of specific protected area funds" (Lockwood & Quintela, 2006, p. 78). The last factor is the gradual reduction in public expenditure that several countries, particularly developing countries, have experienced as a result of neo-liberal economic reforms (Lockwood & Quintela, 2006; Wallace et al, 2006).

The worldwide reduction in funding for protected areas represents an increase in the complexity of the current planning and management of protected areas (Phillips, 2003) and requires a greater contribution from several stakeholders to redress the situation. International conventions and declarations have called for increased protected areas funding and emitted recommendations in this respect (Emerton, Bishop, & Thomas, 2006; Lockwood & Quintela, 2006).

Similarly, protected areas have resorted to diversifying their funds and finding innovative alternatives to obtain funds and secure the long term viability of protected areas (Phillips, 1998). Traditional sources of protected areas funding include domestic government budgets, international assistance from specialised agencies of developed countries, multilateral agencies, international NGOs, foundations and charities, as well as funds from private sources (Emerton, Bishop & Thomas, 2006; Lockwood & Quintela, 2006; Phillips, 1998, 2003).

According to Emerton, Bishop and Thomas (2006) most of the domestic government funding and international donor assistance provides the bulk of protected area funding, the later source being more important in developing countries. However, these authors assert that the combined funding of these two sources is at present insufficient to meet protected area financing needs.

Alternatively, Emerton, Bishop and Thomas (2006, p. 27) describe several alternative mechanisms for protected area financing. These authors have grouped them in three categories: mechanisms for attracting and administering external funds, mechanisms for generating funding to encourage conservation activities, and mechanisms which employ market-based charges for protected-area goods and services. Examples of these mechanisms are given in table 3.

Table 3. Protected area financing mechanisms (adapted from Emerton, Bishop and Thomas, 2006)

Making market-based charges for protected-area goods and services	Generating funding to encourage conservation activities	Attracting and administering external inflows
Resource use fees Bioprospecting fees	Cost-sharing Investment, credit and enterprise funds	Private voluntary donations Environmental funds
Leases and concessions for private or community management of land, resources and facilities		NGO grants
Tourism charges	Local benefit-sharing/revenue sharing	Debt-for-nature swaps
Payments for environmental services Carbon offsets	Fiscal instruments	Government and donor budgets

The analysis of the case study will be done within the context of the current trends for financing protected areas.

2.8 Global frameworks for local communities in protected areas and governance in the context of the Vth World Parks Congress

Among the mechanisms for conservation of natural ecosystems, protected areas are a popular approach in most countries (Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari & Oviedo, 2004). The reasons for the establishment and the particularities of the management of protected areas vary across regions and times. This variation is a product of different circumstances such as motivations, cultural values, opportunities and stakeholders involved, and is partly responsible for an enormous diversity of protected areas.

In accordance with this diversity, and with the aim of providing international standards to allow for comparisons between countries, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) developed two systems for the classification of protected areas. The main criteria for each of these systems are the main management purpose (e.g. conservation, use or recreation) and the main management body of the protected areas, respectively. These classification systems are accompanied by guidelines that protected area managers can use to “determine appropriate activities in protected areas, establish criteria to assess management effectiveness, advocate in relation to protected areas, provide a basis for national protected area legislation and policy and international agreements, provide quality standards and as a tool for bioregional planning” (Lockwood, 2006, p. 86).

Despite their comprehensiveness, the IUCN has highlighted that these guidelines are not blueprint management plans. Instead, this organisation proposes that these guidelines should be treated only as recommendations for management practise and be used only after assessing the specific goals and needs of the area.

The first IUCN classification system for protected areas appeared in 1978. However, its current version dates from 1994. This system categorizes protected areas based on their primary management purpose(s). Categories in this system are ranked according to the degree of human intervention, categories Ia and Ib having the least intervention. The six categories of this classification system are described in Table 4 (IUCN, 1994) and a brief description of each category is given in appendix 1.

Table 4. IUCN classification system for protected areas according to management objectives (IUCN, 1994)

Category	Name	Purpose
Category Ia	Strict Nature Reserve	Protection area managed mainly for science
Category Ib	Wilderness Area	Protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection
Category II	National Park	Protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation
Category III	Natural Monument	Protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features
Category IV	Habitat/Species management area	Protected area managed mainly for habitat and species conservation often through management intervention
Category V	Protected landscape/ seascape	Protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation or recreation
Category VI	Managed resource protected area	Protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural resources

Even though this system and guidelines do not enjoy universal recognition (West, Igoe & Brockington, 2006), what is important is that these tools confirm the increased international acceptance of local people in protected areas. Indeed, the objectives and guidelines of all categories, except for category Ia, explicitly recognise the rights of ‘indigenous human communities’ to live within protected areas (See appendix 1). Of course, the degree of human intervention that IUCN recommends is in correspondence with the objectives of management of each category. The guidelines do not preclude the management of any area by local or indigenous peoples either, as long as the objectives are accomplished. Indeed, the guidelines are impartial regarding the management body in charge of protected areas. This position of neutrality, maintained throughout this classification system, is central in the conceptualisation of a second classification system.

The second classification system of the IUCN, still under discussion, was developed in 2002 in preparation for the Vth IUCN World Parks Congress (Borrini-Feyerabend, Johnston & Pansky, 2006). This system categorises protected areas on the grounds of the decision-making authority or authorities in charge: public, private, community or government sector (Lockwood et al, 2006). The IUCN refers to the categories of this system as ‘governance

types' understanding governance as "what a society enables – or at least is prepared to accept – in terms of the 'whos' and 'hows' of the relevant authority and responsibility" (Borrini-Feyerabend, Johnston & Pansky, 2006, p. 116).

A key achievement of this system is the recognition of the capacities and rights of local and indigenous people to administer (or co-administer) protected areas. Indeed, whereas the management classification system recognises people's rights to use protected areas, the classification system based on governance highlights that local and indigenous people can also be managers of these areas, either in association with other bodies (category B) or by themselves (category D).

This recognition marks the radical shift in thinking from previous approaches to conservation where the nullification and undermining of traditional institutions was commonplace, to new approaches that fully validate these institutions in formal conservation circles. Moreover, this recognition also implies a shift in thinking with respect to local livelihoods, evidencing the social costs of exclusionary approaches and recognising the importance of securing the conditions that allow traditional livelihoods to thrive.

The IUCN governance classification system is shown in table 5 and a detailed description of every category is provided in Appendix 2. Category B is of particular interest for this research. This category is discussed in more detail in the following section.

The presentation of the IUCN governance classification system during the Vth World Parks Congress was accompanied by the development of a set of "good governance" principles for protected areas. These principles are also grounded on the 1990s conservation paradigm and the process approaches in development, and highlight equity, participation and power issues. These principles are summarised and briefly described in table 6.

The discussion of the present thesis will pick up the concepts developed of co-management, mobile indigenous people and good governance, to analyse the findings.

Table 5. IUCN governance classification system for protected areas (Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari & Oviedo, 2004)

Type	Name of category	Sub-categories	Brief description
A	Government-managed protected areas	Federal or national ministry or agency in charge Local/municipal ministry or agency in charge Government-delegated management (e.g. to an NGO)	Protected areas with decision-making authority, responsibility and accountability in the hands of national (or sub-national) government
B	Co-managed protected areas	Transboundary management Collaborative management Joint management	Several social actors share decision-making authority, responsibility and accountability
C	Private protected areas	Declared and run by individual land-owner Declared and run by non-profit organisations (e.g. NGOs, universities, co-operatives) Declared and run by for profit organisations (e.g. individual or corporate land-owners)	Land and resource owners hold decision-making authority, responsibility and accountability
D	Community conserved areas (CCAs)	Declared and run by indigenous peoples Declared and run by local communities	Indigenous peoples or local—settled or mobile—communities hold decision-making authority, responsibility and accountability

Table 6. Good governance principles for protected areas (Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari & Oviedo)

Good governance principle	Description
Legitimacy and voice	Ensuring the capacity of men and women to influence decisions, on the basis of freedom of association and speech
Subsidiarity	Attributing management authority and responsibility to the institutions closest to the resources at stake
Fairness	Sharing equitably the costs and benefits of conservation and providing a recourse to impartial judgement in case of conflict
Do no harm	Making sure the costs and benefits of conservation are not “dumped” on weak social actors without any form of compensation
Direction	Establishing long-term conservation objectives grounded in an appreciation of ecological, historical, social and cultural complexities
Performance	Meeting the needs and concerns of all stakeholders while making a wise use of resources
Accountability	Having clearly demarcated lines of responsibility and ensuring a transparent flow of information about processes and institutions

2.9 Co-managed protected areas

Indigenous and local communities throughout the world are holders of a wide array of knowledge, skills, resources and institutions with great potential for conservation. This heritage is recognised in, and validated by, two of the four IUCN governance categories: co-managed protected areas and community conserved areas. This section examines these categories through the lens of the latter paradigms in conservation.

Co-managed areas are defined as “government-designated protected areas where decision-making power, responsibility and accountability are shared between governmental agencies and other stakeholders, in particular, the indigenous peoples and local and mobile communities that depend on that area culturally and/or for their livelihoods” (Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari & Oviedo, 2004, p. 32).

Insofar as there can be a wide range of possible co-management institutions, protected areas under this governance category constitute a heterogeneous group. Moreover, several factors emerging from the mixed management of these areas contribute to the diversity of these areas. Among these factors are: the relative roles and extent of engagement of each partner, the flexibility and adaptability of the agreement and the distribution of benefits among the stakeholders (Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari and Oviedo, 2004).

Although actors may differ across the wide spectrum of protected areas, these authors recognise that whenever local and indigenous communities live or use lands and resources within these areas, they should be considered as primary stakeholders in decision-making processes. Underlying this claim are the principles of governance for protected areas described in the previous section.

To enhance effectiveness and equity, the IUCN guidelines recommend that the bodies in charge of the co-management of protected areas: (1) share information, advice and conservation benefits with the concerned communities, (2) empower indigenous peoples and local and mobile communities to participate in protected area management, (3) engage the concerned communities in negotiation processes and management institutions, and (4) promote learning at all levels (Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari & Oviedo, 2004). Likewise, these guidelines have also presented the following policy recommendations, also applicable to

community conserved areas: (1) strengthen the cultural identity of indigenous peoples and local and mobile communities in particular regarding natural resource management and conservation, (2) secure the rights and responsibilities of indigenous peoples and local and mobile communities, (3) ensure legislative and policy backing to co-managed protected areas and community conserved areas, and (4) support capacity for co-management and community conservation (Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari & Oviedo, 2004,) . Clearly, these two sets of guidelines are aligned with new conservation narratives.

2.10 Conclusion

The last decades have seen a gradual but significant change in the paradigms underlying the practices of conservation and community development. In the first place, formal conservation circles have gradually abandoned the idea of “untouched wilderness” and embraced the recognition of the ancestral presence of local and indigenous groups as part of many so called natural ecosystems. Moreover, these circles have increasingly acknowledged the relevance of the active participation of local stakeholders in community development and protected area management.

The use of the latest conservation narratives and development paradigms in the creation of the IUCN classification systems for protected areas and of the ‘good governance principles’ for protected areas are two clear examples of the adoption of these new ideas. Derived from the same line of thinking is the consideration of local NGOs as invaluable agents through which community development and protected area management can be achieved. This consideration is based on an assumed immediateness of local NGOs to local communities.

Notwithstanding the recognition of the importance of the participation of local communities by recent conservation and development paradigms, early ‘people out’ conservation and community development approaches still permeate today’s practice. The exclusion of local communities in conservation and development is well explained as the direct consequence of being a situation of less power respect to other stakeholders who embrace ‘people out’ approaches.

The following chapter describes the methodology used to achieve the aims and objectives of this thesis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 presented an overview of the theories and trends in conservation and community development in the context of protected area management. This chapter examines the methodology on which this study is based. The research approach and methods used are discussed first, followed by the ethical considerations of this research and the constraints and key risks faced during the present research.

3.2 Approach

This field research followed primarily a qualitative and inductive approach. However, quantitative data were collected to support qualitative data.

A qualitative approach was used because it offered the potential of gaining a rich insight into the complex relationships of several actors and into the context and processes underpinning these relationships while conducting the research in its natural setting. This type of research permits the researcher to “observe social life in its natural habitat: to go where action is and watch” (Babbie, 2004, p. 281).

An inductive approach was selected with the intention of generating “general principles from specific observations” (Babbie, 2004, p. 25). In this case, the analysis of particular circumstances (i.e. those of the selected case study) was used to develop a general model or pattern that could be compared with other authors’ findings (Brehm, 2001; Groves & Hinton, 2004; Wallace et al, 2006).

3.3 Research strategy

There are several types of research strategies, or in Yin’s (1994, p.1) words, “several ways of doing social science research”. The ideal strategy for a particular research project depends on three main factors (Yin, 1994, p.7-9): the type of question being asked, the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events, and the extent of control on the events studied.

The strategy in this research is a case study. This strategy is used when the research centres on answering a 'how' or 'why' question about a contemporary event and when this event is looked at in its real setting (Yin, 1994). This is in agreement with the intentions of this research: to explore a present-day situation in the protected area where it takes place, with the intention of answering *how* a particular local NGO interacts with the communities associated with the area managed by this NGO.

According to Yin (1994), this study can be described as a single-case design with several embedded "subunits". The original intention was to focus on the influences of donors' procedures and practices on the work of the HCRF. However, as my understanding of the case study developed during the fieldwork, the primary focus of the case study of this research became the analysis of the relationship of this NGO with the communities in the context in which the HCRF operates. The groups of participants are: (1) members of the staff of the the HCRF, (2) members of the local communities of Cayos Cochinos, (3) members of donor organisations, (4) members of government institutions, and (5) members of a local NGO supporting the case-study NGO. Having multiple subunits of analysis makes it possible to increase the understanding of the case study and to triangulate information. Triangulation is one of the strengths of case studies (Yin, 1994). However, as Yin notes, having several subunits pose the risk of diverting attention from the holistic aspects of the case study to the particularities of the subunits. I avoided this pitfall by relying on my awareness of this potential, by constantly checking that the main focus of the discussion was centred on the study aims and through discussion with my supervisors.

The geographical area of this research comprises the Cayos Cochinos Natural Marine Monument and three mainland villages associated with it. I chose this site for two reasons. In the first place, Cayos Cochinos Natural Marine Monument is a fully legally protected area in Honduras. For this reason, it has well established agreements with the government and also has a management plan to guide its activities. In the second place, the fact that the same NGO had managed the protected area for over ten years, led to the assumption that it would have a reasonably well documented history, making it possible to enrich the analysis with information about its past.

It is intended that this study provide additional evidence about the issues associated with the management of protected areas by local NGOs as well as about the implications of the simultaneous management for conservation and community development. In doing so, this case study would provide evidence for or against previously developed theories in the aforementioned fields of knowledge. This is known as “statistical generalisation” (Yin, 1994).

3.4 Methods

Before going to the field, the principal method used was a review of documents published by the case study NGO and its donors as well as a stakeholder analysis. Once in the field, the main method was semi-structured interviews. However, I also used participant and non-participant observation and collected secondary data. After the fieldwork, I reviewed more literature to have a wider theoretical background of the issues encountered while in the field.

3.4.1 Review of literature and documents published by the case study NGO

The review of documents published online by the case-study NGOs focused on identifying the stakeholders and their structures of engagement. Particular attention was paid to the nature of the funding arrangements, the statements of objectives and purpose of the stakeholders, their management plans and empowering legislation or authority and internal organisational structures. This research also provided a basis for identifying and contacting initial participants, and also, for preparing the questions for the interviews. I had in mind that such publications were (semi-) official and therefore might differ from what actually happened on the ground. However, this in itself would provide valuable data.

3.4.2 Stakeholder analysis

Prior to going to the field, I conducted a preliminary stakeholder analysis. Stakeholder analysis “aims to evaluate and understand stakeholders from the perspective of an organisation, or to determine their relevance to a project or policy. In carrying out the analysis, questions are asked about the position, interest, influence, interrelations, networks and other characteristics of stakeholders, with reference to their past, present positions and future potential” (Brugha & Varvasovsky, 2000, p. 239) This analysis served three main purposes in

this research. In the first place, it aided me in determining in advance who would be the main participants in the interviews so I could arrange meetings before travelling, or at least, establish initial contact. Secondly, this analysis was a first insight into the power of each stakeholder over the NGO or the communities. Lastly, it allowed me to detect interactions between stakeholders.

Several sources of information informed an initial list from which I selected the stakeholders. Among these sources were: (1) email enquiries to the executive director of the HCRF about the organisation of the communities and the NGO donors, (2) the HCRF's management plan, (3) the HCRF's website and, (4) the donors' websites. This analysis was not conducted to select the people within the communities, as their identities were not known at this stage. However, I had in mind the idea of involving both local leaders and people without such positions.

With respect to the HCRF, I selected staff involved in implementation, management or coordination positions and thus, directly involved with either the communities or the donors. As for the people from the donor organisations, I selected staff who had been involved with Cayos Cochinos and who had top and middle-tier positions in these organisations.

The output of the stakeholder analysis was a preliminary list of stakeholders. I used this list to make initial contact with the main stakeholders through email, fax or phone calls, to invite them to be part of the study and confirm their willingness to participate. Not everybody replied and one person refused to participate. However, this exercise was crucial in providing a starting point for the first days in the field.

3.4.3 Participants from within the community

I selected the initial contacts from within the communities through snowball sampling (Babbie, 2004). To do so, I asked some staff members from the HCRF the names of two or three people in each community who had been living in the area for a considerable amount of time. Having initial contacts helped me to introduce myself into the communities. However, I was aware that this sampling technique could introduce a bias by restricting the sample to the people suggested by the HCRF. Therefore, once the first snowball sampling had taken place,

I selected the rest of the community interviewees by purposeful selection. The technique of purposeful selection is appropriate “when the population parameters are not known and/or when you want to learn about select cases or variation across a set of cases” (Lofland et al, 2006, p. 91). The type of purposeful selection used was what Lofland et al (2006) define as *maximum variation sampling*, that is, a selection intended to capture the widest possible diversity. The only requisite I asked for was people that they had been living in the area for a considerable amount of time. Diverse people such as fishers and people who do not fish, women and men, leaders and not leaders, constituted my samples.

3.4.4 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the central part of the work in the field. Semi-structured interviews are conversations guided by the researcher around particular topics (Lofland et al, 2006; Scheyvens & Storey, 2003). The guides for these conversations were lists of questions and prompts that I prepared before going to the field. Questions were open to allow people to express their ideas and feelings freely, and to capture the complexity of people’s ideas. As there were three main groups of stakeholders (table 7), I prepared a list of questions and prompts for each group (See appendix 5).

Table 7. Stakeholders groups interviewed

Group No.	Stakeholders	No. interviewed
1	Staff members of the HCRF	6
2	Members of the five communities associated with Cayos Cochinos	30
3	Members of government institutions	20
	Members of donor organisations	
	Members of the local NGO supporting the case-study NGO	
	Members of Garifuna group ODECO	

Interviews with NGO and donors’ staff took place at their workplace while interviews with community people took place at their homes or workplaces, depending on the preference of the interviewees. Sample sizes were not predetermined but instead relied on the notion of “saturation point”. This concept refers to the point in research when “data collection no longer

generates new data, when the categories are ‘well developed in their properties and dimensions’ and when the relationships among these categories are established and validated” (Sarantakos, 2005, p.166). Overall, I conducted 56 interviews.

Interviews were recorded whenever permission was granted. In general, this accounted for all the participants that were not part of the communities and for some community members. When permission was denied, I took notes.

3.4.5 Participant and non-participant observation

Participant and non-participant observation are methods that allow the researcher to immerse in the case study (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975) in order to “bring data close to reality” and to understand and experience the world as the people living in it do (Sarantakos, 2005, 231). These types of observation differ in the position of the researcher with respect to the phenomenon studied. In participant observation, the researcher studies the phenomenon from the inside. In contrast, in non-participant observation, the researcher is positioned outside the phenomenon and is not part of the setting (Sarantakos, 2005).

Participant and non-participant observations provided invaluable information that complemented and contextualised the data gathered during the interviews. Opportunities for direct and participant observation were actively sought while in the field. However, the type of participation was decided once I was immersed in the situation, according to what I considered more pertinent. For example, I was an active participant in two of the meetings for the review of the Management Plan because I expressed my opinion and took part in discussion groups. In contrast I was a mere observant of the Garifuna communities’ livelihoods.

3.4.5 Review of previous research

I reviewed a study that explored the livelihoods of the Garifuna communities from a different angle (Russell, 2005) in the aim of drawing on some data and findings for comparison purposes. I also followed newspaper reports of events that I did not observe. I used these to triangulate the views expressed by the participants in my research.

3.5 Data organisation and analysis

Data analysis was preceded by the organisation of the material collected during the research. The data organisation process consisted of the following steps. Tape recorded interviews were logged onto the computer on the same day of the interview. These interviews were transcribed and saved in the computer along with written interviews and field notes. Printed material was classified and kept in a binder. A master list was created to keep a record of all information available.

Data was then classified in two steps. Firstly, information was grouped in four large groups corresponding to the original four research questions. Within each group, similar information was then prioritised and regrouped according to frequencies, magnitudes, structures, processes, causes and consequences. This strategy follows the logic described by Lofland et al (2006, p. 144-145). At this stage it was evident that there was a mismatch between the information obtained and the information required to answer the original four research questions. The reality of the situation differed significantly from the understanding gained from the pre-fieldwork and review of published documents. Consequently in the spirit of inductive case study research, the research questions were discarded (see chapter 1) and instead two new objectives were created. This kept the original research aim intact but enabled better use of the case-study.

Data analysis started with the revision and classification of notes taken during the transcription and classification stages and was completed during the writing-up process of the background, literature review and findings chapters of the present thesis.

3.6 Ethics

This research received approval from the HEC before conducting the proposed field component of the project. To ensure the study was conducted ethically, the following steps were taken:

- At the beginning of each interview, I explained to the participants the purpose of the study, the use I would give to the information, and their rights with respect to the information they share with me. They were informed that their participation was

voluntary and that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time, and were made aware of the time the interview would require. Similarly, I gave each participant my contact details, including mobile phone number. Mobiles were the only way in which I could be in touch with the community members.

- Every stakeholder was treated in the same way and I remained as impartial as possible. For example, I did not use the offices of one of the donors to work in, despite being offered a space and free internet connection, since this might be seen as if I was sponsored by them.
- Maximum care was taken to ensure data were handled confidentially. Written transcripts and oral presentations did not record expressly any type of uniquely identifying background data, answers or any other description that could recognise a participant in particular. Also, details of the interviewed participants were not available to anyone. Moreover, pseudonyms are used for all participants in this thesis due to ensure their anonymity and personal security.
- I also ensured the data gathered were safe and inaccessible to everybody else. To do this, I kept the electronic files containing data in password-protected files. While in the field I used a personal laptop, which required a password to log in. Once back in New Zealand, I erased the information from the laptop and maintained an only copy in the H drive of the university network. This information was password-protected.
- I contacted donors and NGO staff in advance, explaining who I was and the purpose of my research, so they felt more comfortable to speak to me during the interview.
- All the participants granted consent for their participation in this research. The nature of this consent varied across the participants. Participants other than community members signed a consent form (appendix 6) whereas participants from the communities were given the option of signing a consent form or giving verbal agreement to participate. When the second option was chosen, I recorded their voices granting permission.

3.7 Constraints

The main constraint encountered during this research was the mismatch between the nature of the case study I envisaged prior to going to the field and the reality encountered during the fieldwork. The most important aspects of this mismatch were that the support given to the communities by the HCRF was much less than I anticipated and that the HCRF was less reliant on donors and more financially independent than I expected. Indeed, the extent of support and dependency on grant aid did not correspond to the reality mentioned in the co-management agreement and the management plan of the protected area, as well as in other documents and in initial email communications. Due to this situation I was forced to redesign partially the research while still doing my fieldwork. Firstly, I broadened the range of organisations considered as stakeholders, to include the local NGO GAD, the three mainland Garifuna communities associated with Cayos Cochinos and the local government of Roatan. Secondly, I modified the questions in my questionnaires (the questionnaires appended reflect the modified questions). Lastly, I extend the fieldwork time to attend the review of the management plan. The modifications of my research were at all times consulted with my supervisors.

Later on, I also had to conduct an additional literature review. These circumstances had an impact on the available time for the fieldwork and the overall writing process.

Two other factors had an impact on the time available during the fieldwork. These factors were scheduling conflicts with all stakeholder groups and limited availability of community members, as a considerable number of them are constantly commuting to and from their mainland and island dwellings for work and private purposes.

An additional constraint was the difficulty in obtaining reliable documents published by the NGO and its donors. More of this situation is described more fully in the next section.

3.8 Risks

Two main risks were perceived in this research. The first one relates to potential biases and errors that could potentially affect the accuracy of the data. As Lofland et al (2006, p. 91) mention, data is susceptible to be: (1) contaminated by the interference of the researcher on the

phenomenon under study, (2) distorted by the personal characteristics and perspective of the researcher and, (3) not representative of the phenomenon under study as a result of defective sampling. It is expected that the triangulation of information obtained from several participants, as well as from observations and secondary data, decreased the likelihood of these risks. As Satantakos (2005, p.146) affirms, triangulation helps “to achieve a higher degree of validity, credibility and research utility”.

Another risk was the possibility of having low reliability and validity in the data collected during the interviews and obtained from secondary sources. Indeed, it is possible that the contentious nature of the management of Cayos Cochinos could have precluded some participants from speaking openly, and that crucial information was not made available by those who were in possession of it. In addition, it is possible secondary data could have lower quality than desirable. This was true for some reports generated by the HCRF, which were either incomplete or imprecise. To minimise the risk of incorporating false or inaccurate data, I also triangulated information from different sources and left out whichever information was considered doubtful.

3.9 Final comments

The qualitative case study approach and methods adopted were sufficiently flexible and robust to cope with a field context that was quite different from that anticipated by the pre-fieldwork analyses. Moreover, the situation encountered appears to have received little attention in published research literature and this led to a significant re-thinking in the field to ensure the adequacy and appropriateness of data.

This chapter presented the methodology used for this investigation. It examined firstly the research approach and methods used followed by the ethics considerations of this research. This chapter also described the constraints and risks faced during the fieldwork and the writing-up process. The next chapter presents the context in which the case study took place.

Chapter 4. Case-study context

4.1 Introduction

The case study in this research is a Marine Protected Area in Honduras where a local NGO has undertaken the responsibility for its management, and three mainland communities associated with this protected area. There are two communities living within the protected area, mostly members of a Central American ethnic group, and three communities located outside the protected area that depend on it for livelihoods.

The case-study area and the stakeholders (local NGO, local communities, donors and other organisations) are described in the following sections in order to provide context for the findings of the field research (Chapter 5).

4.2 Country profile

Honduras is a Central American country with an area of 110,100 km² (Harborne, Afzal & Andrews, 2001), a population of 7.2 million people and an annual population growth rate of 2.6% (UNDP, 2007).

In 2005, urban population accounted for 46.5% of the country's population, most of them living in the cities of Tegucigalpa, –the country's capital city–, and San Pedro Sula, –the main business city (World Bank, 2006a).

Honduras has a diversified economy, based on primary production, -especially agriculture, forestry and mining (Benitez-Ramos et al, 2005)-, international trading of agricultural commodities and manufacturing. During the first part of the twentieth century, the economy of Honduras was based on the production of bananas for export (Benitez-Ramos et al, 2005). In the second part of the century, however, the agricultural sector diversified to cater to a wider range of export markets. The reliance on, and expansion of, export crops is considered to have impacted on the environment, –due to the excessive use of agrochemicals and increasing demand for cultivated land–, and in the economy of the country, due to reliance on global markets and unfavourable terms of trade (Benitez-Ramos et al, 2005; Harborne et al, 2001).

More recently, the country has experienced a growth in the manufacturing sector, fostered by cheap Honduran labour. It is believed that this growth has created other problems in the country, such as an exodus to urban centres (Benitez-Ramos et al, 2005).

With a GNI per capita of US\$1200 in 1996 (The World Bank, n.d.), Honduras is considered as a middle income country (UNDP, 2007)². However, it is also one of the countries in Latin America with highest income inequalities. Indeed, in 2003 the GINI index for this country was 53.8, meaning that the average income of the 10% richest population was 53.8 times higher than that of the 10% poorest sector. Moreover, in 2004, 34.58% of the population in Honduras lived in poverty (UNDP, 2006b).

During the last years, Honduras' society has suffered major economic difficulties. In 1990, this country underwent a programme for structural adjustment with the concomitant privatisation of social services. Also, in 1998 Hurricane Mitch hit the country and caused an estimated \$5 billion of damage (Harborne, Afzal & Andrews, 2001). Although Hurricane Mitch had a significant impact across all sectors of the society, it is estimated that the consequences of this hurricane affected the poorest households the most. Indeed, these households were forced to commit their assets and efforts to a larger extent in order to cope and recover from the impacts of the hurricane (UNDP, 2007).

In 2003, Honduras qualified for large scale debt relief after been declared as a Highly Indebted Poor country by the International Monetary Fund (Benitez-Ramos et al, 2005).

4.3 Protected areas in Honduras

The Honduran government acknowledges ninety-five natural protected areas within its territory. This leaves out private areas destined for conservation and areas conserved by indigenous groups. Altogether, these ninety-five areas constitute the Protected Areas System of Honduras (SINAPH) (Hernandez, 2005). Seventy one of the SINAPH areas are legally established (gazetted); the rest are proposed.

² The World Bank uses three categories: high income (gross national income (GNI) per capita of US\$10,726 or more in 2005), middle income (US\$876–\$10,725) and low income (US\$875 or less) (UNDP, 2007, p.222).

SINAPH areas set aside approximately 30% of the national territory for conservation, safeguarding natural and cultural elements of national importance (Herlihy, 1997). Indeed, Honduras' protected areas include the lands of five of the nine existing indigenous groups in Honduras: Xicaques, Pech, Tawaka, Garifuna and Miskito. SINAPH protected areas also include 57 of the 60 existing ecosystems in the country (Hernandez, 2005).

SINAPH areas are established –and mostly owned–, by the Honduran government; however, a number of them are run by other institutions. The four main types of institutions involved in the management of the SINAPH areas are: federal governments, local governments, non-governmental organisations and private institutions. The two latter regimes operate under co-management agreements with the government. In these cases, the NGOs and the private institutions take up the management and fundraising role while the government assumes the regulatory role (Benitez-Ramos, 2005; Hernandez, 2005; Vreugdenhil et al, 2002). In 2006, 35.8% of the SINAPH areas were under co-management agreement. This proportion is expected to increase in coming years (Hernandez, 2005).

4.3.1 History

Historically, the protected areas of Honduras were initially in charge of the Department of Wildlife of the General Directorate of Renewable Natural Resources of the Ministry for Natural Resources (Vreughdenhil et al, 2002). However, in 1991 this responsibility was transferred to the newly created Department of Protected Areas and Wildlife (DAPVS) of the Honduran Corporation for Forestry Development (COHDEFOR) of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (SAG).

The Honduran Corporation for Forestry Development had existed long before the creation of the DAPVS. This semiautonomous organisation was created in 1974 with the purpose of managing government-owned forests and generating profits from their exploitation (AFE-COHDEFOR, 2000).

The DAPVS of the COHDEFOR was created to take on the overall responsibility over the country's protected areas through six main activities: implementing conservation policies, elaborating management plans, managing tourism, attending to the public, facilitating

environmental education within and around protected areas and coordinating institutional collaboration regarding the management of the areas (Vreugdenhil et al, 2002, p.7).

The 1992 Law for the Modernisation and Development of the Agricultural Sector, of neo-liberal orientation, ratified the role of COHDEFOR in protected areas (Hernandez, 2005). However, it decreased the responsibilities of this institution in other areas such as forest management. Through this law, COHDEFOR also changed its name to State Forest Administration of the Honduran Corporation for Forestry Development (AFE-COHDEFOR). Also, this law for the first time stated the feasibility of the involvement of external parties in the management of protected areas.

In 1993, the General Law for the Environment was passed. This law further reduced the involvement of AFE-COHDEFOR in natural resources management, by decreasing its responsibility for protected areas. This law established that AFE-COHDEFOR should share the responsibility of the implementation of policies with local governments (municipalities) and provided the legal basis for the involvement of civil groups, private organisations and federal organisations other than AFE-COHDEFOR in the conservation of the country's protected areas (Hernandez, 2005). The General Law for the Environment also created the SINAPH as a system tending to incorporate several stakeholders and decentralise the management and funding of protected areas.

However, it was not until 1997 that the norms concerning the operation, administration and coordination of this system Regulations for the SINAPH were established (Hernandez, 2005). Of particular importance in these regulations was the mandate for the establishment of Local Councils for Protected Areas (COLAP). These councils were conceived as entities that would promote and enable the participation of all stakeholders in the protected areas. The Regulations for the SINAPH established that the COLAPs need not have a specific structure or be new organisations, as long as they were effective (Quintero et al, 2003).

In 1996 the General Law for Public Administration transformed the Ministry of Natural Resources into the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (SERNA) and formulated that its General Directorate for Biodiversity should be in charge of designating new protected areas, proposing legislation for declaring protected areas, and coordinating and evaluating this

legislation. This law also gave the AFE-COHDEFOR the role of implementing this legislation (Vreugdenhil et al, 2002). The Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment is a decentralised institution. There is an office in each local government (municipality). These offices, funded by the municipalities, are responsible for the local implementation of environmental legislation.

In 2000, DAPVS developed a mechanism for evaluating management plans. These plans are considered to be the basic document by which co-management agreements are established.

In September 2007 the Honduran Congress approved the Law for Protected Areas and Wildlife (Fundacion Democracia sin Fronteras, n.d.) This law, still awaiting approval by the country's president, will be the first Honduran law entirely dedicated to protected areas, replacing the seventh chapter of the Forestry Law, which in its twenty-two articles comprises all the Honduran legislation dealing with protected areas.

It seems that the Law for Protected Areas and Wildlife will have four main purposes. Firstly, the establishment of a unique regime for the management of the resources of the protected areas; secondly, the creation of the National Institute for Forest Conservation and Development, Protected Areas and Wildlife (ICF), as an institution independent from the Ministry for Agriculture and Livestock, that will replace COHDEFOR; thirdly, the establishment of the Consultative Councils for Forests, Protected Areas and Wildlife, which will facilitate local participation and consultation; and fourthly, the creation of the Research System for National Forests, Protected Areas and Wildlife, which will conduct basic and applied research in forestry and develop new technologies to support the ICF and its sectors.

4.3.2 Current situation

As mentioned above, the SINAPH was established as a mechanism for the decentralisation of the management of Honduran protected areas. Although not all protected areas are yet under co-management, this mechanism has become an increasingly common way of managing protected areas in Honduras. By 2005, 44 SINAPH areas were under co-management, and 23 of them also had a management plan. These numbers are expected to continue increasing over the following years (Hernandez, 2005).

Local NGOs have played an important role in this management modality, engaging in the continued management of more than twenty areas (Sanchez et al, 2002).

However, although protected areas have benefited from the participation of several stakeholders, the co-management of protected areas is far from consolidated.

For example, the IUCN has recognised that Honduran regulations regarding co-management agreements are not as clear and specific as they should (Hernandez, 2005). Therefore the allocation of responsibilities and the distribution and coordination of these responsibilities among the different stakeholders are not well defined.

A second issue concerning the co-management scheme is the extent to which the various government stakeholders are able to participate in it. For instance, as Hernandez (2005) points out, the participation of the municipalities tends to be relatively low, due to lack of, or fluctuating, funding and excessive control from SERNA headquarters. In the same sense (Harborne et al, 2001) state that some local NGOs have budget, technical and capacity constraints that make it difficult to enforce regulations.

Thirdly, it has been highlighted that mechanisms for the participation of local people in the management of protected areas are not well defined in the existing laws and regulations (Vreugdenhil et al, 2002). Therefore, local people are not always sufficiently involved in the management of the areas where they live.

4.4 Case-study area: Cayos Cochinos and mainland communities associated with it

The name of the protected area of this case study is Marine National Monument Cayos Cochinos (henceforth referred to as Cayos Cochinos). This is a Marine Protected Area located 35 km Northeast of the city of La Ceiba, on the North Coast of Honduras (15° 57'N - 86° 29'W).

This protected area is part of the Mesoamerican Barrier Reef (Fig. 1). The Mesoamerican Barrier Reef is the second largest barrier reef in the world (Arrivillaga & Garcia, 2004) and stretches over 1000 km from Yucatan Peninsula, Mexico, to the Islas de la Bahia (Bay of Islands) in Honduras.

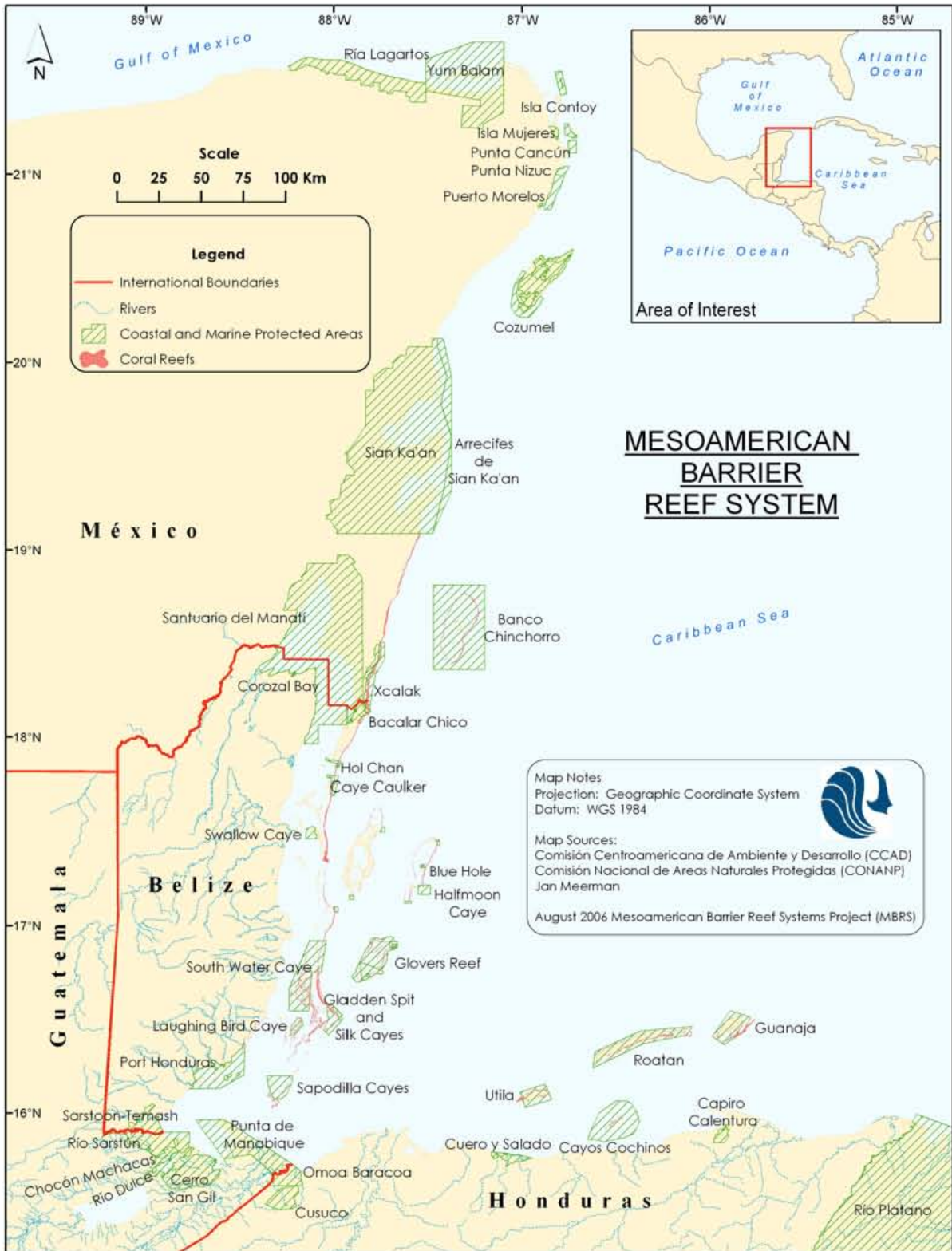


Figure 1. The Mesoamerican Barrier Reef System. Protected areas within the reef barrier are shadowed in green. (Mesoamerican Reef Barrier Systems Project, 2006)

Cayos Cochinos is an archipelago which consists of two forested islands and thirteen cays (small islands) made of sand and coral (Fig. 2). The protected area comprises the land surface and the five nautical miles (9.26km) around it, and has a total area of 485.3km². In contrast, the area of the largest island, Cayo Mayor, is 1.45km² and that of the small island, Cayo Menor, is 0.65km² (Andraka et al, 2004).

According to the HCRF executive director, all the islands in Cayos Cochinos are privately owned (interview, 20/6/07). The biggest proprietor is the Society for Ecologic Investments (SIEC). This organisation owns Cayo Menor, Cayo Gallo, Cayo Paloma, the section of Cayo Mayor where the Army base is located and Cayo Bolanos. Other donors include Mr Robert Griffith and some local community members.

Tourism is an important activity in Cayos Cochinos. Andraka et al (2004) identify tourism as the second most important activity in the area. These authors state that there has been an increasing demand for tourism since it was first introduced around 30 years ago (although most tourism has developed in the last decade). The main activities in the area are snorkelling, diving, and spending some time with the communities living in the island.

Cayos Cochinos offers various accommodation options catering for several types of tourists. Cayo Mayor Island hosts the USA-owned Plantation Beach Resort and dive operation (Plantation Beach Resort, 2008). This island is also used by scientific tourists, mainly of British origin. These tourists use either the three existing huts owned by HCRF or camp around this infrastructure. There are also two community owned hotels built in 2007, one on each island community. These hotels offer basic services for budget tourism. Additional accommodation for backpackers is also available on an informal basis at the local villagers' houses (Direct observation, May – July, 07).

Research is another important activity in Cayos Cochinos. There are several organisations that have research programmes in Cayos Cochinos. The main purpose of these programmes is conservation of the natural resources. Among the institutions that have such programmes are the Caribbean Coastal Marine Productivity (CARICOMP), Atlantic Gulf Rapid Reef Assessment (AGRRA), Caribbean Marine Protected Areas Managers (CAMPAM), United States Geological Survey (USGS) and Operation Wallacea. Research is also conducted in the

area by Harvard University and other universities in USA, Mexico, United Kingdom and Honduras (Andraka et al, 2004, p. 27).

Cayos Cochinos has several marine habitats, including coral reefs, sea grasses, coral rocks, sand, algae and mangroves. Associated with these habitats are several commercial species of fish and crustaceans, including the spiny lobster, endangered species such as queen conch and loggerhead turtle, and some species important for tourism, including the whale shark. Cayos Cochinos' island habitats also include several bird species which are important for the ecology of the reef barrier, and at least two highly endangered reptile species, the Boa constrictor *Boa constrictor imperator* and the black-chested ctenosaur *Ctenosaura melanosterna* (Reed et al, 2007).

4.5 Communities associated with Cayos Cochinos

This section deals with physical and geographic aspects of the case-study communities. Associated with Cayos Cochinos are six communities and one temporary dwelling for fishermen. One of these communities is constituted by private landowners. This community owns and inhabits all but one of the islands in Cayos Cochinos. The other communities are as follows. Two of these communities, Chachahuate and East End, and the temporary dwelling, are located within the archipelago. These communities are home for around 300 people, although this number fluctuates because some of the inhabitants divide their time between island and mainland homes (Andraka et al, 2004). The three remaining villages, Nueva Armenia, Sambo Creek and Rio Esteban, are located on the mainland Caribbean coast of Honduras to the East of La Ceiba city (Fig. 2) and are home to 5600 people (Andraka et al, 2004). The habitants of these communities make use of the archipelago for their livelihoods.

Chachahuate and East End began as temporary residencies for mainland fishermen, but were later transformed into permanent settlements (Vacanti & Woods, 2007). Chachahuate, the largest of the two communities, is located on an island of the same name. The community occupies the entire island, which is about 150m by 50m (Russell, 2005, p.22). This island has no sanitation, or electricity, and limited water supply from a well. Water is brought from Cayo Mayor, the biggest of the islands and a petrol generator supplies energy for charging batteries (Yoro, interview, 3/6/07; Juticalpa, interview, 3/6/07). There are two latrines in use since June

2007 (Direct observation, 11/6/07) and some more intended to be built soon (Pespire, interview, 7/6/07). The infrastructure of Chachahuate consists of approximately forty houses distributed unevenly across the whole island, three locally owned bars and several locally owned shops (Russell, 2005), an eight-room hotel in operation since July 2007, a community-owned restaurant in operation since early 2007, a small building that serves as a church and a rubbish deposit in the north side of the island. Chachahuate inhabitants obtain their supplies from the mainland, except for fish, which is caught locally, and for some basic goods which can be purchased from the local shops.

East End, the smaller of the two settlements in Cayos Cochinos, is located on Cayo Mayor, the biggest island of the archipelago. This island is the largest island in the archipelago, measuring 1.2km at its widest part (Russell, 2005, p. 22). The community is located on the east of the island, as the rest of the island is occupied by private subdivisions and conservation land. The community of East End has several taps with running water, several latrines, one locally owned shop with basic supplies, a new small community hotel with four rooms, a 10 room foreign-owned hotel called Plantation Beach (Plantation Beach Resort, 2008), a primary school that serves the children of both islands, and a Naval base (Andraka et al, 2004). This island has several walking tracks and a light house. East End community is not supplied with electricity and, as with Chachahuate, relies on petrol generators for recharging batteries for radios and phones (direct observation, May – July, 07)

Cayo Bolanos is a small island located in the southwest of the archipelago which serves as a place of temporary dwelling. This place is used by fishermen as an overnight shelter, and has a latrine (Direct observation, 16/7/07). This shelter has no permanent dwellers.

The three mainland communities that depend on Cayos Cochinos, Nueva Armenia, Rio Esteban and Sambo Creek, are related in two ways to Cayos Cochinos (Fig. 2). In the first place, fishermen from these communities use Cayos Cochinos for fishing. Secondly, it was from these communities that people originally migrated to the archipelago in 1969 (Bahia, interview, 15/6/07). Chachahuate inhabitants came from Nueva Armenia settlement and East End inhabitants came from Rio Esteban. Likewise, Cayo Bolanos is used for overnight stays almost exclusively by members of the Sambo Creek community (Andraka et al, 2004).

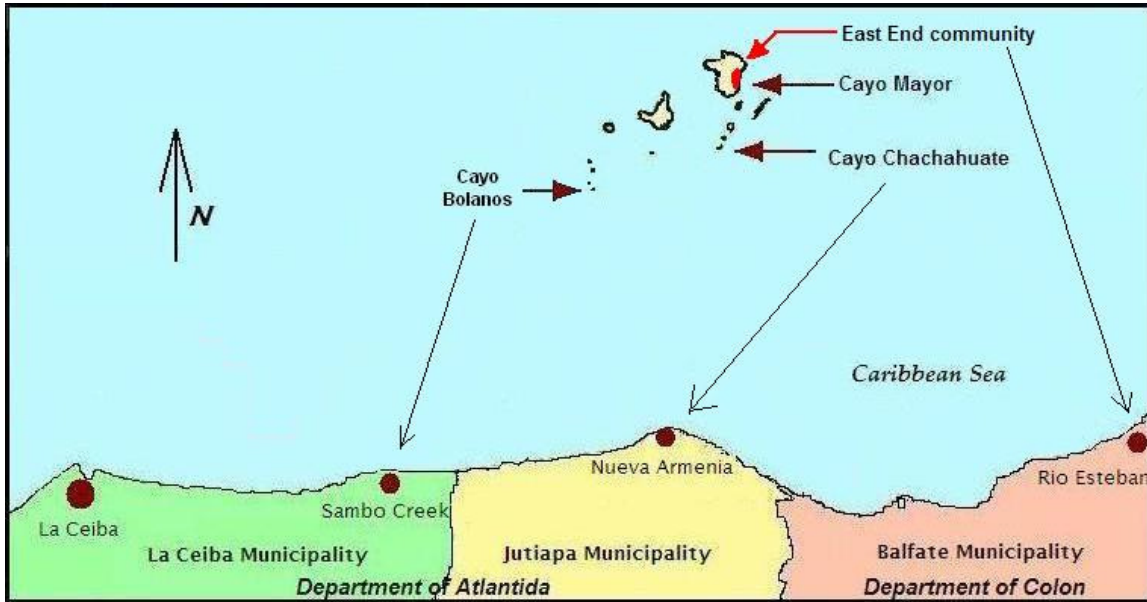


Figure 2. Location of the case-study communities in the North Coast of Honduras and key relationships between island and mainland communities.

The Garifuna communities of East End and Chachahuate hold titles over the land where the villages are located. These titles were granted in 2001 by the National Agrarian Institute (Vacanti & Woods, 2007). However, Cayo Bolanos is not owned by the community. Instead, it has signed an agreement with SIEC by which Sambo Creek’s fishermen can use the island as a campsite.

Of all the fishermen fishing in Cayos Cochinos, 34% are from Nueva Armenia, 21% from Rio Esteban, 14% from Sambo Creek, 7% from Chachahuate and 4% from East End (Andraka et al, 2004). According to the same source, the fishing spot used by the largest number of fishermen is Chachahuate’s surroundings. This is the place where 25% of the fishermen of Cayos Cochinos and mainland communities that depend on it, fish (Andraka et al, 2004, p. 22).

The next table summarises the geographic location of the case-study communities and their governance. This table also includes the location of Roatan, Utila and Guanaja, three islands North of Cayos Cochinos (Fig. 3). These islands are not part of the case-study area.

Table 8. Location of case-study villages and references (Honduran Coral Reef Fund, n.d., Red de Turismo Comunitario de America Latina, 2008; La Ceiba Tips, 2008; Ives, 2006; Oviedo & Ives, 2007)

Place	Type of place	Location	Regional Government (Department)	Local government (Municipality)	Distance to Cayos Cochinos	Distance to la Ceiba
La Ceiba	City	North coast of mainland Honduras	Atlantida	La Ceiba	32 km	0
Cayo Bolanos	Island	Cayos Cochinos	Islas de la Bahia	Roatan	0	32km
Cayo Chachahuate	Island					
East End (in Cayo Mayor island)	Island community					
Sambo Creek	Village	North coast of mainland Honduras	Atlantida	La Ceiba	26km	20km
Nueva Armenia	Village		Atlantida	Jutiapa	18.5km	42km
Rio Esteban	Village		Colon	Balfate	26km	62km
Roatan, Utila and Guanaja	Islands	North of Cayos Cochinos	Islas de la Bahia	Roatan	39km	Approx. 70km



Figure 3. Relative positions of Roatan, Utila, Guanaja and Cayos Cochinos.

As can be seen, the villages within Cayos Cochinos and the mainland villages that depend on it are scattered across three regions (departments) and four local governments (municipalities). Cayos Cochinos belongs to the Department of Islas de la Bahia, together with Roatan, Utila and Guanaja Islands. However, Cayos Cochinos is more related to the mainland coast of Honduras due to its closer geographical location and easier access. Indeed, more private and commercial boats travel between Cayos Cochinos and Honduras mainland than between Cayos Cochinos and Roatan, Utila and Guanaja islands. The implications of this situation are dealt with further below.

4.6 The people in the case-study communities

The communities of Chachahuate, Rio Esteban, Sambo Creek and East End are composed mainly by members of the Garifuna ethnic group and a few ‘mestizos’, that is, people of mixed European and Amerindian ancestry (Andraka et al, 2004). The community of private landowners is constituted by wealthy Honduran and foreign people who own, as a group, all the islands and cays except Chachahuate. While some of those landowners live in the islands, some other houses built in these islands are holiday homes (Pespire, interview, 26/6/07).

The Garifuna ethnic group originated in the 17th Century in the Caribbean island of St Vincent where African slaves mixed with the island indigenous Arawak Carib people. In Traa-Valarezo's (2000) opinion the arrival of these slaves was the result of the shipwreck of a Spanish boat transporting African slaves, in front of St Vincent's coast in 1655. According to Thorne (2004) and ODECO (n.d.), African slaves arrived in St Vincent on their own, escaping from tropical plantations in neighbouring islands. In 1772 the British invaded St Vincent and fought against the Garifunas for the possession of the island but were defeated. On a second attempt, the British invaded St Vincent in 1795; this time the Garifunas were defeated. After the battle, the survivors were sent to a prison camp for over a year. In this camp, more than half of the population died (Thorne, 2004). Those who survived were sent to the Honduran island of Roatan in 1797 (Andraka et al, 2004), from where they gradually migrated throughout the Caribbean coast of Central America.

The Garifunas arrived for the first time in Honduras on April 12, 1797 (Amaya, 2006). Nowadays, Garifunas live in four countries of Central America: Belize, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, and also live in the United States and England (Amaya, 2006). Honduras is the country with the largest Garifuna population, of about 250,000 (Thorne, 2004). This ethnic group is also the largest afro descendant group in Honduras, with presence in 48 coastal and island communities (Amaya, 2006).

Garifuna culture is clearly distinctive from the rest of the Central American 'mestizo' and other ethnic groups. Garifunas keep their own language, music, food, religion and traditions. In 2001, the UNESCO declared the language, dance and music of the Garifuna as a Multinational Masterpiece (Belize-Guatemala-Honduras-Nicaragua) of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Despite this international recognition, Garifuna people nowadays still face exclusion from society, remain in low-wage labour positions, and have limited access to education and healthcare (Thorne, 2004). Garifuna people experience what Gutierrez and Jones (2004, p.163) describe as "the complexities of being a racial minority".

Fishing is the main activity of Garifuna men, while women work in crafts, are farmers and heads of family (Andraka et al, 2004, p.19). Those Garifuna living in and near Cayos Cochinos depend on marine resources to a large extent because of their proximity to the reef barrier. Since their arrival in the early 1800s, several Garifuna communities have historically

relied on the marine resources of Cayos Cochinos for subsistence and trade. Vacanti and Bown (2007) found that fishing is the most important income generating activity in Chachahuate and East End, accounting for 80% of total household income per year. Other sources of income are remittances, tourism, fish trading, basic supplies trading, bread baking, serving as guards of private residences on the islands, handcrafting, and working for HCRF, mainly as boat operators or builders (Direct observation, May – July, 07). The same study reported that people living in Sambo Creek, Nueva Armenia and Rio Esteban fish to a lesser extent. For these communities, this activity comprises only 30% of the household income. The reason for this difference is that mainland communities have more access to a range of income-generating activities, such as commercial activities, land cultivation, waged labouring (Vacanti and Bown, 2007) and manufacture of cazabe, a traditional cassava bread (Traa-Valarezo, 2000).

The livelihoods of the Garifunas living in and near Cayos Cochinos have been affected by natural and human-made phenomena. For example, in October 1998, Hurricane Mitch struck Honduras and Nicaragua. This has been the deadliest hurricane hitting the Western Hemisphere in the last two centuries (Harborne et al, 2001) causing floods and land slides, damaging roads, destroying houses, and causing damage to existing infrastructure in Cayos Cochinos and the associated mainland areas (Observation, 25/5/07). The hurricane also caused physical damage to the reefs (Andraka et al, 2004).

In September and October of the same year, Honduras' reefs also experienced a coral bleaching episode that affected 43% of the coral reefs of Cayos Cochinos (Andraka et al, 2004). The combined effects of the hurricane and the bleaching episode caused mortality to the reefs and increased the prevalence of coral diseases (Andraka et al, 2004). It is believed that these phenomena also affected the fishing activities in the area, by reducing the number of reef shelters where fish and lobster seek refuge and breed (Hoegh-Guldberg, 1999)

Likewise, sedimentation, pollution and agricultural runoff from mainland, as well as industrial fishing, have decreased fish stocks (Russell, 2005). In addition, the high incidence of lethal yellowing of coconut palms in Cayos Cochinos over the last years has had a negative impact on one of the main ingredients of the traditional Garifuna diet (Andraka et al, 2004; direct observation, 16/7/07).

Garifuna livelihoods in Cayos Cochinos and in the mainland communities that depend on it have also been affected by a number of restrictions associated with the protection of the marine reserve. When Cayos Cochinos became a protected area, the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute and the HCRF, who initially teamed up to manage the area (Inter American Foundation, 1988) developed a management plan that restricted all human intervention with the aim of securing the protection of the coral reefs. However, as Gutierrez and Jones (2004) mention, the plan did not include any community development strategy for the local residents of Cayos Cochinos. This situation resulted in tensions between the managers and the local communities (Andraka et al, 2004) and increased hardship among the fishermen and their families (Vacanti & Brown, 2007).

The regulations for human activities were addressed by the HCRF when it undertook the management of the area. However, as Russell (2005) points out, the regulations associated with the conservation of Cayos Cochinos are still affecting the Garifunas by making resources increasingly hard to access and altering the normal activities of the communities.

Among the regulations and controls that this organisation has established within the protected area are a rotation system by which the existing fishing banks are closed to fisheries to allow recovery of the populations (HCRF, 2007), prohibition of trawling nets, harpoons and SCUBA tanks, as well as fish and lobster traps, year-round ban on the extraction of giant conch *Strombus gigas*, seasonal ban on lobster catching, prohibition of extraction and commercialisation of endemic boas, marine turtles, corals and lizards, among other species, forest logging prohibitions, the need to request authorisation to collect house building materials, compulsory registration of all fisherfolks at the Fisheries Department, regulations over the noise levels in the islands, prohibition to own domestic animals and carry weapons and the institution of a system of entry fees for boats taking tourists to the islands including (Andraka et al, 2004).

The historical and livelihoods perspectives provided in this section will offer starting points to examine the interaction between the local NGO and the people living in the case-study area.

4.7 The management of Cayos Cochinos

The protection of Cayos Cochinos was the initiative of a group of Honduran businessmen in association with the international NGO AVINA (HCRF, 2006a; Gutierrez & Jones, 2004). In 1993, they created the Society for Ecologic Investments firm (SIEC). This firm had two main purposes. The first one was the acquisition of several islands in Cayos Cochinos: Cayo Menor, Cayo Paloma, Cayo Gallo, Cayo Bolanos and a hectare in Cayo Mayor. The purchase took place in December 1993. Secondly, the SIEC funded the Honduran Coral Reef Fund (HCRF), a local NGO, to “manage a scientific station and to develop conservation and management measures for the protected area” (Andraka et al, 2004, p. 31). In 1993 also, the Honduran government gave Cayos Cochinos a protection status.

The HCRF was created in June 1994, only eight months after Cayos Cochinos was declared protected. The SIEC provided the initial capital for this NGO, and established its headquarters in the city of La Ceiba, on the north coast of Honduras.

Ever since its foundation, the HCRF received support from various institutions at different stages. A brief description of the management of Cayos Cochinos is given below.

Six months after its establishment, the HCRF signed an agreement with the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute (STRI), by which the latter would create a scientific research station (Andraka et al, 2004, p.31) and conduct a scientific survey to assess the biological diversity and threats to the area, as well as suggesting management measures to recover the coral reefs' health (HCRF, 2006a).

The AVINA representative in Mesoamerica explained that the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute not only built the scientific research station, conducted the previously mentioned survey and suggested management measures for the reef, but also undertook the leading role in managing the area from 1994 to 1997. However, he also mentioned that, as he was not there at the time, this information was collected after conversation with others (interview, 6/8/07).

The management measures for the reefs of Cayos Cochinos suggested by the STRI were (HCRF, 2006a):

- Stringent conservation programmes (monitoring, recovery and protection)

- Total ban on fishing and extraction of marine species
- Stringent control of human activity in land areas
- Professional management of the archipelago, with full time management and three guards, at least
- Controlled tourism and supervised recreational diving

The period 1998-2004 was characterised by several external contributions to the management of Cayos Cochinos. In the first year of this period, the HCRF undertook the overall management of the area. However, this institution associated with AVINA (Andraka et al, 2004) and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) (HCRF executive director, interview, 20/6/07) to co-manage the protected area from 1999 to 2000. The latter strengthened the institutional capacity of HCRF and advised this NGO on the administration and operation of the protected area. The HCRF and the WWF together developed an action plan and a strategic plan, aimed at protecting the marine biodiversity (HCRF, 2006a). In 2001-2002, the HCRF took the overall management of the area back. However, in 2004, the HCRF signed a co-management agreement with two government agencies: the Forestry Government Administration of the Honduran Forest Development Corporation and the Ministry for Agriculture and Livestock (AFE-COHDEFOR, HCRF & Ministry for Agriculture and Livestock, 2004).

The HCRF published its first management plan in 2004. According to this plan, the aim of the HCRF is the achievement of environmental sustainability and human development in the archipelago and the mainland communities that depend on it (Andraka et al, 2004, p.36). The management plan states that this aim is achieved through four main activities: protection of the natural resources, management of the protected area, coordination of research and negotiation among institutions, organisations, communities and donors (Andraka et al, 2004).

The 2004 management plan was the product of consultation processes with members of the local communities, government entities, external consultants, donors, tourism providers and other business owners.

During 2007, the management plan was revised through a series of workshops coordinated by The Nature Conservancy (TNC). The purpose of this revision was to include the cultural

elements associated with Cayos Cochinos in the conservation priorities of HCRF (Direct observation, 6/6/07 and 5-6/7/07).

According to this plan, the management decisions of the HCRF are taken by the Committee for the Protection, Restoration and Sustainable Management of the Marine Natural Monument Cayos Cochinos (henceforth referred to as the Board of Directors of HCRF). This board is constituted by SERNA, SAG, the local government of Roatan, the Ministry for Culture, Arts and Sports, the Honduran Institute for Tourism, AFE-COHDEFOR, the private landowners of Cayos Cochinos, the Council of Honduran Managers for Sustainable Development, a (non-specified) range of national and international scientific and management organisations involved in the conservation of Cayos Cochinos, the Council for High Education, the HCRF, OFRANEH and one representative from the fishermen residing in Cayos Cochinos (Andraka et al, 2004, p. 96).

There have been several other organisations supporting HCRF with funds for specific projects. Among them are the WWF, AVINA, Texaco, The Inter American Foundation, the World Bank's Global Environmental Facility (GEF), The Nature Conservancy (TNC) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (HCRF, 2006a) (See appendix 3 for a summary of these organisations and their primary objectives). However, since 2002, the HCRF has looked at other sources of funds, such as charging entrance fees to Cayos Cochinos, and leasing part of Cayo Menor Island for reality TV programmes (Oviedo & Ives, 2007).

These sources of income have compensated for the gradual decrease of support from the international organisations previously mentioned. Oviedo & Ives (2007) explain that the funding coming from these alternative sources is nowadays enough to cover the costs of management, enforcement and research activities. However, these authors recognise that community development projects for the Garifuna communities still take place through external support.

The origin, aims and funding mechanisms of the HCRF provided in this section help contextualise the current dynamics of the interaction between the local people and this organisation.

4.8 Honduran government in Cayos Cochinos

The Forestry Government Administration of the Honduran Forest Development Corporation (AFE-COHDEFOR) is the main branch of the government involved in the co-management of Cayos Cochinos, the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (SAG) being the other branch.

The Forestry Government Administration of the Honduran Forest Development Corporation (AFE-COHDEFOR) and the Ministry for Agriculture and Livestock share responsibility with the HCRF for the co-management of Cayos Cochinos (Andraka et al, 2004). The basis of this joint responsibility is a document called Agreement for the co-management of the Cayos Cochinos Marine Natural Monument among the Forestry Government Administration of the Honduran Forest Development Corporation (AFE-COHDEFOR), the Honduran Coral Reef Fund (HCRF) and the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock. This document was signed between the NGO, the AFE-COHDEFOR and the Secretariat of Agriculture and Livestock in 2004, and is valid for ten years (AFE-COHDEFOR, HCRF & Ministry for Agriculture and Livestock, 2004). Below is the outline of this document. The codes within brackets refer to the clauses in the agreement.

In this agreement, the operative management of Cayos Cochinos is delegated to the HCRF. However, the AFE-COHDEFOR is involved in Cayos Cochinos through several activities. The main activities of AFE-COHDEFOR in this agreement are enforcing laws and regulations (3a), supporting the HCRF in seeking funds (3c), approving and monitoring management plans and operative plans for Cayos Cochinos (3d), supporting the training of HCRF's staff (3e), support the HCRF in requesting funds for its management (3f) and providing technical support for the implementation of the operational plan (3g).

The responsibilities of the HCRF under this agreement are: managing Cayos Cochinos in accordance to Honduran laws (4a), monitoring of the observance of technical, legal and security rules of the protected area (4b), elaborating the Management Plan and the annual operative plans (4c), implementing activities for management in coordination with AFE-COHDEFOR (4d), working towards the sustainable development of the protected area (4e), conducting scientific and technical research (4f), working towards the achievement of the self sustainability of the area (4g), providing AFE-COHDEFOR with information generated

through research (4h), assessing environmental impacts within the area and in areas depending on Cayos Cochinos (4i), coordinating management activities (4j), request funds to private and public, national and international organisations (4k), allowing AFE-COHDEFOR to supervise technical activities of HCRF within the area (4l), involving the communities in the fulfilment of the co-management agreement (4m), suggesting entry fees to the Marine Monument (4n), handing financial statements over to AFE-COHDEFOR and auditing organisations (4o), and writing technical and financial reports to the other parts involved in the co-management (4p).

The roles of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (SAG) within the co-management agreement include: appointing a representative from the General Directorate of Fisheries of the previously mentioned Ministry to work within the protected area in activities of surveillance and evaluation (5a), determining and enforcing fishing closed seasons times and types (5b), enforcing laws that prohibit hunting, catching, and selling endemic and endangered species and its products (5c), collecting information regarding fisheries and providing technical assistance for fisheries projects according to the management plan (5d) and coordinating and evaluating projects in the North coast of Honduras that can have impacts on the protected area or the fishermen using the natural resources (5e).

There are five main clauses in this agreement for which the Forestry Government Administration of the Honduran Forest Development Corporation (AFE-COHDEFOR), the Honduran Coral Reef Fund (HCRF) and the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock are jointly responsible. These are: conserving land and sea ecosystems within Cayos Cochinos (6a), facilitating resources and opportunities for education and research (6b), respecting the normal livelihoods, customs, traditions, ecological knowledge and cultural heritage of the local people so that these elements can contribute to the achievement of new development initiatives for these groups (6c), cooperating for the achievement of the technical regulations, legal clauses in the agreement and other current regulations related to the Protected Area (6d) and provide support [to one another] to solve problems (6e).

4. 9 Conclusion

The geographical area of this case study extends beyond the boundaries of Cayos Cochinos. The area of the case study also encompasses the communities living in mainland Honduras

that fish and trade in the protected area. These communities are the places of origin of the Garifuna population living in the protected area.

Cayos Cochinos is a protected area with natural and cultural assets of international importance. However, it is the natural assets that motivated the SIEC businessmen group to declare it protected. The management of Cayos Cochinos has also been characterised by conservationist views. Nevertheless, in recent years there is an increased recognition of the importance of involving the views of the local Garifuna communities in the management priorities of the area.

The Garifuna communities in Cayos Cochinos are a well defined ethnic group that maintain their culture alive. However, they are not indigenous to Cayos Cochinos neither to Honduras. These communities, as well as those in mainland, live in poverty. This condition can be explained by a combination of factors including discrimination against the Garifuna ethnic group throughout Central America, the high income inequality that characterises the country, lack of job opportunities in the islands and the fishing restrictions imposed by the protected area.

According to the co-management agreement, two government agencies (AFE-COHDEFOR and SAG) participate in the management of this protected area. However, this area does not depend on the government financially. Instead, it relies on external contributions and self-funding mechanisms, the latter becoming more important in recent years.

The main activities in Cayos Cochinos are conservation, tourism and research.

The next chapter presents the results according to the themes that emerged during the analysis of the transcriptions.

Chapter 5. HCRF and the communities' livelihoods

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is based on the findings of the field research. The purpose of this chapter is to give a general overview of the livelihoods of the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos and to describe the role played by the HCRF in sustaining these livelihoods. The role of the HCRF is examined from two different perspectives: firstly, through the influence of donors, government, Garifuna organisations and private islands' owners on the HCRF, and secondly, through the relationship between the HCRF and the communities since the establishment of the protected area.

5.2 Livelihoods in Cayos Cochinos and associated communities

The vast majority of the people in these communities are Garifuna. However, a few of them belong to other ethnic groups, mainly 'mestizos', that is, of mixed European and American indigenous ancestry. Mixed marriages appear to be rare.

There are two big broad types of livelihoods in the case study area corresponding to those of the islands and the mainland communities, respectively.

In East End and Chachahuate, most of the villagers interviewed indicated that fishing was their most important source of income. All the island participants in this study mentioned being fishermen. Some of the participants also had part-time or temporary jobs such as working for HCRF as boat drivers or builders, looking after the existing mansions in Cayos Cochinos, owning and operating local shops, and increasingly, providing services to tourism. A few people also mentioned receiving remittances from relatives living overseas.

In the islands, all the fisher people were men, although some women mentioned having fishing skills. Most fishermen destined part of the catch for self consumption and sold the surplus to local traders. Local traders sold the fish either to other villagers or to mainland markets. Several fishermen reported having other sources of income such as remittances from relatives living overseas. The women interviewed in the islands were all housewives. However, most of

them also ran businesses to support the family's income. Among these businesses included raffling small items, bread making, preparing food, seashell handcrafting and fish trading.

Compared to the islands, there is a wider variety of income-generating activities in the mainland communities associated with Cayos Cochinos. However, it appears as if fishing is still a very important activity in these villages. Most, but not all, the mainland fishers were male. Other sources of income mentioned by men were farming, handcrafting, owning and operating local shops, and trades such as carpentry, building and repairing mobile phones. Several mainland people also mentioned complementing their income with remittances. In addition, a small number of participants reported working for tourism (transportation, accommodation and/or food), either part-time or full-time. These people identified tourism-related jobs as a promising option considering the current fishing restrictions.

Most women interviewed in mainland communities were housewives. However, most of them had complementary jobs such as farming, manufacturing cassava bread, and owning, or working for, local businesses including shops, restaurants and a disco.

There seems to be no difference in power among genders. Women and men can be eligible for leadership roles.

5.3 Influence of donors on the relationship between the HCRF and the communities

The influence of donors on the relationship between the HCRF and the communities is related to the relationship that the donors have with, and their contribution to the activities of, the HCRF.

This is mainly because from the establishment of the protected area, and up to 2006, most donor agencies have supported the communities only through the HCRF, considering it as their partner in development, rather than working directly with the communities. Therefore, the nature of the involvement of donors in the HCRF is described to provide context to the description of the donors' influence on the relationship between the communities and the HCRF.

5.3.1 Involvement of donors with the HCRF

During the first years of the existence of the HCRF, the main donor was AVINA. This organisation is an international NGO aimed at contributing to the sustainable development of Latin America (AVINA, n.d.). AVINA was created by Mr Stephan Schmidheiny, a Swiss businessman and philanthropist strongly involved in activities related to fostering environmental and social responsibility worldwide. In 1991, Mr Schmidheiny led a group of international corporations to prepare an entrepreneurial declaration for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. At present, Mr Schmidheiny is the Honorary Chairman of the Business Council for Sustainable Development (BCSD), an organisation created during this conference that today assembles the world's 160 most important enterprises (Schmidheiny, 2008).

The strong support AVINA provided to the HCRF was the result of a personal interest of Mr Schmidheiny in the conservation of Cayos Cochinos. This businessman became so interested in the area after a recreational diving experience, that he motivated Honduran businesspeople to create the Society for Ecologic Investments (SIEC), an organisation that purchased several islands in Cayos Cochinos, lobbied the government to achieve the protection of the entire archipelago and created the HCRF (HCRF, 2006a).

AVINA was a major financial contributor to the HCRF in its early stage. From 1994 to 1999 this organisation contributed almost 100% of the operational costs of the HCRF (HCRF, 2006a). According to AVINA's representative in Mesoamerica (interview, 6/8/07), AVINA was interested in helping the HCRF achieve sustainable social, economic and environmental development. However, this participant recognised that in Cayos Cochinos "most of the work had been environmental" (ibid,6/8/07).

AVINA contributions continued during the 2000-2002 period. However, its support gradually decreased from 2002 to 2005. According to AVINA's representative in Mesoamerica (ibid,6/8/07), this situation had been planned beforehand in order to avoid dependency. Another member of AVINA staff was of the opinion that this organisation "stopped being the major contributor as its focus changed from providing core funding to working with local

leaders and solving bottlenecks that impede organisations achieving their goals” (Orotina, interview, 6/8/07)³.

The HCRF also received private donations in its early years. According to the HCRF executive director “fifty percent of the costs of the creation and the infrastructure of the HCRF were provided by Stephan Schmidheiny himself while the top twenty Honduran companies contributed with the remaining fifty percent” (interview, 20/6/07).

Donors other than AVINA, Stephan Schmidheiny and the top twenty Honduran companies in the early years of the HCRF were Texaco Caribbean Inc., The Inter American Foundation (IAF), and the Honduran companies of Amanco Group. While Texaco Caribbean provided a single cash donation, The Inter American Foundation supported a sustainable development programme for the people living in Cayos Cochinos and the communities associated with it. This programme, which lasted from 1998 to 2003, provided training in the areas of education, health and income-generating activities. Similarly, Amanco Group, –which was at that time also owned by Stephan Schmidheiny (AVINA, n.d.) –, provided logistic support to the HCRF in its early years through its Honduran companies (HCRF, 2006a). Clearly, Stephan Schmidheiny had a major influence in the early years of the protected area.

MarViva was another institution providing support to Cayos Cochinos. MarViva is member of the SIEC. MarViva is not a donor strictly speaking, but a conservation organisation. MarViva offered environmental education courses to communities, and technical support to the HCRF in terms of designing management plans, conservation plans and technical plans.

In 1997, the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) started supporting the HCRF. Among the most important activities WWF carried out during the initial phase of the relationship were the institutional capacity strengthening of the HCRF and the provision of direct support to the HCRF for the management of the protected area (HCRF, 2006a). In 2003 WWF took up a leading role in supporting the HCRF write its management plan. More recently, in 2007, WWF financed the building of a local restaurant in Chachahuate community, in the aim of

³ Here and elsewhere if a pseudonym is used and the reference to the person is vague, it is to maintain their anonymity; any further details would identify the participant.

providing an alternative source of income to fishing. The funds for this restaurant were, however, administered by GAD (see section 5.3.4).

In 2003, Cayos Cochinos was integrated into the Mesoamerican Barrier Reef System (MBRS) (HCRF, 2006a). This System is a group of protected areas in the Caribbean that receives support from a programme of the World Bank's Global Environmental Facility (GEF). The integration of Cayos to the MBRS has allowed the area to receive support from the GEF since 2004. The components of this programme are social (Component 4: Public Awareness and Environmental Education, and Component 3: Sustainable Use of the Mesoamerican Barrier Reef System), administrative (Component 1: Management, Planning, Monitoring and Institutional Strengthening of Marine Protected Areas) and biological (Component 2: Regional Environmental Monitoring and Information Systems). The support that MBRS has given the HCRF has mainly been focused on staff training, donation of equipment and institutional strengthening. However, it has also benefited some members of the communities through training in protected areas management and sustainable living. The MBRS programme is divided into several phases. During the present phase (years 2008-2012) the MBRS will support river beds in the Mesoamerican Reef Barrier Region. Since there are no river beds in Cayos Cochinos, the HCRF will not receive benefits from the MBRS during this phase (Sociologist for Mesoamerican Barrier Reef System Project, email interview, 10/10/07).

In 2004, The Nature Conservancy (TNC) began supporting the HCRF in aspects of marine conservation and tourism promotion. However, TNC has expanded its range of activities ever since. Two additional elements have been the provision of advice to HCRF on business planning and long term financial planning, and the support of fishermen in lobster production. In addition, it has planned to implement a social component in 2008, to benefit local communities (Manager for TNC Mesoamerican Reef Program Project, interview, 10/6/07).

In 2005 the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) became one more donor to the HCRF through the project Integrated Management of Natural Resources (MIRA). MIRA has provided relatively little support to Cayos Cochinos. However, this project has helped the people living in Cayos with training and construction of earth stoves and latrines. The same donor has helped to build a classroom in East End's school (direct observation, 16/7/07).

According to the HCRF executive director, the importance of donors' contributions to the HCRF has decreased with respect to the importance they had in the 1990's and early 2000's. In an interview he recalled that "five years ago the HCRF depended entirely on donors' contributions for our subsistence. However, nowadays only about 10% of the funds are provided by donors. This money is allocated to community projects, sustainable development and implementation of the Management Plan" (Adrian Oviedo, interview, 20/6/07).

After AVINA decreased its support, the rest of the donors could not provide enough funds for the HCRF to cover its costs. As a consequence, the HCRF was forced to look at other sources of funding. In 2003, The HCRF found a source of funding in hosting scientific tourism brought to Cayos Cochinos by British institution Operation Wallacea. This institution recruits university students to conduct research in Cayos Cochinos. The students pay a fee. A fraction of the fee the students pay to their university in Great Britain is given to the HCRF. Biosphere Expeditions, a second institution of the same type, recruits European and North American students to monitor reef health. Additionally, the HCRF has created a system of entry fees to the reef both for tourists and tourism providers, Garifuna included.

However, in 2006 several series of the reality show "Survivor" started being filmed in the protected area. This source of revenue exceeded all expectations. While these programmes have created some debate about potential ecological impacts in the protected area, they have provided the HCRF with enough income to cover its operational costs and to be independent from donors. With reality shows, the HCRF has reached self financial sustainability. In the words of the HCRF Executive director "At present, HCRF operational costs are covered with funds that we generate ourselves".

Support from donors has decreased over the last years. From the participants' responses it seems there are five reasons why this has happened. Firstly, some donors' representatives attributed the decrease to a change in the donors' priorities. For example, the focus of the GEF's programme has moved away from supporting the HCRF in activities related to the sustainable use of the Mesoamerican Coral Reef Barrier to focus over the next five years on the river basins associated with it (Martinez, O. D., email interview, 10/10/07). This would result in the MBRS withdrawing from Cayos Cochinos. A second explanation is that the donors' support is purposely reduced gradually to avoid creating dependency. This has proved

to be true in the case of AVINA (Regional Representative of AVINA in Mesoamerica, interview, 6/8/07). A third reason is that donors have withdrawn the support to HCRF as a result of the NGO drifting away from its original vision of conservation (ibid). A fourth rationale for decreasing donor support mentioned by two participants is that HCRF has been significantly affected by a trend of donors shifting from supporting NGOs acting on their own to supporting initiatives emerging from pre-established partnerships between the government and NGOs (ibid). Finally, a fifth option could be a worldwide reduction of the funds destined to environmental causes. This reduction would reflect an increase in the needs in developing countries, which would spread more thinly the funds available for donations.

For example, the MarViva director illustrated this when he said: “there are many more local NGOs than ever before, because [world’s] problems are constantly increasing” (interview, 3/8/07). The MarViva director also considered environmental needs to be commonly regarded by donors as less important than social needs; therefore conservation NGOs struggle (ibid, 3/8/07).

Despite donors’ participation in the HCRF having decreased, they are still important for this NGO. Donors help the HCRF accomplish its goals by contributing additional resources and complementing its areas of expertise. Donors also facilitate networking between the HCRF and a wide range of organisations. In addition, HCRF is publicised through the donors’ mechanisms, making it more accessible to the general public. Moreover, donors also provide an image of credibility and integrity to the HCRF. The HCRF in its Conceptual Report (HCRF, 2006a, p.7) provides an example of this when explaining the importance MarViva has for this NGO: “This alliance speeds up promotion and allows networking with governments, civil society organisations, private sector, and education and research institutions. MarViva strengthens the operations of the HCRF, its scientific station and its ecological and social projects”.

The donors’ contribution is also important for the communities living within the protected area as it is donors (not HCRF) that promote and support social and economic projects. Without donors, such projects would not happen within the communities. As the HCRF executive director mentioned: “the role of the HCRF is conservation, not community development or social support. However, the HCRF is aware of the communities’ needs. What we are doing is

providing strategic alliances with the US Peace Corps and World Wide Fund for Nature, and other donors that are indeed interested in community development” (Interview, 20/07/07). The HCRF executive director did not deny the need for development of Garifuna communities. However, he considered that this activity should be embraced by the government or other organisations (ibid) despite “human development” being mentioned as part of HCRF’s aim in the management plan” (Andraka et al, 2004, p.36).

Although decreasing, the high level of support that HCRF has received from its donors is in contrast to the relatively low level of support that a typical conservation NGO in Honduras would receive. A participant who works for a donor organisation suggested that this may be due to the HCRF being responsible for managing a part of an internationally renowned and high profile ecosystem, that is, the Mesoamerican Coral Reef (Intibuca, interview, 11/7/07).

Even though the HCRF receives support from several renowned international donors, these donors do not have currently a major influence on the activities of the HCRF. In contrast, this NGO appears to have a high level of control over its own management decisions, priorities and activities, which one participant attributed to the self funding situation. A representative from a donor agency stated “the HCRF’s high level of autonomy and power is the result of having capital of their own, and this capital being much larger than that of any other NGO” (Intibuca, interview, 8/6/07).

A summary of the involvement of donors to HCRF in the management of Cayos Cochinos is provided in table 9.

5.3.2 Influence of donors to HCRF on the relationship between the communities and this NGO

The overall influence of donors to HCRF on the communities has lessened as their role in Cayos Cochinos has gradually decreased and as the HCRF has gained financial independence. The communities therefore now depend on the HCRF’s initiative to fund community development programmes. As the HCRF executive director commented “Now that we are able to raise our own funds, we can take our own decisions on where to invest and decide which components of the management plan to prioritise”.

Table 9. Donors support to Cayos Cochinos from 1994 to 2007

Year	Donor	Specific donor focus	Main recipients
1994 - 2005	AVINA	HCRF overheads and conservation (until 2002) Staff training	Island owners (until 2002) HCRF's staff
1998	Texaco Caribbean	Uncertain	Uncertain
1998 – 2003	Inter American Foundation	Community development	Island communities
1993 – 1999 (approx.)	Honduran and foreign businessmen	Scientific research and HCRF's infrastructure	HCRF
2002 – present	MarViva	Scientific and networking support	HCRF
2003 – 2007	World Bank's Global Environmental Facility (GEF)	Environmental education and sustainability, institutional strengthening and scientific research	HCRF Island and mainland communities
2004 – present	The Nature Conservancy (TNC)	Conservation, scientific research, community development and financial sustainability	HCRF and island and mainland communities
2005 – present	United States Agency for International Development (USAID)	Environmental sustainability	Island and mainland communities
1999 – present	World Wide Fund for Nature	Co-management of the area with HCRF (1999 – 2000); Conservation and community development (2001 onwards)	HCRF; island and mainland communities

5.3.3 Benefits received by the communities

This section summarises the most relevant benefits that have been delivered to mainland and island communities through projects and programmes supported by grant aid and managed by the HCRF. All the programmes and projects in this section have benefited the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos at some time. Nevertheless, some of them have not been sustainable.

The primary schools in East End and Nueva Armenia have received support on several occasions. For example, funding for the construction of one of the classrooms in East End was provided by USAID (direct observation, 16/7/07). Also, USAID is currently providing

technical support and material for the construction of energy saving stoves, in island and mainland communities.

The Inter American Foundation supported the HCRF from 1998 to 2002. During this time, it contributed to bringing drinking water, radio communications, latrines and medical brigades into some of the communities, and also attempted to enable the communities to “manage, design and implement its own projects” (James, n.d.).

In 2001, fishermen from the islands visited their peers at Banco Chinchorro Marine Protected Area in Mexico. This experience was supported by World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). The exchange aimed to put the Honduran fishermen in direct contact with a successful experience of sustainable fisheries (Protected Areas Official for WWF Central America, interview, 4/6/07).

5.3.4 Other donor organisations associated with the case-study communities

In later years, the communities have received funds and technical support from donors other than those that support HCRF. This support has been channelled in two main ways.

One way in which the community benefits is through the Development Support Group (GAD). This group is a partnership between the HCRF Sustainable Development director and the local representative for Operation Wallacea, –a former US Peace Corps volunteers. This partnership aims to become a local NGO dedicated to support the people living in Cayos Cochinos and the mainland communities that depend on it (GAD founders, interviews, 29/5/07 and 26/6/07). One of the members of this partnership described the goal of GAD as the creation of alliances between the local communities and NGOs that can provide the communities with funds or training (ibid, 29/5/07 and 26/6/07).

Although the GAD has not been legally established yet, the local communities have already benefited from it in several ways. One example of GAD’s achievements was the establishment of a scholarship fund. This fund is capitalised with money from the local community businesses, and the international organisations Operation Wallacea and AVINA. This fund is used to provide local children and teenagers with education at all levels and a monthly stipend,

on the condition that their school grades are maintained and they participate in community projects.

Other benefits for the communities, achieved through GAD, include a hotel at each of the island villages, (i.e. Chachahuate and East End), a restaurant in Chachahuate community (with the financial support of WWF), training in tourism and business, logistical support to the local network of tour operators “Ruta Garifuna” (Garifuna Route) and its website <http://www.rutagarinagu.com>, and the establishment of hospitality networks in Nueva Armenia and Rio Esteban.

All projects facilitated through GAD are meant to be community operated and owned. For example, the women in Chachahuate team up to cook for visitors and tourists on a roster basis. Similarly, Ruta Garifuna is operated by members of the five villages associated with Cayos Cochinos. This network provides tourism transportation to and from the islands and assists with accommodation bookings at local homes. Likewise, the catering networks in Nueva Armenia and Rio Esteban are constituted by all households willing to provide food and lodging Operation Wallacea’s and Biosphere Expeditions’ researchers and volunteers. Each household lodges one or two tourists at a time. Future plans for GAD include developing sustainable tourism projects in all the island and mainland communities associated with Cayos Cochinos (Oviedo & Ives, 2007).

Although the community projects facilitated through Operation Wallacea and GAD are fairly new, the benefits for the communities are already evident. Several people from Nueva Armenia considered that the extra income generated by catering for Operation Wallacea groups “help the community improve its living standards” (Timon, interview 14/6/07).

During this research, I invariably perceived a positive attitude towards GAD and Operation Wallacea groups. A Chachahuate fisherman, Fortuna, affirmed that “this guy who used to work for the US Peace Corps, has helped us [i.e. Chachahuate community] get a restaurant...he really cares about us” (interview, 11/6/07). Rio Esteban resident Lempira commented that “there’s more trust nowadays. We see transparency in Adoni and Anthony” (GAD partnership founders) (interview, 9/6/07). However, this participant also mentioned not knowing that the GAD and the HCRF were different institutions.

Despite the widespread acceptance of social-related projects and of GAD, some other people were slightly redundant to the nature of the projects, since they identify themselves as fishermen, and dislike the idea of being tourism providers.

A second way in which donations and support have arrived to one of the communities is through direct requests from community members. Indeed, members of the community of Rio Esteban have obtained support from international organisations to finance small projects (Rio Esteban resident Lempira, interview, 8/7/07). This unusual situation has been possible due to a well established board of community representatives, who have been highly involved in the welfare of the community in recent years.

5.4 Influence of other institutions on the interaction between the communities and the HCRF

5.4.1 Government

Two central government bodies, each with particular powers and potentially influential roles, and the provincial government are discussed below.

5.4.1.1 Forestry Government Administration of the Honduran Forest Development Corporation (AFE-COHDEFOR)

Under the agreement for the co-management of Cayos Cochinos, the operative management of the protected area is delegated to the HCRF. However, the AFE-COHDEFOR is involved in Cayos Cochinos through several activities. The main activities of AFE-COHDEFOR in this agreement are the enforcement of laws, regulations and other dispositions, supporting the HCRF in seeking funds, approving and monitoring management plans and operative plans for Cayos Cochinos, supporting the training of staff involved in the management of the protected area, supporting programmes related to management, and provision of technical support for the implementation of the operational plan.

The responsibilities of AFE-COHDEFOR in the co-management of Cayos Cochinos are very similar to the standard responsibilities this government agency would have in any other co-management agreement. However, the AFE-COHDEFOR is also normally in charge of

conducting inspections within the limits of the Protected Area (AFE-COHDEFOR, HCRF & Ministry for Agriculture and Livestock, 2004).

Despite this legislation, the involvement of the AFE-COHDEFOR has been limited. A participant of this research (Entelina, interview, 15/7/07), working at AFE-COHDEFOR, commented that “the AFE-COHDEFOR is minimally involved in Cayos Cochinos mostly through receiving and processing formal complaints received from the general public”. Moreover, this activity is fulfilled only partially. A member working at this institution recognised that the processing of formal complaints is “a hard job for the AFE-COHDEFOR due to gaps in legislation” (Dacota, interview, 15/7/07).

Entelina mentioned that the main obstacle for the involvement of AFE-COHDEFOR in the co-management of protected areas is the lack of human and economic resources this agency assigns to the department in charge of the protected areas, that is, the Department of Protected Areas and Wildlife (ibid,15/7/07).

Two main circumstances arise from this situation. In the first place, the AFE-COHDEFOR cannot get involved enough in the analysis of financial statements and the monitoring of activities of the HCRF, including those stated in the Management Plan, in the annual operative plans, in the quarterly reports and also, in those not included in any of these documents. The lack of involvement was made evident by Entelina (ibid. 15/7/07). This participant commented that the lack of resources had impeded AFE-COHDEFOR inspections to Cayos Cochinos on a regular basis. This participant mentioned that, as a result of this, the AFE-COHDEFOR never became aware of the lease of part of Cayo Menor Island for the filming of the Survivor reality show or of the presence of infrastructure purposely built for this TV programme (ibid,15/7/07).

Secondly, the AFE-COHDEFOR is not able to have an active role in the management activities and decisions in Cayos Cochinos. An example of this situation was provided by Entelina who commented that “the AFE-COHDEFOR has not been involved with the HCRF in identifying alternatives for community development” (ibid, 15/7/07).

Nevertheless, the AFE-COHDEFOR has participated with the HCRF on certain occasions, such as the revision of the Management Plan in 2007 (direct observation, 6/6/07).

The small involvement of AFE-COHDEFOR in the management of Cayos Cochinos has resulted in the HCRF taking unilateral decisions and not being accountable to the AFE-COHDEFOR. As Entelina mentioned “the AFE-COHDEFOR does not have information concerning the HCRF’s financial statements, and has not been given a copy of the HCRF’s Annual Operative Plan”.

Entelina and Dakota were also asked about the influence of the AFE-COHDEFOR on the HCRF to encourage the latter to support the livelihoods of the communities living within Cayos Cochinos. Both participants suggested that the AFE-COHDEFOR has small capacity to influence the HCRF in this respect, due to a lack of resources. However, both of them considered that more regulation and involvement would be ideal. Entelina stressed that the AFE-COHDEFOR recognised the importance of “helping the HCRF finding income-generating alternatives for the community as well as promoting a better understanding between the communities and the HCRF”.

The previous comment appeared to suggest underlying tension between the HCRF and the communities. Further enquiries and comments confirmed this (See section 5.5). As a member of AFE-COHDEFOR stated “the HCRF has always had problems with the communities, and still has” (ibid,15/7/07).

However, this participant believed that, in practice, a stronger participation of AFE-COHDEFOR in the co-management of Cayos to support the community was difficult because “there are other big interests in the island that limit the real power of AFE-COHDEFOR ...we have to remember that the islands are private” (ibid, 15/7/07).

In summary, the limited participation of AFE-COHDEFOR in the co-management of Cayos Cochinos has meant a small influence on the activities of the HCRF regarding the communities’ livelihoods. However, this situation has an influence on the relationship between these two actors leaving plenty of leeway to the HCRF to manage the protected area according to its own priorities.

5.4.1.2 Local government (municipality)

Local people from the villages and the HCRF have stated that the local governments do not have much involvement with Cayos Cochinos and the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos. This reality was clearly visible as I conducted direct and participatory observations. Litter accumulated in corners and alongside footpaths only to be spread by the wind, Nueva Armenia's community clinic was open only once a week, there were hardly any lampposts as I walked through the mainland villages after sunset, there was no electricity in the island communities and most facilities looked damaged or worn out in the five communities included in this research.

Interviews also revealed that all mainland communities experience flooding during the winter and would benefit with the construction of bridges, that funds were needed for building a new classroom in Nueva Armenia's primary school (Principal of Nueva Armenia's School, interview, 6/6/07), that Chachahuate inhabitants needed running water, electricity, and rubbish disposal systems as soon as possible and that people in mainland villages were looking forward to having their roads paved (interviews: Cortes, 7/7/07; Limon, 6/6/07; Yoro, 12/6/07; Bahia, 15/6/07).

These circumstances can be attributed to insufficient participation from local governments. However, the community people saw these problems as something the HCRF and/or international donors should solve. For example, a Chachahuate fisherman, Utila (interview, 12/6/07), commented "the HCRF gave us rubbish bins but it should also take our rubbish out to mainland landfills. We can't do it; our boats are not big enough to transport all the rubbish". Similarly, East End fisherman considered that "the HCRF should give us first-aid kits and send us a doctor, at least once a month" (Paraiso, interview, 3/6/07). In the same sense, a Chachahuate fisherman, Tela (interview, 3/6/07), stressed that "what the community wants from the HCRF is help with new houses, restaurants and everything that can help us attain better livelihoods".

The island and mainland communities associated with Cayos Cochinos belong to four different regions in Honduras, called departments. Each department is a large zone of the country, and each department is subdivided in local governments called municipalities. There

are four different local governments in this case-study area. Cayos Cochinos belongs to the municipality of Roatan, Sambo Creek to the municipality of La Ceiba, Nueva Armenia to the municipality of Jutiapa and Rio Esteban to Balfate (See table 8). The complexity of this political subdivision in Cayos Cochinos is evident.

When questioned about the role of the local Department in supporting the island communities, a key figure of the Roatan Municipality (interview, 18/7/07) stated that the involvement of this entity was unnecessary. In her opinion, the support the communities received by HCRF was more than enough to cater to all their needs. However, she also commented that the Municipality could not support the communities well enough. According to this participant, the reason for this was that the remoteness of Cayos Cochinos and the lack of staff in this Municipality made it difficult to look after the Garifuna communities in Cayos Cochinos (Berlin, interview, 18/7/07). These comments show the confusion and misunderstandings about roles of different organisations as well as the lack of capability of the local government in supporting Cayos Cochinos.

In summary, it appears as if the government has had a minimal role in the development of Cayos Cochinos and the communities that depend on it.

5.4.1.3 Armed Forces of Honduras

The main task of the Armed Forces is to patrol the area to ensure that tourists and fishermen respect the law. In addition, these Forces maintain surveillance of the area where the reality show takes place. They also help with some manual activities such as weed control (Management and Natural Resources Protection Coordinator of HCRF, interview, 13/06/07). The activities of Armed Forces of Honduras in Cayos Cochinos are coordinated by the HCRF.

According to a key figure from a donor organisation (Intibuca, interview, 11/7/07), the Armed Forces of Honduras have provided support to Cayos Cochinos ever since it was declared protected. This support is seen by this participant as a special concession from the Honduran government, because no other Honduran area received this type of support. However, since 2002, some other Protected Areas in Central America have received the same support upon recommendation of the Central American Environmental Defense Program in the

Mesoamerican Biological Corridor. This programme was a “validation workshop” designed by the Tropical Agricultural Research and Higher Education Center and cosponsored by the United States Army War College Centre for Strategic Leadership, the United States Southern Command, the U.S. Department of State and the Tropical Agriculture Research and Higher Education Center. Its purpose was to train the Armed Forces and the Police Corps in the “environmental defense and protection” as well as in “humanitarian assistance and disaster response missions” (Griffard, Bradshaw & Hughes-Butts, 2002, p. 2).

The Armed Forces of Honduras have not been directly involved in the support of the communities. However, due its role, the communities manifested feeling threatened by this institution. Indeed, several people commented that the Armed Forces have interfered with their livelihoods by restricting their access to natural resources. The coordination of these forces by the HCRF is a continuous source of tension between the local communities and this NGO.

5.4.2 Black organisations OFRANEH and ODECO

The Garifuna ethnic group in Honduras is represented by two organisations: the Ethnic Community Development Organisation (ODECO) and the Black Fraternal Organisation of Honduras (OFRANEH) (Thorne, 2004).

ODECO was established in 1992 with the aim of fostering integral development of the black Honduran community (ODECO, n.d.). At present, this organisation conducts social research and provides support to communities in terms of agricultural projects, legal support in land tenure conflicts, provision of health services, advice for community organisations and promotion of Garifuna language and training (ODECO, n.d.). According to a member of ODECO staff, this organisation has supported Cayos Cochinos with school materials, medical brigades, and training, particularly for the treatment of solid waste (Guanaja, interview, 11/7/07). This organisation has also served as an intermediary between the international donors and several Garifuna communities (Thorne, 2004), including those associated with Cayos Cochinos. For example, in 1999, ODECO requested that the international NGO ‘Save The Children’ provide a cool store for the Nueva Armenia community. This store was intended to be used by the fishermen of the community, to store their products to have better control over their sales and sale prices.

OFRANEH was funded in 1982 to advocate for the interests of all black ethnic groups. At present, this organisation works closely with international black movements. In contrast to ODECO, OFRANEH stands out for having strong public activism on behalf of the black communities. OFRANEH press releases and public statements have denounced policies and actions from the HCRF and the Honduran government that affect the Garifuna communities particularly in regards to land ownership and natural resources (Anderson, 2007). These two institutions work mostly independently from one another (Anderson, 2007; Safa, 2006). However, both of them have actively lobbied the Honduran Government to demand registration of land titles in Cayos Cochinos and the mainland communities that depend on it. In this respect, the main success of ODECO and OFRANEH in Cayos Cochinos is considered to be the achievement of East End and Chachahuat titles and registrations in November 2006 and those of Cayo Bolanos in May 2007 (ODECO's vice-president, interview, 11/7/07).

OFRANEH and ODECO do not work with HCRF. During this research, I found strong resistance from OFRANEH members to talk freely about their position on HCRF. Members of ODECO mentioned that HCRF is focused only on conservation and leaves the communities aside. For example, one of ODECO's staff members stated "HCRF does not support the communities' development. Instead, it hinders the locals from fishing freely...and the Management Plan (2004-2009) does not capture the people's voices. Instead, it restricts their activities" (Guanaja, interview, 11/7/07).

Garifuna organisations ODECO and OFRANEH do not have direct influence over the HCRF regarding community development. However, these organisations directly support the communities that depend on Cayos Cochinos for their livelihoods. In doing this, ODECO's and OFRANEH's activities can be complementary to those of the HCRF, but can also cause tensions, when the activities of HCRF are not congruent with the policies and philosophy of these Garifuna organisations.

5.4.3 Private owners of Cayos Cochinos islands

The private ownership of Cayos Cochinos is a factor that influences the HCRF in supporting the communities' livelihoods. This is because the private owners of the islands are members of the board of Directors of the HCRF (see section 4.7).

The two major owners in Cayos Cochinos are the SIEC and Mr Robert Griffith and his wife. The SIEC owns Cayo Menor, Cayo Paloma, Cayo Bolanos y Cayo Gallo, while the Griffiths own a considerable portion of Cayo Mayor (HCRF Executive director, interview, 19/7/07).

In an interview (6/8/07) with the director of MarViva (a major SIEC shareholder) he pointed out that SIEC does not impose its ideas on the HCRF. However, SIEC bought the islands to achieve sustainable development in them (ibid). Although no further specifications were made, the Marviva director stressed that this organisation watches over the activities of the HCRF (ibid, 6/8/07).

There has been continuous conflict for the recognition of Garifuna territorial rights in Cayos Cochinos and mainland communities that depend on it.

The Garifuna communities of Chachahuate and East End have had titles since 2001 (Vacanti-Brondo & Woods, 2007). However, the previous owner, Mr Griffith, contested the ownership of the islands in 2002. The arguments of Mr Griffith were that the fishermen living in these communities had settled on private land illegally, after being granted temporary permits only. On the other side, the Garifuna argued that they had the right to stay according to the International Labour Organisation's Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, that is, the ILO 169. This Convention recognises "the right of indigenous peoples to maintain control over their institutions, ways of life, economic development, and identities, languages and religions within their State's frameworks and are tasked with safeguarding and guaranteeing the right of indigenous peoples to ownership of both the territory that they currently occupy as well as areas that they traditionally accessed for subsistence and other activities" (ibid, p.8).

Following this Convention and with the support of OFRANEH and ODECO, East End and Chachahuate had their land titles ratified in November 2006 by the Honduran Supreme Court (Vacanti-Brondo & Woods, 2007). Similarly, Bolanos acquired its title and registration in May 2007 (ODECO's vice-president, interview, 11/7/07). However, at the time this research was conducted, the inscription of the titles in the Registry of Land Ownership at the municipality level, had not taken place.

Land tenure issues have continued after the titles were granted. According to the HCRF Executive Director (interview, 19/7/07) Chachahuaté's and East End's titles and registrations have been contested by Mr Robert Griffith, who claims that he is the original owner and that the communities' titles and registrations are invalid. His argument is that the Garifuna titles were granted by the National Agrarian Institute, a government agency who grants titles over rural land. However, he argues that Cayos Cochinos is urban land, based on the Decree 90/90. This decree labels areas with tourism potential as urban land (Vacanti-Brondo and Woods, 2007, p. 8). Mr Robert Griffith has also sued the National Agrarian Institute for issuing the aforementioned titles.

Vacanti-Brondo and Woods (2007) observed that land disputes in Cayos Cochinos have increased "the tension between the community members, the HCRF and the government". This tension was confirmed during the interviews. People still fear that they will be displaced by Mr Griffith. Chachahuaté fisherman, Fortuna, said "no wonder they [i.e. the HCRF] are revamping the island. That's how they are pushing us out, little by little. That's the idea. Tourists don't want noise, kids and the like. Therefore, we will be expelled from here so that tourists don't get upset" (interview, 11/6/07). Along the same lines, Ocotepeque stated that "the HCRF would rather we weren't here...but we won't let that happen" (interview, 9/6/07). However, the HCRF's executive director claimed to have a neutral position towards the land dispute (interview, 19/7/07).

5.5 Influence of the relationship between the communities and the HCRF on the communities' livelihoods.

Most interviewees from the three stakeholder groups noted that there are tensions regarding the relationship between most members of the communities and the HCRF staff.

As mentioned in section 4.6, the organisations that have managed Cayos Cochinos since its constitution have established fishing regulations and restrictions to protect the marine resources, as well as restrictions on the extraction and use of the fauna and flora of the islands. These regulations have changed throughout the history of Cayos Cochinos to allow some human intervention. However, they have always been strictly enforced by the park rangers with the support of the Honduran Army forces. In addition, the management bodies of the

protected area have conducted and coordinated a number of activities within it. Among them are scientific research, scientific tourism and more recently, TV productions (reality shows).

Most participants affirmed that the protection of Cayos Cochinos and the activities associated with the management of the area have had a negative impact on their livelihoods. This situation has been a constant source of tension between the management body of Cayos Cochinos, –currently the HCRF–, and the communities.

Interviews with the HCRF staff and the communities indicate that there have been four main factors shaping the management decisions in the protected area, which could have affected the local communities' livelihoods.

5.5.1 Perspectives on ownership of Garifuna land

The first factor is a difference in the perspectives of the communities and the managers of the protected area about the rights of the Garifuna to live in the islands. Indeed, there is a lack of recognition of the Garifuna group as the original occupants because this group is relatively new to the area.

The HCRF has traced back the settlement process that started with a temporary camping permit in 1969 (HCRF, 2006). This was confirmed by Bahia, a Garifuna elder living in mainland Nueva Armenia, and former resident of Chachahuate community. He recalled how a group of fishermen gradually settled in Cayos after being granted permission for building temporary shelters.

“In 1969 a group of fishermen that I was part of, moved to Cayos, after requesting permit from Mr Griffith, the owner. He agreed on the condition that we respected his coconut trees and that we destroyed our houses once we left. So we did for five years. Then we realised that building and destroying our houses over and over again was too much work. So, we decided not to destroy them. The owner wasn't happy. He ordered [his people] to destroy them. He also tried to sell the islands. We asked him for another place [for us to live] but he could not find any other. As a result, we stayed in Chachahuate (interview, 15/07/07)”.

Although the HCRF and Bahia agree on this historical fact, Bahia also mentioned the underlying circumstances that forced the fishermen to proceed in such a way: “We settled down in Cayos because we do not have land to grow crops, because finding employment is becoming increasingly difficult and because we do not have other skills aside from fishing and growing crops” (Bahia, interview, 15/6/07).

The same fisherman commented in a previous study that the reason why he does not have land to grow crops is that in 1992 he lost his land on Nueva Armenia, –where he currently lives–, as a result of land redistribution. In that occasion, his land was reallocated to “the high-class locals and foreigners” (Russell, 2005, p. 32).

The instability of the situation of people living on the islands was first evidenced when in 1994, the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute publicly compromised and agreed to “work towards the control and eradication of social conflicts in Cayos Cochinos” (HCRF, 2006b). This statement was followed by an attempt to “relocate” the people living in Chachahuate and camping in Cayo Bolanos to East End, in order to create a “model community” (HCRF, 2006b). This situation, interpreted by the communities as an attempt of eviction and lack of concern for their livelihoods, created a sense of uncertainty and unease from the communities towards the HCRF that still prevails. This is exemplified by a Chachahuate fisherman, Fortuna, who commented “I don’t trust their help [i.e. that of HCRF’s]...Some years ago they wanted us to leave Cayos” (interview, 11/06/07).

The issues regarding the land tenure of the inhabited islands are managed ambiguously by HCRF. For example, on one hand, the HCRF Executive Director described the pre-2007 situation as an “unstable condition that prevented the HCRF from carrying out development programs for the communities; there was a high risk that the land could be taken back by its original owner and all our efforts were lost” (interview, 19/07/07). However, the HCRF has taken up the management of social projects and programmes, as early as in 1998. In this year, the Inter-American Foundation granted the HCRF “US\$303,000 over four years, to improve the social and ecological sustainability of the Cayos Cochinos Biological Reserve through community projects and training. This project was to improve the living conditions of approximately 500 residents of the six communities that have traditionally lived and fished near the reserve: East End, Chachahuate, Bolanos, Rio Esteban, Nueva Armenia, and Sambo

Creek. HCRF was to also promote the participation of these communities in the management of the reserve's marine resources” (IAF, n.d.b). On the other hand, the HCRF executive director also commented in an interview (19/7/07) that **no longer** “were there land tenure issues in Cayos Cochinos”, just to mention later in the same interview, that the “legal problem had not been solved” and that he considered that “the titles granted to the communities are illegal” (ibid). When asked about the support the HCRF provided to the communities in this sense, this participant mentioned that the NGO was neutral towards it. However, he also mentioned that HCRF had helped the Garifuna communities from time to time to travel to the country’s capital city and Roatan to process their land titles.

Even though the HCRF has not initiated any eviction process against the communities, and despite the support the HCRF had given the Garifuna communities for commuting to the capital city and Roatan, people perceive that HCRF is not on their side. Indeed, for many people the presence of HCRF in the area threatens their land rights in Cayos Cochinos. This view might be the result of the relationship between HCRF and the land owners. In fact, as mentioned before, SIEC, the company that bought four islands in Cayos Cochinos, was the funder of HCRF. Also, the purchasing of the islands occurred the same year that the area was declared protected.

5.5.2 Views on the purpose of the management of Cayos Cochinos

The second factor contributing to shape the management decisions in the protected area is the difference in views of the communities and the HCRF about the purpose of the management of the protected area. On one hand, the HCRF recognises itself as an institution whose priority is conservation. As it was stated before, the HCRF executive director mentioned that “the role of the HCRF is conservation, not community development or social support” (interview, 20/07/07). In accordance with this position, the HCRF has focused on conservation and scientific research while delegating social and economic programmes for the communities to other organisations. The HCRF executive director referred to this transference of responsibilities as “the development and support of strategic alliances with donors interested in community development” (ibid. interview, 20/07/07).

On the other hand, most inhabitants of mainland and island Garifuna communities believe that the NGO should be in charge of community development together with the conservation of the area. However, there are different ideas with respect to the degree of involvement the communities would wish the NGO to have. Some people consider that the HCRF should take a leading role in improving the communities' livelihoods. For example, an East End fisherman's wife, Nacaome, explained: "the HCRF protects the area but it should [also] help the communities with work or donations" (interview, 9/6/07). Other participants consider that the people should be actively involved in the management of Cayos. As East End's fisherman's wife Naranjo pointed out, "I don't agree with the HCRF establishing the current legislation without community involvement. They should meet up with the communities...They ought to tell us whatever they are doing" (interview, 6/6/07). A small number of community members stand for a more radical change. According to Chachahuate fisherman Fortuna: "we should be in charge of managing this reserve, not them. They conduct research on what we already know" (interview, 11/6/07).

5.5.3 Views on the importance of conservation and use of natural resources

The third factor which shapes the management decisions in the protected area is the relative importance of conservation and use of natural resources for each stakeholder. The HCRF is clearly conservationist in this sense, as stated above. In contrast, most participants recognise that resources should be not only protected but also used. Indeed, people from the communities recognise the importance of protecting the natural resources. However, fishing - for either trade or subsistence- is the most important income-generating activity of their communities.

The general perception of allowing the sustainable use of the resources within the protected area was explained by Chachahuate fisherman Tela. This participant commented that "animals are for us to live on, but there should be agreements by which fishing was allowed for one month a year, or by which we could catch a conch per person, or a few lobsters, the number depending on the family size. However, we are not allowed to catch anything. The HCRF's laws are dreadful" (interview, 3/6/07).

Conservation is seen by most participants as feasible provided alternative sources of income are provided. For example, Rio Esteban participant Lempira stressed that “protection is good as long as we get benefits [from it]” (8/7/07).

In this context, the filming of reality shows in Cayos Cochinos also upset most people, particularly the fishermen who normally fish nearby the film settings. Most opinions were in the sense that reality shows restrict the access of fisherman to natural resources while not contributing to the conservation of their natural resources. In general people regarded the reality shows as an ‘unfair deal’. However, people recognised that during the filming, some locals were able to get jobs as boat operators, and that some minor donations (i.e. a television was donated to Chachahuate’s community) have been made to the islander communities. Chachahuate fisherman Fortuna summarised these elements as follows:

“Reality shows are depleting the natural resources of the island. The HCRF makes millions out of these islands. We do like getting jobs, though, –at least for a while–, and getting stuff for free, though. We are not against the filming crew. But we are upset with the HCRF because it allows the contestants to eat the animals that we are not allowed to catch. This is unreasonable. I might be told off, but the filming crew is not to be blamed for the situation” (interview, 11/6/07).

Interestingly, community perceptions on the availability of resources differed from those of the HCRF’s. For example, although both stakeholders affirm that the resource availability had decreased over recent years, a considerable number of fishermen believe that this is the result of the natural tendency of fish to migrate. For instance, Sambo Creek farmer and fisherman Satuye commented “Years ago, we were able to catch up to two hundred fish everyday. Nowadays, we have to be out in the sea for as long as five days, to get some fish. But there’s no such thing as overfishing. It’s just that fish have swum away from Cayos Cochinos. That’s why we need motor boats, to go get them” (interview, 28/6/07). However, the HCRF suggests that some species, lobster included, are overfished (Andraka et al, 2004. p.23).

5.5.4 Views on the involvement of the Garifuna communities

Finally, the fourth and last factor characterising the management decisions in the protected area is a minimal involvement of communities in these decisions. Clearly, the story of the protected area is a story of lack of Garifuna participation in decision making and planning. In 1994, soon after the protected area was declared 'protected' the year before, the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute (STRI) took over its management. One of the first actions of this institute was an evaluation of the main sources of damage to the coral reef in Cayos Cochinos. The study found that the most important factors contributing to the reef deterioration were storms and commercial fishing, as well as local hunting and fishing activities. Therefore, STRI developed a conservationist approach and imposed a total ban on fishing on the area without previous consultation with the local communities (See section 4.6) (Gutierrez & Jones, 2004). Although this approach aimed to preserve the reef health, it impacted negatively on the fishers communities. Soon tension grew between the STRI and the communities (James, n.d.). As a consequence, in mid 1997, the STRI scientific programme was restructured to include a social component to address the needs of the local communities. However, during the time the STRI managed the protected area, most of the time and effort of this institute was allocated to activities related to research and conservation of the coral reefs and the species associated with it, including turtles and conch (HCRF, 2006a). This situation lasted until December 1997, when the STRI contract finished (Andraka et al, 2004).

When the contract with STRI finished, the HCRF and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) took up a shared role in co-managing Cayos Cochinos. This situation lasted from 1999 to 2000 (HCRF executive director, interview, 20/6/07). In 2001-2002, the HCRF took up the overall management of the area.

HCRF took up the management of Cayos Cochinos with additional responsibilities. This time this institution not only had the purpose of achieving environmental sustainability but also was in charge of finding mechanisms for self financial sustainability (HCRF executive director, 20/6/07). A summary of the management institutions of Cayos Cochinos is presented in table 10.

Table 10. Management bodies of Cayos Cochinos since its establishment as a protected area.

Year	Management of Cayos Cochinos
1994 – 1997	Smithsonian Research Institute
1998	HCRF
1999 – 2000	HCRF in co-management with WWF
2001 – 2003	HCRF
2004 – present	HCRF in co-management with AFE-COHDEFOR and SAG

A staff member from one of the donor organisations commented that “the HCRF has pursued these aims actively, and was successful in achieving these goals”. However, he recognised that “the social aspects of conservation have been left behind” (Donor organisation participant Oropendola, interview, 6/8/07). This participant also stated that “perhaps these aspects are not considered to be as important as the conservation of the natural resources”.

In agreement with this participant’s opinion, I found that most people from the communities had not been involved with the HCRF and were unaware of HCRF’s activities and plans. For example, Chachahuate retailer and artisan Gallo commented “the HCRF never informs us what is going on” (interview, 4/6/07). Similar responses were given by over half of the interviewees.

From the people who had been employed by HCRF, most had been skilled labourers, particularly in construction and boat operation. A few community members, mostly community leaders (i.e. presidents of the fishermen associations of the different communities, as well as village presidents and vice-presidents), reportedly received training through HCRF and some people recalled participating in an exchange experience with a fishers community living within a protected area in Mexico. Also, some members of the communities mentioned participating in some meetings with the HCRF, and being asked their opinion in decisions taken at those meetings. Among them is Sambo Creek fisherman and boat operator Jute, who explained:

“I was asked my opinion during the elaboration of the first management plan. The HCRF wanted me to give them some ideas to control the area against poaching. I knew very well how to stop poaching, since I was a poacher myself” (interview, 28/6/07).

Another example of community involvement was the invitation to community leaders to participate in the revision of the Management Plan in 2007.

However, the great majority of the population interviewed have not had their say in the HCRF's decisions or worked for the HCRF. Chachahuatle fisherman and boat operator Utila considers that excluding them from the HCRF has an impact on the coral reef. This was his opinion:

“Of all of the people in this community, only I and my mate work at the HCRF. We are boat operators. Everybody else working at the HCRF is not from the communities. If we, the community members, worked at the HCRF we would not need to fish so intensively...and we would let fish grow until it reached its adult size (interview, 12/6/07).

From those participants who received training through HCRF, some people commented finding it applicable and some others not. A Rio Esteban participant mentioned “I know many things but I can not put anything in practise. All I need is economic support to start my own business” (Lempira, interview, 8/7/07). On the other hand, a Nueva Armenia fisherman commented “The HCRF sent me to take some courses in environmental issues. Once I took the courses, I asked them (the HCRF) for some help to transmit this knowledge to the community but they did not support me. Despite this, I visit the local school and the local health centre and talk to people about the importance of our forests, the water and looking after our resources. I do this without being paid” (Montecristo, interview, 30/6/07).

From the interviews, it appeared as if most people who enrolled in courses and met with HCRF were community leaders. An interview (19/7/07) with the HCRF executive director confirmed it. He indicated that when dealing with the communities, he meets almost exclusively with a group called the “deal-making commission”. This commission is a group composed by community leaders and presidents of fishermen associations from the five

villages associated with Cayos Cochinos. The HCRF executive director explained that the deal-making commission is meant to represent the interests of the five communities. He also mentioned that a group such as the deal-making commission is necessary to ease the communication between both parties, since it would be impossible to listen to everyone's ideas. Another member of the HCRF (Pespire, 26/6/07) commented that the deal-making commission was a workgroup created for a particular project, but that the HCRF chose to deal with as it seemed to work well.

However, the deal-making commission seems not to have represented well the interests of most communities. A participant from a donor group suggested that this commission is too small a group to address the needs of five communities that are "not only different from one another, but also heterogeneous within each one" (Yuscaran, 30/6/07). In addition, there were some comments questioning the willingness of the deal-making commission to represent the communities. For example, Chachahuate resident Yoro considered that "some of the members of the deal-making commission are not interested in representing the people (interview, 13/6/07)".

Similarly, several people stated they were dissatisfied with some of their community leaders, particularly in Nueva Armenia and Chachahuate. As Nueva Armenia resident commented "most of our leaders are not interested in the communities; they only represent their own interests at the meetings" (Limon, interview, 6/7/07). However, other members of the communities considered that it is the villagers who do not get sufficiently involved with their leaders. Indeed, several people stated not being interested anymore in participating in meetings. For example, Sambo Creek farmer and fisherman Satuye stated "I don't want to participate in meetings, I'm tired of meetings, it's just a waste of time; I just want to be told how I can improve my financial situation" (interview, 28/6/07). Similarly, a leader from a mainland community mentioned that "some people won't participate in meetings unless the situation turns unbearable" (BrusLaguna, interview, 1/7/07). Interestingly, community leaders are elected by their own communities in open meetings. This was confirmed by community members, GAD and the HCRF (Utila, interview, 12/6/07); (GAD, interviews, 29/5/07 and 26/6/07); (HCRF, interview, 20/6/07).

Additionally, there were several comments among the communities about the HCRF not being transparent and accountable to people. For example, Rio Esteban resident Lempira explained “It would be good to benefit from HCRF’s activities. But we don’t even know how much money HCRF receives and how it is spent... HCRF does not mention how it uses the money it gets from the entrance fees, the reality shows or the scientific tourism” (interview, 8/7/07).

This situation has aroused suspicions about the possibility of the money being used for activities other than conservation or community development. For example, East End’s resident Nacaome stated “I heard that Operation Wallacea had donated some money to this community to buy motor boats and materials to repair our houses. I believe that the HCRF embezzled that sum. Operation Wallacea asked us (East End’s residents) if we had received it. We said we hadn’t” (interview, 9/6/07).

On the other hand, the HCRF felt that it was not appropriate for them to disclose financial information as they would open themselves to criticism. As the executive director of HCRF explained “We would rather not make our financial transactions known. Local people could criticise our expenditures instead of looking at our achievements. They would only see our mistakes. We [i.e. the HCRF] prefer to keep a low profile” (interview, 19/7/07). The lack of transparency was perceived by some members of the community as an additional source of dissatisfaction.

All of the factors mentioned in the previous section have resulted in a difficult relationship between the HCRF and the communities. The effects of this relationship have been multiple.

On one hand, the communities’ perception about the NGO has been severely damaged. Most interviewees indicated a distrust of the HCRF. As East End fisherman Ocotepique maintained “the HCRF does not work with us. If it did, we could trust in them. But they only talk and do nothing productive. They even take away from us what is ours” (interview, 9/6/07).

People also showed apathy in their comments towards the HCRF. For example, Chachahuate resident NanaCruz said “I do not expect anything from the HCRF; I have become disheartened” (interview, 9/7/07). Moreover, a number of participants made comments showing opposition towards the HCRF. Chachahuate fisherman Fortuna argued that the HCRF

should be “dismantled straight away because its role is not protection but tourism promotion” (interview, 11/6/07).

The nature of this relationship has also had a negative impact on the communities. Members of both inland and island communities mentioned experiencing greater hardship compared with the time when the area was not under HCRF management. However a number of community members did not make a distinction between the periods when the Smithsonian Institute and the HCRF have taken up the management of Cayos. While some people considered that the change is only a change of name, some others believed that HCRF has managed the area ever since it was declared protected.

The difficulties that people mentioned experiencing appear to be directly associated with the extent of time people spend in Cayos Cochinos rather than in their mainland dwellings. Furthermore, people whose livelihoods are more related to fishing experienced greater hardship. Common situations that people mentioned are described in the following paragraphs.

In the first place, people emphasised a lack of freedom as a result of most types of fishing gear being banned. In this sense, Chachahuate fisherman Fortuna considered that “there is no freedom to fish as it was when my ancestors lived on this same activity. We used nets and dived but we can not do it anymore” (interview, 11/07/07).

The lack of freedom was not only perceived as the discomfort resulting from not being able to continue with ancestral practices, but is also associated with an increased difficulty in their livelihoods and family income decreasing. East End’s fisherman Ocotepeque explained this as follows:

“There is no freedom because [most types of] fishing is [are] banned in the protected areas. This has resulted in scarcity in our homes, because we lived mostly on diving and fishing. ...In poor families, women depend on their husbands and sons, as there are not alternative sources of job. There was no scarcity and we all ate better when used to sell the products of our fishing. Nowadays we fish almost nothing because we can only fish with lines, and you can’t fish a lot when using a line” (interview, 8/06/07).

Another fisherman from Chachahuat explained that the variety of their diet had been reduced as well: “Turtles, turtle eggs and lizards can not be caught. We cannot eat them anymore” (Tela, interview, 3/6/07). In the same sense, Chachahuat’s inhabitant Gallo commented “We eat differently [from how we did before the area was protected]. We do not fish so much conch and fish. Nowadays our food is less diverse” (interview, 4/6/07).

Moreover, the amount of food available has also decreased. East End housewife Naranjo said:

“Everything was abundant in the past. In contrast, nowadays it is more difficult to make money. We only have enough money to buy food. We can only fish with lines. [As a consequence], quite often we don’t have even enough fish for ourselves and we have to buy fish” (interview, 10/06/07).

Unfortunately, despite most fisher people claiming to have abided by the fishing regulations, a small number commented having had to poach in situations of extreme hardship. Among the consequences of infringing the fishing restrictions have been detentions, temporary and permanent confiscation of fishing gear and in some cases, boats. These measures have affected the fishermen deeply, as their boats are their means of transportation and livelihood Box 1 provides an online denunciation in this respect. This condemnation was made by the international human rights organisation FIAN.

Interestingly, all participants –including those who described breaching the laws–, recognised the importance of the conservation of the natural resources for their livelihoods and were aware of the negative effects of poaching on the reef. However, these participants stated that in the absence of other income-generating alternatives they had had no other choice.

These aspects of poaching were described by Chachahuat fisherman Fortuna as follows: “Sometimes I have bad luck when I go fishing. I mean, I catch almost nothing. When that happens, my family has nothing to eat and I have no fish to sell. So, I have to poach...and do it very quickly. [Because of that], I have no time to choose adult lobsters. I just pick the first lobster I can get. When I do this, I know I’m harming the ‘resources’ of the reef but, what else can I do? ...Fishing regulations are terrible. We’re risking our lives because of the HCRF” (interview, 11/6/07).

Box 1. Attacks and threats to the right to food of fishermen in Cayos Cochinos (FIAN, n.d.)

On November 7, 2007, six Garifuna fishermen – two crew members and four artisanal fishermen – were catching fish in the area of Cayos Cochinos to provide food for their families when they were verbally and physically attacked by coastguards of the Honduran Navy. Initially the members of the Navy shot near the area where the four fishermen were diving and then, they were arrested and taken on board the ship of the Fundación Cayos Cochinos⁴. Afterwards, the military men and the member of Fundación Cayos Cochinos in charge of the ship approached the men in the fisherboat. After being insulted and humiliated, the fishermen were forced to sail to Cayo Menor, where the Navy and the Fundación Cayos Cochinos have their headquarters.

On arrival at Cayo Menor, the fishermen turned up their engine in order to avoid that a wave destabilized their boat. This action made the navy officer shoot twice his service rifle, damaging the engine of the fishing boat. The right foot of one of them was also hit through a splinter.

The same day, the six arrested fishermen were taken to the Prosecutor's Office in La Ceiba, but the Prosecutor's Office found no crime they could be accused of. They were kept arrested with their clothes soaking wet until night was well underway, 11:30 p.m.

Besides this violent situation that took place on the 7th November, the Garifuna fishermen of Cayos Cochinos have suffered several attacks in the last few months. Recently, on July 22nd 2007, Esteban Antolin Batiz Flores was arrested and his equipment and boat were confiscated by members of the Honduran Navy and by the staff of Fundación Cayos Cochinos, when he was going back home after fishing, with food for his family.

In summary, the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos mentioned being displeased with the regulations, the enforcing mechanisms and more recently, with the reality shows. Most participants affirmed that the HCRF had restricted the people's access to natural resources and had not represented any benefit to the communities. Participants also expressed dissatisfaction about not being involved in management decisions and activities. People expressed their dissatisfaction as a rejection of HCRF and its staff. This has generated tensions between HCRF and the communities.

5.6 Conclusion

The present chapter has described the nature of the livelihoods of the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos and the changes these livelihoods have experienced since Cayos Cochinos was established as a protected area. This chapter has also depicted how the different

⁴ i.e. the HCRF

stakeholders associated with Cayos Cochinos have influenced HCRF's decisions in relation to these communities.

Despite most people having complementary sources of income, up until now the livelihoods of the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos are highly dependent on fishing activities, – particularly those of the island communities. However, in later years, working in tourism-related activities is becoming more common amongst the communities. Many of the activities related to tourism have been supported by donors to the Development Support Group (GAD).

The support that the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos have received from HCRF has depended to a large extent on the existence of community development projects and programs funded by donors to HCRF. As financial support of donors to HCRF has decreased, so has the support of HCRF to the communities.

The lack of institutional capacity of the Honduran government (including AFE-COHDEFOR) has resulted in minimal involvement of this entity in the co-management of the area and the support of the communities. Nevertheless, the Garifuna organisations OFRANEH and ODECO have had an important role in community development, despite not working with the HCRF. The nongovernmental organisation GAD has also been important in this respect.

Island owners have supported the HCRF in several ways (i.e. financial, technical support, contributing to decision-making processes). However, this group has impacted negatively on the livelihoods of the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos by contesting the processes regarding the communities' initiatives for the land registration of Chachahuat, East End and Bolanos.

Finally, the management priorities of the HCRF have so far restricted community development, even when some of the communities' members have received support from the HCRF. The reasons for this situation stem from the limited involvement that the communities have had in the management of the area, and from the increasing hardship resulting from the restrictions to the extraction and use of the natural resources in Cayos Cochinos and the absence of income-generating alternatives.

The following chapter discusses the implications of the current management of Cayos Cochinos and factors influencing it, on the communities associated with this protected area.

Chapter 6. Discussion

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 described the nature of the livelihoods of the Garifuna communities associated with Cayos Cochinos and the changes these livelihoods have experienced since it was established as a protected area. Chapter 5 also depicted how the different stakeholders associated with Cayos Cochinos have influenced HCRF's decisions in relation to these communities.

The purpose of this chapter is to draw from those findings and the literature review to identify the main factors influencing the management of Cayos Cochinos by the HCRF, and to understand the implications of these influences on the interaction between the HCRF and the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos.

The structure of this chapter follows the logic of the research objectives, as discussed in chapter 1. The first section describes the uniqueness of this case study. The following sections analyse the previously mentioned factors. Three types of factors were identified in this case study: supra-managerial, managerial and sub-managerial. These categories are discussed separately.

6.2 Uniqueness of this case study

The case-study area and its associated human groups are characterised by an unusual array of features. These features are mentioned in the following paragraphs.

The first relevant characteristic of this protected area is the ambiguous nature of the land ownership. While most of the land is private, a small island and a fraction of one large island are community- owned but this is disputed by private owners. There is also a private island leased to one fishers' community. Moreover, the five nautical miles surrounding the islands are state-owned. This has several implications as discussed below.

In terms of population, there are not one, but two broad 'types' of inhabitants, none of whom is indigenous to the place. Foreign and Honduran wealthy landowners, some of whom are members of the SIEC (conservationist firm that owns several islands), constitute the first

‘type’ of inhabitants. These landowners are distributed across most islands in Cayos Cochinos. The second ‘type’ of resident lives in East End and Chachahuate communities. These residents are mostly Garifuna people. Most of them originally lived in mainland rural villages but settled in the islands. To avoid confusion, in this discussion I will use the terms “private landowners” and “Garifuna communities”, respectively.

Whereas the coexistence of rich landowners and poor communities in or using protected areas is not uncommon, the particular settlement history that gives rise to the current situation has unusual attributes that add to the complexity of the donor-recipient-community relationship. In addition, the connection between these island communities and the mainland communities of origin is another element at play in the case study.

Differences in social status and power created a polarised situation between the private landowners and the Garifuna communities since the establishment of both groups. These differences increased after the area was declared protected. The two poles separated even further away as external institutions got involved in the management activities of the HCRF and as the Garifuna communities started seeking the recognition of their rights and support for their development. This situation has resulted in both groups having a mosaic of privileges and disadvantages. This is discussed in more detail in sections 6.3 and 6.4.

From the institutional point of view, the degree of consolidation of this area contrasts with the reality of other areas in Honduras. Cayos Cochinos is a legally established (declared) area that complies with all the regulations and specifications required by the Protected Areas System of Honduras. These specifications include having a co-management agreement and a management plan, as well as having a Local Council for Protected Areas (see section 4.3.1), represented by a “deal-making commission”.

Another relevant feature is the financial stability the HCRF has enjoyed since the establishment of the protected area. This condition is the result of a two main factors. In the first place, in its initial stages it was heavily capitalised by groups in power. Secondly, in being part of an emblematic ecosystem (the Mesoamerican Reef Barrier System), this area has attracted a number of international donors. This area has also benefited from international aid, private donations and patronage from its private landowners, particularly the SIEC. This firm

has been especially influential in establishing the NGO and securing its support. More recently, returns generated from self-funding activities have compensated for aid reductions and largely secured its core financing for several years. The economic stability of the HCRF contrasts with the current worldwide financial state of protected areas described by Emerton, Bishop & Thomas (2006). In continuously seeking external financial support to enhance and improve its operations, the HCRF is clearly not unique. Indeed, Honduran protected areas under co-management, their management bodies have the responsibility of achieving financial self-sustainability.

Finally, the *de facto* management of the protected area challenges its *de jure* co-management status. Although this area is allegedly co-managed by the HCRF, AFE-COHDEFOR and the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (SAG), the participation of these government agencies is minimal to the point that HCRF has not always informed or consulted them on significant matters. For example, the HCRF did not inform its intentions to lease land in the islands to foreign TV companies for reality shows. Despite its participation in the elaboration and revision of the management plan, the AFE-COHDEFOR has expressed its concerns at not having an active role in most of the management activities and decisions of this area, including the identification of alternatives for community development.

In summary, while many aspects of the case study are found in other settings, the degree of financial independence achieved by the key NGO and its management importance in combination with the ambiguities created by the settlement history and management regimes provide a rare, –possibly unique–, situation.

The uniqueness of this case study and the context in which it exists provide the material of the following sections.

6.3 Supra-managerial factors and implications

Several social and institutional factors overarching the context of the management of this case study have influenced the interaction between the HCRF and the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos in multiple ways. This section describes these factors and discusses their influence on the interaction between the HCRF and its associated communities.

6.3.1 Lack of institutional capacity

The first of these factors is the lack of institutional capacity of the Honduran government agencies as well as with those in charge of delivering support to rural areas. This situation is partially the result of economic difficulties experienced by this country, particularly after the reduction in public expenditure resulting from the structural adjustment in 1990.

The lack of institutional capacity of the Honduran government has decreased the chances of local governments (i.e. municipalities) and various other governmental ministries to foster development and to deliver public services and job opportunities to rural areas (section 5.4.1.1).

Historically, the lack of institutional capacity of the government was a main factor triggering the migration of mainland villagers into Cayos Cochinos. Indeed, the migration of Garifuna people living in Nueva Armenia, Sambo Creek and Rio Esteban to Cayos Cochinos had the intention to alleviate the chronic poverty that people experienced in these mainland villages.

More than thirty years after the process of settlement was initiated, lack of institutional capacity continues to be an issue. In the absence of government support and seeking compensation for the hardship caused by the HCRF restrictions, mainland and island Garifuna communities related to Cayos Cochinos continuously turn their demands of support to the HCRF. Clearly, these demands have created tension between the Garifuna communities and this organisation, as the latter does not have enough resources to provide these communities with all the services the government should be in charge of, nor does it see community development as part of its objectives and aims. The hardship of Garifuna villagers has been eased though, by the presence of institutions such as OFRANEH, ODECO and GAD. OFRANEH, ODECO, the US Peace Corps, GAD and donors to HCRF and GAD also have the potential to create tension between the Garifuna communities and the private landowners. The well-intentioned support that these organisations have given to the Garifuna communities in the acquisition of their titles and in the development of their communities has empowered the groups at the expense of the private landowners' rights. There is a logical expectation that the Garifuna rights will be upheld by the military at the expense of the landowners, but this is not happening. If it did, it could impact negatively on the HCRF's ability to deliver on its

management objectives – objectives which the government is also expected to continue to support.

The Armed Forces of Honduras also make up for the lack of institutional capacity of the AFE-COHDEFOR to enforce laws and regulations (see section 5.4.1.1). The involvement of the Armed Forces in the protection of Cayos Cochinos however, has undeniably caused distress as their role causes restrictions to the Garifuna way of living. For that reason, the presence of this group affects negatively the relationship between the Garifuna communities and the HCRF. However, the patrolling of the islands by this group increases the sense of security within, and the perception of enhanced protection of, the protected area, facilitating a good relationship between the private landowners and the HCRF. In this respect, the role of the military gives the impression of aligning with the interests of a wealthy minority against those of the poor majority. On the other hand, this can be seen as merely being the only organisation with the capacity to effectively enforce the law. This has to be seen in the light of the settlement history.

Clearly, the activities of third parties in Cayos Cochinos reshape the relationship between the NGO and the local communities.

The lack of institutional capacity of the Honduran government is also evident in the lack of coordination between government agencies. The granting of titles to island Garifuna communities by the National Agrarian Institute which the municipal Registry of Landownership refuses to recognise provides evidence in this respect. Although these contradictions might be the result of legislation inconsistencies, they still reflect a lack of coordination among government agencies. This situation has not only affected the Garifuna communities, but has also influenced their relationship with the HCRF. As mentioned in section 5.5, reduced participation of HCRF in the clarification of land issues has created a sense of uncertainty in these communities towards the position of the HCRF in this respect. Moreover, land issues of Chachahuate and East End's communities create instability on the livelihoods of mainland villagers. This is because the subsistence of a number of mainland dwellers depend financially on their relatives living in Cayos Cochinos, and also because some mainlanders fish and make businesses in Cayos Cochinos.

6.3.2 Legislation

A second factor influencing the interaction between the HCRF and the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos is the insufficient legislation concerning protected areas. As referred by the AFE-COHDEFOR staff the level of depth of current regulation has proved to be inadequate in terms of specifying the nature and the responsibilities of the stakeholders involved, as well as in terms of the distribution and coordination of responsibilities among the stakeholders. In this sense, legislation issues in Cayos Cochinos are similar to the ones Hernandez (2005) describes to be common issues in Honduran protected areas (section 4.3).

The following is a clear example of the consequences of lacking appropriate legislation for protected areas. The Regulations for the SINAPH suggest a format by which the AFE-COHDEFOR, along with another government agency and an NGO should draft a co-management agreement. This format was used by the HCRF, SAG and the AFE-COHDEFOR to design the co-management agreement for Cayos Cochinos. There is a clause in the final version of this document describing a joint liability of the AFE-COHDEFOR, the HCRF and the SAG to “respect the normal livelihoods, customs, traditions, ecological knowledge and cultural heritage of the local people so that these elements can contribute to the achievement of new development initiatives for these groups”. This clause, –perhaps the most specific in the entire agreement referring to community development–, is not followed by any other specification of the activities each agency should undertake to achieve this goal. Instead, the co-management agreement is discretionary with respect to such an important responsibility. Such an arrangement can have implications in practice: this research found that none of the three organisations is committed to the Garifuna communities in this respect. Again, this may reflect the ambiguous status of these communities as ‘local’. The implications of the co-management agreement for the local communities are discussed in detail in section 6.4.

6.3.3 Dynamics of power and ideologies

The last factor influencing the interaction between the HCRF and the communities at the supra-managerial level is the dynamics of power issues and ideologies originated when different groups get involved in the management of Cayos Cochinos or in the support to the Garifuna communities. This factor is in itself, the product of three main elements: (1)

conservation narrative, (2) approach to development and (3) power. While the conservation narrative and the approach to development of each stakeholder shape the nature of its own decisions, the relative level of power of the stakeholders involved in a particular circumstance (i.e. a management decision or a new policy) is the force that weighs up the decisions of each stakeholder and determines the final decision on a particular issue.

Take for example the particular case of FIAN denouncing publicly the detention and sanction methods of people breaching the fishing restrictions imposed on Cayos Cochinos (see box 1 in chapter 5). Several conservation paradigms and power issues are at play in this case. Any FIAN's press release highlights how natural resource conservation was privileged over the use of these resources and calls attention to how power was exerted against a local inhabitant. Doing so exemplifies poverty and power issues, both of which are highlighted in the 1990s conservation narratives. Correspondingly, the Armed Forces of Honduras, the HCRF and any other party implicated in the detention appears to illustrate 1970s conservation points of view – views which oppose the use protected areas by local communities.

Evidently, the stakeholders involved in such a detention would have acted from a position of power, conferred by laws and policies regulating the management of the area. However, FIAN has used the weaker power of denounce to pressure these agencies not to take such actions against locals.

Nevertheless, drawing on Fisher's (1997) arguments, the dynamics of power issues and ideologies has subtler manifestations (section 2.6). These case study evidences at least two other forms in which these dynamics are manifest. In the first place, when opposed ideologies of similar levels of power meet, the result is continuous renegotiation of outcomes. This is the case of the confirmation and contesting over the territories of the island Garifuna communities in 2002, 2006 and 2007.

A very interesting peculiarity of this case is the form in which these opposed forces acquired comparable levels of power. The level of power held by the communities was made comparable to that held by Mr Griffith (the original owner of these territories) through the combined actions of OFRANEH, ODECO and all other actors supporting the Garifuna communities in this land tenure issue.

Moreover, the current land tenure issue in Cayos Cochinos also shows how external forces can upset the original structure of power among the local communities in Cayos Cochinos, by supporting one community or sector at the expense of others. Indeed, the well-intentioned support in the acquisition of their titles by the previously mentioned organisations has empowered the Garifuna groups at the expense of the private landowners' rights. This situation gives clear evidence of one of Chamber's words of caution against the blind consideration of participation (in this case, of institutions) as a good principle *per se*, described in section 2.4.

The third manifestation of the dynamics of power issues and ideologies corresponds to the case where multiple participants hold similar levels of power and like ideologies. In this case, the result is simply a combination of these forces in "structuring of the field of possible actions of others" (Fisher, 1997, p. 458). Perhaps the strongest evidence of this form of power manifestation in this case study is the earliest management style in Cayos Cochinos (see section 4.7). Back then, the most powerful stakeholders were the SIEC landowners, –who purchased several islands for conservation purposes and created the HCRF–, the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute (STRI) –who provided the technical expertise for the conservation of the existing biological diversity and managed the area–, and AVINA –main source of financial support at that time. As described in Chapter 5, the ideology of these institutions was clearly conservationist. As there were no other forces of similar power with opposed views, these organisations were free to implement their conservationist view on the management of Cayos Cochinos. More recently, the participation of social-oriented organisations such as ODECO, GAD and OFRANEH has introduced a wider spectrum of views and elements into the management of this protected area. These views, mostly corresponding with latter conservation and development paradigms, have suggested and introduced new priorities and options for the management of Cayos Cochinos, arguing that it is possible to provide opportunities for the implementation of social projects.

The combination of the relative power and the conservation and development ideologies among stakeholders involved in Cayos Cochinos is a permanent factor shaping the management for protection and community development.

6.4 Factors related to management and implications

This section discusses several aspects of the management of Cayos Cochinos that have influenced the interaction between the HCRF and the communities associated with this area. To do so, this section delves into historical and current elements of the Garifuna settlements and the protected area, as well as into the relation between these actors and other stakeholders.

6.4.1 Nature of the co-management

The first aspect of this section analyses the nature of the co-management of Cayos Cochinos. There are two main aspects related to it. The first one relates to the extent of the applicability of the co-management concept in Cayos Cochinos and the second is the configuration of the co-management agreement. These aspects are discussed below.

6.4.1.1 Applicability of the concept of co-management

The Honduran government recognises Cayos Cochinos as a protected area under the co-management of AFE-COHDEFOR, SAG and the HCRF. Existing agreements and laws (see section 4.3.1) for co-managed areas guide the operation of this area by specifying the duties and responsibilities of each stakeholder. However, as discussed in the previous section, the lack of institutional capacity of the Honduran government prevents the adoption of these agreements and laws. The consequence of the minimum involvement of AFE-COHDEFOR and SAG in the co-management of Cayos Cochinos means that duties and responsibilities of the entire area are mostly reliant on the HCRF. Clearly, there is a discrepancy between the theory and the practice of the co-management of this area.

Indeed, when contrasted with the IUCN governance classification for protected areas (see appendix 2), the management style of Cayos Cochinos does not correspond to the typical definition of a co-managed protected area. In fact, it is weaker than the weakest form of collaborative management, because the informing and consulting of HCRF to the other stakeholders does not always take place. In this sense, the participation of the government agencies corresponds to what Pimbert & Petty (1995) defined as ‘passive participation’ (see table 1). However, the co-management in Cayos Cochinos resembles considerably to the definition of private managed areas, where private landowners hold the authority and

responsibility for the management. Although this is not strictly the case in Cayos Cochinos, there is a strong correlation to this situation, because SIEC created the HCRF, and because all landowners are part of the Board of Directors to HCRF. The management of Cayos Cochinos also resembles the IUCN definition of private areas in the sense that it abides by the applicable legislation and has limited accountability to the larger society.

There are two main implications of this situation. The first implication, deduced from the co-management agreement, is that Cayos Cochinos is forced to operate without the competence and contributions of AFE-COHDEFOR and SAG. Given the particular context of the HCRF, the most significant impacts of the reduced participation of these agencies are fewer chances for effectively enforcing legislation in the area and for monitoring and evaluating the activities of the HCRF. These deficiencies could mean an overall less effective management of the area, with the consequent deficient protection of the natural resources of the area and less emphasis on community development. Moreover, this situation can signify added workload and a wider variety of exigencies over the HCRF. As Princen and Finger (1994) (see section 2.5.2) proposed, in being a local NGO, this organisation might not have enough resources to stretch to the required outreach and capacity to accomplish the activities that the government could. Furthermore, this institution is clearly not the right type of institution to deal with law enforcement, due to its coercive nature. As described in section 5.4.1.3, the coordination of the Armed Forces of Honduras in the protection of Cayos Cochinos has been an obstacle for building rapport between the HCRF and the communities.

A second implication, of equal importance, although less immediate, is the impossibility of including the social and environmental points of view of the government agencies in the management of Cayos Cochinos, given that there is only one participant left. From a different perspective, the lack of government participation implies handing in to the HCRF the power of decision over the short and long-term fate of Cayos Cochinos. Under such a circumstance, the conservation and development paradigms of the NGO become those determining the management of the area. Section 6.4.2 analyses the conservation and development paradigms of the HCRF and the implications of its relationship with the local communities.

6.4.1.2 Configuration of the co-management agreement

The second issue regarding the co-management in Cayos Cochinos relates to the role of the communities in the structure of the agreement. Several aspects can be highlighted from the co-management agreement (section 4.8). Firstly, this document was agreed on by the AFE-COHDEFOR, the HCRF and SAG. However, the local communities were not considered as a fourth stakeholder. Secondly, there are only four clauses referring to the local communities but none of them expressly considers them as key participants in the decision-making and managerial activities of Cayos Cochinos. Indeed, clauses 4m, 5d and 5e are not specific about how the communities should be involved, while clause 6c considers these communities as neutral parties who should only “be respected”. In this sense, the co-management agreement is discretionary about the level of involvement the communities can have.

These observations provide elements to affirm that this agreement does not prioritise the population living in Cayos Cochinos. Instead, this situation precludes the local communities from deciding upon the fate of the territory where they live. In doing so, the co-management agreements fail to adjust to the IUCN’s good governance principles of “legitimacy and voice”, “subsidiarity”, “fairness” and “direction” described in section 2.8.

In summary, the configuration of the co-management agreement lacks specificity: it is imprecise about the responsibilities of the government and the NGO on the people, and it does not grant any responsibility of the people over the protected area. On one side, this can suggest formal (from formal institutions) rather than customary (community-based) or mixed control, centralised decision-making processes and top-down planning. However, clause 4m leaves room for negotiation between communities and the HCRF.

The overall implications of the features of this agreement on the relationship seem therefore to depend more on the practice of the management rather than on this agreement. The following section discusses the practice of management of the HCRF. The discussion is centred on the analysis of its responsibilities and capacities.

6.4.2 Privileging conservation over use

Cayos Cochinos is home of two assets of international recognition: it is part of the Mesoamerican Reef Barrier and it is home of part of an ethnic group whose culture was

declared a Multinational Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by the UNESCO.

These assets were considered in the Management Plan 2004-2009 (under revision in 2007-2008). However, little provision was taken towards the wellbeing of the second. Indeed, despite the importance of both assets, the HCRF manages Cayos Cochinos mostly for the conservation of the biological resources of the coral reef. Despite some particular contributions from HCRF, the communities receive support mostly from some donors' initiatives and from the newly constituted GAD.

Moreover, the Garifuna communities are only marginally included in the management for the conservation of the reef. Their participation is usually restricted to the inclusion of community leaders in information meetings and consultation processes or to working as manual labour at the HCRF. However, the Garifuna communities only rarely participate in, or benefit from, the management for the conservation of the coral reef through HCRF initiatives, or get feedback from the participatory exercises. The existing levels of participation of the Garifuna communities is thus similar to the levels 1 (passive participation) to 4 (participation for material incentives) in the participation scale of Pimbert and Pretty (1995).

The lack of well-structured socially oriented initiatives as well as of participation of the communities in the conservation of the coral reef has had several consequences. Mainly, it has damaged the relationship between the HCRF and these communities as well as caused increased hardship on the livelihoods of these groups. This, in turn, has forced these communities into activities that threaten the conservation of the coral reef ecosystem (i.e. poaching). The situation in Cayos Cochinos provides evidence in favour of the observations made by Pimbert and Pretty (1995), in the sense that effective conservation requires that the local communities be involved in deeper levels of participation.

However, it is interesting to note that most members of the Garifuna communities seem to be aware of the importance of the conservation of the coral reef. Although the villagers' comments in this sense could have been made only to please the researcher, –reproducing Chambers' self-sustaining myth – they are likely to be genuine, based on ancestral knowledge

and in correspondence with the high dependence of this group on the marine natural resources of the area. Nevertheless, an element missing in this awareness is the concept of overfishing.

Several reasons related to the management of this area appear to explain why the HCRF is more oriented towards natural resource conservation. The first one relates to the origin of Cayos Cochinos as a Marine Natural Monument. As described earlier, the original idea of SIEC and AVINA that led to the creation of this area was essentially the protection of its natural resources. The purchasing of several islands by the SIEC as well as the guidelines and operative management of the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute ensured the compliance of this objective. Clearly, the initial aim of the protected area, the land rights of SIEC and the nature of the Smithsonian's guidelines laid the foundations for what would become the philosophy of the management of the area.

The initial idea was that this area should be managed following a 1970s-like narrative, restricting all types of human intervention. However, after repeated conflicts with local Garifuna communities and external interventions by other donors, the organisations since the Smithsonian have allowed for a certain degree of use of the resources. Although comparatively better, these advances have not fully recognised the importance of these communities for conservation neither have they created social programmes for them. In this sense, Cayos Cochinos is still managed following a 1970s narrative.

The second reason –related to the previous one– that explains why the HCRF is more oriented towards natural resource conservation is that landowners continue to influence the management decisions of the HCRF. This is due to their belonging to the Board of Directors of the HCRF. This could explain the lack of involvement of HCRF in supporting the land tenure demands of the Garifuna communities.

The marked influence of landowners seems to compromise the ideological orientation of the HCRF, privileging their decisions over those of other stakeholders. However, the support that landowners provide to the HCRF seems necessary from the financial point of view. Indeed, it is through the lease of private land (i.e. land owned by these landowners) for TV programmes that the HCRF has secured financial sustainability for the viability of the protected area, at least for the next few years. This is of capital importance given the current global reduction of

aid granted to protected areas and the minimal financial support from the State. Clearly, by virtue of their support to the HCRF, the ‘world view’ defined by landowners strongly informs the management decisions of this NGO.

Moreover, this ‘world view’ also influences the Garifuna communities via the management decisions of the HCRF. Without a doubt, the exclusion of this people from the management of the protected areas and the absence of initiatives in support of these communities create a situation of tension within the Garifuna communities and the HCRF.

Due to the unusual nature of this case study, this situation of power is the reversal of that mentioned in section 6.3.3. In this case, the higher level of power of the landowners creates conditions that disadvantage the Garifuna communities. Curiously, what gives power to landowners is the same situation that gave power to the Garifuna communities: the uncertainty regarding the Garifuna territories in the islands.

6.4.3 Independent organisations in support of the management of Cayos Cochinos

From the previous sections, it is clear that the HCRF has not undertaken all the aspects of the management of Cayos Cochinos. Two very important types of organisations have contributed to complement the management of this area. The participation of these organisations has had important implications in the interaction between the HCRF and the local communities.

The first organisation is the Development Support Group (GAD). Despite being a young and small organisation, GAD has attracted a number of donors to Cayos Cochinos, and has succeeded in delivering a number of income-generating projects to island and mainland Garifuna communities. These projects, focused on tourism-related activities, are intended to alleviate poverty and to provide alternatives to fishing.

GAD projects are built on the application of process approaches. The local knowledge of the founders of GAD facilitates the design and coordination of these projects with the local communities. In building from local expertise and requests, these projects are well accepted by the locals. In catering to different sectors of the society, these projects provide the ‘basket of options’ that characterises the Paradigm of People (Chambers, 1995). In adapting and readjusting to meet emergent situations, GAD projects are open to evolving needs.

GAD projects have contributed to relieve the tension between the HCRF and the Garifuna communities. This is partly because these projects have the potential to raise the living standards of the communities, alleviating their poverty. However, this is also because some people do not perceive that the HCRF and the GAD are independent from one another. Therefore, they believe that it is the HCRF who mediates these projects. This is understandable, since GAD is not well constituted yet, and since one of the members of GAD works for the HCRF.

The second type of organisation complementing the management of this area is the donors to HCRF. In the early days of Cayos Cochinos, donors were crucial in the establishment of the protected area, providing financial and technical support. Now, donors are not major financial contributors. However, they give technical support, publicity and an image of credibility and integrity to the HCRF. Moreover, donors contribute with social and economic programmes to the local Garifuna communities. In this sense, donors have a positive influence on the interaction between the local NGO and the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos, for the same reasons as GAD.

6.5 Sub-managerial factors and implications

This is the last section that analyses the factors that have influenced the interaction between the HCRF and the communities associated with Cayos Cochinos. This section deals with smaller scale factors, in the sense that they do not involve relationships between institutions or whole groups but rather, relate to the personal ideologies of people with different levels of power.

6.5.1 Personal views of HCRF's staff

As mentioned above, the management of Cayos Cochinos is characterised by minimal intervention of the government and high influence of the landowners. However, the personal views of the top managers and coordinators of the HCRF also influence the management decisions in this area. This 'freedom of choice' has been openly recognised by the top managers of HCRF and by some donors (section 5.3.1 and 5.3.2). It is through personal views of managers and coordinators of the HCRF that the following decisions, among others, have

been taken: (1) the prioritisation of the execution of the activities of the management plan (partially responsible), (2) the maintenance of the deal-making commission as the group with which the executive director of HCRF deals and (3) the extent to which the HCRF discloses its financial transactions.

There are several reasons why the personal views of HCRF directives may be so influential in the HCRF. One of them could be a genuine delegation of power decision from the Board of Directors to the HCRF staff. However, a second reason could be the great amount of leeway left by gaps in legislation, co-management agreement and management plan, together with a minimum involvement of the co-management agencies. Thirdly, it is possible that the limited capacity of the NGO prevents it from accomplishing the management plan and involving the Garifuna communities to a larger extent. Lastly, it could be due to the lack of effective involvement of other stakeholders in Cayos Cochinos that are meant to hold the HCRF accountable.

Through the analysis of the findings, it is likely that the high influence of the personal views of the HCRF directives is the result of a combination of all the above-mentioned factors.

The large extent to which personal views of top managers and coordinators of the HCRF influence the management decisions has doubtlessly influenced the interaction with the Garifuna communities, causing distrust and uncertainty towards the HCRF. These feelings could be fuelled by the differences of views and in power, between the NGO and the Garifuna communities over the management decisions in the protected area (section 5.5). Clearly, these differences are somehow similar to those highlighted in section 6.3.3. Here again, the ideologies of a powerful stakeholder tend to be imposed over those of stakeholders with less power.

6.5.2 Characteristics of the communities

There is great heterogeneity in the communities in Cayos Cochinos. Not only are there two types of communities, that is, private landowners and Garifuna communities. There are also significant differences within each of these types of communities.

Garifuna communities are heterogeneous in several ways. For example, some villagers combine several jobs whereas others have only one full-time occupation. Also in terms of jobs, some villagers have jobs that require the use of natural resources (i.e. fishermen), while others have jobs that depend on the conservation of these resources (i.e. tourism providers) and some others have jobs that require neither (e.g. bar owner). In a different sense some villagers hold power positions (e.g. presidents of the fishermen associations or village presidents) while others do not hold these positions. It was observed that different members of the communities had ideologies of conservation to match their livelihoods. For example, it was more likely that a fisherman would be in favour of the use of the marine resources, than would a tourism provider.

In Cayos Cochinos, community leaders are always members of the communities. Therefore, their occupations always relate to one or several of the occupations of the villages. Community leaders however, differ from non-leaders in that the first hold a position of higher power. Moreover, their perspective is likely to be different from that of non-leaders. This is because the former participate in workshops, meetings and other events, as well as interact with the top managers of the HCRF. This situation allows leaders to experience first-hand all the “benefits” that the HCRF provides to the Garifuna communities. In contrast, very rarely the rest of the community have such opportunities.

Representing a community thus, entails representing different worldviews and being able to speak on behalf of this great diversity of actors, who are not leaders. Clearly, this position is challenging.

In Cayos Cochinos and its associated mainland communities, people in two communities stated being satisfied with their community leaders while the members of the other three communities manifested not feeling represented by theirs. This situation can have various causes. The first reason is a genuine lack of representation of the communities’ views by the leaders. This in turn has two broad causes: ignoring the ideas of the others and lacking leadership to represent these ideas adequately, despite knowing the communities’ views. The second is an issue of power. This can be understood in two ways. The first is the leader’s imposition of his/her own ideas or the ideas of the sector represented by this figure, instead of

those of the population. The second is the imposition of the ideas of other sectors on those represented by the leaders.

This research found clear evidence of most of the situations described above. There is lack of effective representation of the communities' views by the leaders and issues of power between the communities and other stakeholders as well as between the different sectors of the communities. In particular, as stated by several villagers, it appears that accountability issues at the leadership level in some communities have precluded the representation of the people's ideas at the meetings these leaders attend. But there is also evidence that though some leaders do represent their communities, the communities' ideas are not always incorporated into the final management decisions of the HCRF.

Finally, there are also issues associated with community members other than the leaders. It was evident that some of the communities are not strongly organised or interested in participating in the meetings, thus not being able to deliver their points of view to their leaders and obtain feedback from them.

In summary, there are some problems of lack of participation, organisation and accountability within the communities, as well as of problems of accountability between the community leaders and the HCRF. Given the structure of participation, these issues are great obstacles to the participation of the people in the decision-making processes of the HCRF. It is evident that insufficient representation of the communities in the management decisions has resulted in pro-conservationist management decisions and lack of support to these groups.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter firstly examined the unusual array of characteristics of this case study and then analysed how these features have shaped the management of Cayos Cochinos. This analysis concluded that the management of this area depends not only on the co-management institutions and associated legislation, but also on external factors overarching the co-management structure, as well as on characteristics inherent to the members of each stakeholder groups, on the interaction among these stakeholders, on the histories of the

settlement and the protection of Cayos Cochinos, and on the financial priorities related to the protection of the area.

The next chapter brings the thesis to a conclusion, commenting on the main issues discussed in this section, discussing the implications of the findings on broader theories of conservation, nongovernmental organisations and management of protected areas, and suggesting paths for new research.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

The Marine National Monument Cayos Cochinos has an unusual combination of management and settlement history. It has private, communal and government land tenure, hosts well-off landowners as well as Garifuna fishermen communities, –none of whom are indigenous to the area–, and is primarily managed by a well-consolidated and financially stable local NGO (the HCRF).

This conclusion highlights key findings relevant to the specifics of the case study, related implications for the broader theoretical literature and suggests avenues for future research.

7.1 Key findings relevant to the case study

A key finding of this research is that although this area is nominally co-managed by three organisations, in fact the authority, responsibility and accountability rest with the operative manager (the HCRF) while the two other stakeholders, –AFE-COHDEFOR and SAG–, are minimally involved. The unbalanced representation of the three stakeholders in this area has had three important consequences: increased workload for the HCRF, a focus in the management decisions of the HCRF towards its own priorities and the organising of law enforcement activities. The latter activity is clearly opposite to the principles of empowering and participation of local communities promoted by recent conservation narratives. This situation disadvantages the Garifuna communities.

The management decisions of the HCRF depend partially on the perspectives of the directors of this NGO. The financial solvency of this NGO has put it in a position of power relative to a number of other stakeholders, including the Garifuna communities. HCRF's decisions are also strongly influenced by the conservationist perspectives of the landowners –who are also members of its Board of Directors –, and by its financial priorities. No forces counterbalance these decisions significantly: legislation is deficient and insufficiently enforced, participation of AFE-COHDEFOR and SAG is minimal and Garifuna communities are insufficiently represented in decision-making processes for this area. Nonetheless, organisations such as GAD, OFRANEH, ODECO and some donors to HCRF look after issues not addressed by the HCRF. It is mostly from these organisations that Garifuna communities receive support. Had

the HCRF included the communities more, it is unlikely that the GAD would have been formed and the other organisations mentioned before may not have become so involved with the communities living in the protected area.

The main forces driving the management decisions of the HCRF are in agreement with the private landowners, therefore supporting the livelihoods of this group. In contrast, these decisions have created instability in the livelihoods and a sense of uncertainty among the Garifuna communities. The organisations in support of Garifuna groups though, have the opposite impact on the different types of communities. Through the empowerment of these groups and contributing to an improvement of their living standards, these organisations decrease the tension between these groups and the HCRF. However, in supporting the Garifuna communities, these organisations have the potential to act against the private landowners.

Despite the support of social organisations, the Garifuna communities are still at a great disadvantage with respect to the private landowners. Land tenure uncertainty and lack of rights over the marine and terrestrial resources maintain the Garifuna communities in a position of less power with respect to the private landowners and the HCRF. However, it is likely that the land tenure disputes of the island Garifuna settlements persist in the near future. Continued support from external groups as well as progressive recognition of the rights of ethnic groups will probably contribute to further validation of the land titles in favour of the ethnic group. It remains uncertain though, if the adoption of a “people-out” conservation paradigm has resulted in effective conservation over the natural resources.

The lack of participation of the Garifuna communities in the management decisions of the protected area is rooted in differences of power within the communities, as well as between the communities and the HCRF. The lack of participation has become formalised by the exclusion of these communities from the co-management agreement for the protected area.

The government institutional capacity and lack of coordination appear to have contributed to the development of a situation of ongoing tensions that belie the published information on the performance of the management of Cayos Cochinos.

7.2 Implications for broader theoretical considerations

This case study provides a good example of how, in the absence of major State support for conservation, private sponsors and donor institutions can significantly contribute to the establishment, management and consolidation of natural protected areas. The gradual financial independence gained by Cayos Cochinos also proves that self sustainability –an implicit objective in most donor-partner relationships– is achievable.

However, the existing conflicts among stakeholders evidence that the consolidation and financial independence of this protected area might not necessarily go along with other expected and equally important outcomes such as the long-term conservation objectives underpinning its establishment by SIEC, the project sustainability expected by most donors, the national-level conservation priorities of the Honduran government, as well as the international expectation for this protected area –given the importance of the Mesoamerican Reef Barrier- and the latest trends in protected area management. In this particular case study, the nature of some of the self-funding mechanisms (mainly entrance fees and reality shows) has also fuelled existing conflicts that increase the complexity of the management of this area.

Nevertheless, the virtual financial independence that the HCRF has gained from its donors has benefited this NGO in other ways, particularly by increasing its management authority and autonomy. This finding is in support of recent studies examining the effects of power unbalance between donors and partners. Yet, the HCRF remains accountable to landowners as the latter support the financing activities of the NGO. This also confirms the findings of recent studies on power.

This case study also challenges the traditional views on nongovernmental organisations describing these groups as non-profit, politically-neutral institutions independent from the state and committed to the wellbeing of societies. In fact, the nature of the HCRF differs from this definition in almost every aspect: this NGO is focused on environmental rather than social matters, certainly engages in activities that generate financial gains, is part of a co-management agreement with the national government and represents the views of the privileged minority (i.e. the stakeholders) rather than those of the broader society. In this sense, the essence of HCRF validates Fisher's (1997) 'alternative view' on NGOs that portrays

them as evolving organisations that interact with other institutions by virtue of their priorities, purposes and ideologies. The performance of the HCRF also exposes the limited outreach and vulnerability to external influences of local NGOs, particularly when dealing with large scale, complex issues such as the management of protected areas.

The situation in Cayos Cochinos can also be examined through the lens of the changes in conservation perspectives that have occurred in the last four decades. This case study brings to life the controversies that the most recent conservation paradigms have given rise to, respect to the advantages and risks of actively involving local people in protected area management, as well as with respect to the feasibility of achieving community development within protected areas –controversies (that remain) valid to date. The international importance of the conservation of the Mesoamerican Coral Reef Barrier and the multiple threats it faces at all levels pose the question of the most adequate level of use of the resources of the protected area by visitors and even by locals, particularly in the light of the settlement history of Cayos Cochinos' communities. This issue is highly controversial. However, given the circumstances, it is likely that the current social situation can have more weight than scientific considerations in determining the *de facto* level of use of the area. Indeed, there are at least three social-based reasons envisaging that the use of the area is inevitable: the nature of the land ownership, the advocacy of social organisations for the staying of the fishermen in the islands, based on the rights, and preservation of the culture of, the Garifuna ethnic group and the financial needs of the HCRF.

Finally, this case study suggests that development and conservation theories and narratives should take into consideration the political aspects of ethnic people as well as the settlement history of local communities.

7.3 Future research

A number of members of the Garifuna communities are keen on participating in the management of the protected area. Their reasons are varied and include equity and financial motives. It would be advisable to undertake research on ways to facilitate, and the potential implications of, including members of the Garifuna communities in a wider range of activities and decisions of the HCRF, at the highest possible level of participation. The degree to which

this might be perceived as threatening the rights and privileges of the HCRF and the private landowners needs to be assessed as well as the extent to which it is likely to increase the social, environmental and financial sustainability of the area, by releasing tension, and removing pressure from the natural resources. Whether the involvement of Garifuna communities should be validated by their inclusion as main stakeholders in the co-management agreement and by explicitly acknowledging them in the management plan also warrants further investigation.

The extent to which the increased pressure for natural resources of the islands to alleviate the poverty conditions of these villages might exceed their carrying capacity needs to be urgently assessed. This should include consideration of building on the strong links between the island and the mainland communities to foster development of both and the use of mainland resources.

Conducting research on ways to improve the capacity and coordination of government bodies and on how to resolve the land tenure issues may also be helpful. However, the latter might be partly overtaken by court decisions.

At a broader level, the research suggests a need for more case studies of NGOs that have achieved self-sufficiency and the consequences of this for sustainable development.

7.4 Conclusion

The aim of the research was to explore the existing situation in Cayos Cochinos and the consequences of it. This research identified that the main factors influencing the management of the protected area were the settlement history and the story of the protection of the area, the lack of capacity of government institutions and of law enforcement, the intervention of social organisations in support of Garifuna communities, and power issues that privileged the participation of some stakeholders over others in the management decisions of this area. The current situation has had different effects on different sectors of the local communities, benefiting the local landowners and also, to some extent, some of the community leaders, but creating tensions between the HCRF and the Garifuna communities.

This chapter has also discussed the implications of this case study for broader theoretical considerations regarding recent development and conservation narratives, protected area management and nongovernmental organisations, as well as suggested avenues for future research.

Finally, this research has demonstrated the robustness of the qualitative case study approach as a flexible research strategy when fieldwork reveals a situation quite different from that anticipated. The findings emphasise the importance of case studies.

This case study constitutes an unusual situation in protected area management. The follow-up of the dynamics of this case study over the next decades could provide interesting evidence in relation to the theories examined in this research.

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Appendix 1. IUCN management classification system for protected areas⁵

CATEGORY I - STRICT NATURE RESERVE/WILDERNESS AREA – protected area managed mainly for science or wilderness protection

CATEGORY Ia Strict Nature Reserve – protected area managed mainly for science

Definition

Area of land and/or sea possessing some outstanding or representative ecosystems, geological or physiological features and/or species, available primarily for scientific research and/or environmental monitoring.

Objectives of Management

- to preserve habitats, ecosystems and species in as undisturbed a state as possible
- to maintain genetic resources in a dynamic and evolutionary state
- to maintain established ecological processes
- to safeguard structural landscape features or rock exposures
- to secure examples of the natural environment for scientific studies, environmental monitoring and education, including baseline areas from which all avoidable access is excluded
- to minimise disturbance by careful planning and execution of research and other approved activities, and
- to limit public access.

Guidance for Selection

- The area should be large enough to ensure the integrity of its ecosystems and to accomplish the management objectives for which it is protected.

⁵ (Adapted from Bishop, Dudley, Phillips & Stolton, 2004)

- The area should be significantly free of direct human intervention and capable of remaining so.
- The conservation of the area's biodiversity should be achievable through protection and not require substantial active management or habitat manipulation (c.f. Category IV).

CATEGORY Ib Wilderness Area – protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection

Definition

Large area of unmodified or slightly modified land, and/or sea, retaining its natural character and influence, without permanent or significant habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural condition.

Objectives of Management

- to ensure that future generations have the opportunity to experience understanding and enjoyment of areas that have been largely undisturbed by human action over a long period of time;
- to maintain the essential natural attributes and qualities of the environment over the long term;
- to provide for public access at levels and of a type which will serve best the physical and spiritual well-being of visitors and maintain the wilderness qualities of the area for present and future generations; and
- to enable indigenous human communities living at low density and in balance with the available resources to maintain their life style.

Guidance for Selection

- The area should possess high natural quality, be governed primarily by the forces of nature, with human disturbance substantially absent and be likely to continue to display those attributes if managed as proposed.
- The area should contain significant ecological, geological, physiogeographic, or other features of scientific, educational, scenic or historic value.

- The area should offer outstanding opportunities for solitude, enjoyed once the area has been reached, by simple, quiet, non-polluting and non intrusive means of travel (i.e. non-motorised).
- The area should be of sufficient size to make practical such preservation and use.

CATEGORY II National Park – protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation

Definition

Natural area of land and/or sea, designated to (a) protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations, (b) exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation of the area and (c) provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible.

Objectives of Management

- to protect natural and scenic areas of national and international significance for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational or tourist purposes;
- to perpetual, in as natural a state as possible, representative examples of physiographic regions, biotic communities, genetic resources, and species,
- to provide ecological stability and diversity;
- to manage visitor use for inspirational, educational, cultural and recreational purposes at a level which will maintain the area in a natural or near natural state;
- to eliminate and thereafter prevent exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation;
- to maintain respect for the ecological, geomorphologic, sacred or aesthetic attributes which warranted designation; and
- to take into account the needs of indigenous people, including subsistence resource use, in so far as these will not adversely affect the other objectives of management.

Guidance for Selection

- The area should contain a representative sample of major natural regions, features or scenery, where plant and animal species, habitats and geomorphological sites are of special spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and tourist significance.
- The area should be large enough to contain one or more entire ecosystems not materially altered by current human occupation or exploitation.

Organizational Responsibility

Ownership and management should normally be by the highest competent authority of the nation having jurisdiction over it. However, they may also be vested in another level of government, council of indigenous people, foundation or other legally established body which has dedicated the area to long-term conservation.

CATEGORY III Natural Monument – protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features

Definition

Area containing one, or more, specific natural or natural/cultural feature which is of outstanding or unique value because of its inherent rarity, representative or aesthetic qualities or cultural significance.

Objectives of Management

- to protect or preserve in perpetuity specific outstanding natural features because of their natural significance, unique or representational quality, and/or spiritual connotations;
- to an extent consistent with the foregoing objective, to provide opportunities for research, education,
- interpretation and public appreciation;
- to eliminate and thereafter prevent exploitation or occupation inimical to the purpose of designation; and
- to deliver to any resident population such benefits as are consistent with the other objectives of management.

Guidance for Selection

- The area should contain one or more features of outstanding significance (appropriate natural features include spectacular waterfalls, caves, craters, fossil beds, sand dunes and marine features, along with unique or representative fauna and flora; associated cultural features might include cave dwellings, cliff-top forts, archaeological sites, or natural sites which have heritage significance to indigenous peoples).
- The area should be large enough to protect the integrity of the feature and its immediately related surroundings.

Organizational Responsibility

Ownership and management should be by the national government or, with appropriate safeguards and controls, by another level of government, council of indigenous people, non-profit trust, corporation or, exceptionally, by a private body, provided the long-term protection of the inherent character of the area is assured before designation.

CATEGORY IV Habitat/Species Management Area – protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention

Definition

Area of land and/or sea subject to active intervention for management purposes so as to ensure the maintenance of habitats and/or to meet the requirements of specific species.

Objectives of Management

- to secure and maintain the habitat conditions necessary to protect significant species, Levels of species, biotic communities or physical features of the environment where these require specific human manipulation for optimum management;
- to facilitate scientific research and environmental monitoring as primary activities associated with sustainable resource management;
- to develop limited areas for public education and appreciation of the characteristics of the habitats concerned and of the work of wildlife management;
- to eliminate and thereafter prevent exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation; and

– to deliver such benefits to people living within the designated area as are consistent with the other objectives of management.

Guidance for Selection

– The area should play an important role in the protection of nature and the survival of species, (incorporating, as appropriate, breeding areas, wetlands, coral reefs, estuaries, grasslands, forests or spawning areas, including marine feeding beds).

– The area should be one where the protection of the habitat is essential to the well-being of nationally or locally-important flora, or to resident or migratory fauna.

Objectives of Management

– to protect natural and scenic areas of national and international significance for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational or tourist purposes;

– to perpetual, in as natural a state as possible, representative examples of physiographic regions, biotic communities, genetic resources, and species, to provide ecological stability and diversity;

– to manage visitor use for inspirational, educational, cultural and recreational purposes at a level which will maintain the area in a natural or near natural state;

– to eliminate and thereafter prevent exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation;

– to maintain respect for the ecological, geomorphologic, sacred or aesthetic attributes which warranted designation; and

– to take into account the needs of indigenous people, including subsistence resource use, in so far as these will not adversely affect the other objectives of management.

Guidance for Selection

– The area should contain a representative sample of major natural regions, features or scenery, where plant and animal species, habitats and geomorphological sites are of special spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and tourist significance.

– The area should be large enough to contain one or more entire ecosystems not materially altered by current human occupation or exploitation.

Organizational Responsibility

Ownership and management should normally be by the highest competent authority of the nation having jurisdiction over it. However, they may also be vested in another level of government, council of indigenous people, foundation or other legally established body which has dedicated the area to long-term conservation.

CATEGORY V Protected Landscape/Seascape – protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation

Definition

Area of land, with coast and sea as appropriate, where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic, ecological and/or cultural value, and often with high biological diversity. Safeguarding the integrity of this traditional interaction is vital to the protection, maintenance and evolution of such an area.

Objectives of Management

- to maintain the harmonious interaction of nature and culture through the protection of landscape and/or seascape and the continuation of traditional land uses, building practices and social and cultural manifestations; – to support lifestyles and economic activities which are in harmony with nature and the preservation of the social and cultural fabric of the communities concerned;
- to maintain the diversity of landscape and habitat, and of associated species and ecosystems;
- to eliminate where necessary, and thereafter prevent, land uses and activities which are inappropriate in scale and/or character;
- to provide opportunities for public enjoyment through recreation and tourism appropriate in type and scale to the essential qualities of the areas;
- to encourage scientific and educational activities which will contribute to the long term well-being of resident populations and to the development of public support for the environmental protection of such areas; and

– to bring benefits to, and to contribute to the welfare of, the local community through the provision of natural products (such as forest and fisheries products) and services (such as clean water or income derived from sustainable forms of tourism).

Guidance for Selection

- The area should possess a landscape and/or coastal and island seascape of high scenic quality, with diverse associated habitats, flora and fauna along with manifestations of unique or traditional land-use patterns and social organisations as evidenced in human settlements and local customs, livelihoods, and beliefs.
- The area should provide opportunities for public enjoyment through recreation and tourism within its normal lifestyle and economic activities.

Organizational Responsibility

The area may be owned by a public authority, but is more likely to comprise a mosaic of private and public ownerships operating a variety of management regimes. These regimes should be subject to a degree of planning or other control and supported, where appropriate, by public funding and other incentives, to ensure that the quality of the landscape/seascape and the relevant local customs and beliefs are maintained in the long term.

CATEGORY VI Managed Resource Protected Area – protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems

Definition

Area containing predominantly unmodified natural systems, managed to ensure long term protection and maintenance of biological diversity, while providing at the same time a sustainable flow of natural products and services to meet community needs.

Objectives of Management

- to protect and maintain the biological diversity and other natural values of the area in the long term;
- to promote sound management practices for sustainable production purposes;

- to protect the natural resource base from being alienated for other land-use purposes that would be detrimental to the area's biological diversity; and
- to contribute to regional and national development.

Guidance for Selection

- The area should be at least two-thirds in a natural condition, although it may also contain limited areas of modified ecosystems; large commercial plantations would *not* be appropriate for inclusion,
- The area should be large enough to absorb sustainable resource uses without detriment to its overall long-term natural values.

Organizational Responsibility

Management should be undertaken by public bodies with an unambiguous remit for conservation, and carried out in partnership with the local community; or management may be provided through local custom supported and advised by governmental or non-governmental agencies. Ownership may be by the national or other level of government, the community, private individuals, or a combination of these.

Appendix 2. IUCN governance classification system for protected areas⁶

1. **GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT** – Authority, responsibility and accountability for managing the protected area rest with a government ministry or agency that has formally subjected it to a conservation objective (such as the ones that distinguish the IUCN categories). Most often, the government also owns the protected area’s land, water and related resources. The government level in charge may be the national (provincial in case of a federal country) or the local/ municipal. The government may also have delegated the management to a body (a para-statal organisation, NGO or even a private operator or community) but it retains land ownership and control or oversight. The government may or may not have a legal obligation to inform or consult other identified stakeholders prior to making or enforcing management decisions.
2. **CO-MANAGED PROTECTED AREAS** – Authority, responsibility and accountability for managing the protected area are shared in various ways among a variety of actors, such as government agencies, indigenous peoples, local communities (sedentary or mobile), private landowners and other user associations. The actors recognize the legitimacy of their respective entitlements to manage the protected area, and agree on subjecting it to a specific conservation objective (such as the ones that distinguish the IUCN categories). Distinct sub-types may be identified. In *collaborative management*, formal decision-making authority, responsibility and accountability still rest with one agency (often a national governmental agency), but the agency is required— by law or policy— to collaborate with other stakeholders. In its weak connotation, ‘collaboration’ means informing and consulting stakeholders. In its strongest form, it means that a multi-stakeholder body develops and approves by consensus a number of technical proposals for protected area regulation and management, to be later submitted to the decision-making authority. In *joint management* responsibilities are shared in a formal way with various actors sitting on a management body with decision-making authority. Again, the requirements for joint management are made stronger if decision-making is carried out by

⁶ Adapted from Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari & Oviedo (2004) and Borrini-Feyerabend, Johnston & Pansky (2006)

consensus. When this is not the case, the balance of power reflected in the composition of the joint management body may *de facto* transform it into a collaborative management arrangement. A special case of multi-stakeholder management is the one of *trans-boundary* protected areas, whereby two or more national governments manage co-operatively an area beyond the limits of national sovereignty or jurisdiction of any one of them. This approach has been suggested also for high seas marine protected areas beyond the jurisdiction of any one country.

3. **PRIVATE MANAGEMENT** – Authority and responsibility for managing the protected area rest with one or more private landowners. In some cases the owner is a non-profit organization (e.g. an NGO, foundation, research institute or university) but in others it is a for-profit corporation. The owners of the land and natural resources subject them to a specific conservation objective (such as the ones that distinguish the IUCN categories), and are responsible for making the decisions, subject to applicable laws and the terms of any agreements with the government but their accountability to the larger society is usually quite limited. Some forms of accountability may be negotiated with the government in exchange for specific incentives (as in the case of Easements or Land Use Trusts).

4. **COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT** – Authority and responsibility for managing the protected area rest with the indigenous peoples and/or local communities with customary and/or legal claims over the land and natural resources through a variety of specific forms of ethnic governance or locally agreed organisations and rules. Land and resources are usually collectively managed, a fact that may or may not have been legally sanctioned in the specific national context. The community customarily (and/or legally) owning the land and natural resources formally subjects them to a conservation objective (such as the ones that distinguish the IUCN categories) and/or to other objectives that succeed in achieving the conservation objectives. Management is through a locally agreed form of governance, which often has roots in traditional, customary or ethnic practices. The community's accountability to society may be defined as part of broader negotiations with the national government and other partners, possibly as a counterpart to being assured, for example, full respect for customary rights, incentives, etc. Such negotiations may result in recognition of specific rights and even

joint management arrangements. Areas protected under this governance regime are designated community conserved areas by the IUCN.

Appendix 3. Institutions associated with HCRF

This is an overview of the donors to HCRF since its constitution, and of other organisations with which HCRF has formed partnerships in later years.

Amanco is a Latin American company that produces and markets plumbing, electricity and gas pipes and related plastic accessories. Amanco is a group of businesses that share the vision of contributing to the improvement of local livelihoods and operating under ethics of using environmentally friendly and socially responsible practices (Amanco, 2007).

AVINA is an organisation funded and supported by Swiss businessman Stephan Schmidheiny. The aim of AVINA is to contribute to the sustainable development of Latin America through the creation of alliances between businesses and social leaders or philanthropic organisations (AVINA, n.d.b).

Biosphere Expeditions is a NGO that offers conservation holiday volunteer expeditions focused on wildlife conservation projects. Its purpose is to offer laypeople the opportunity to work along with scientists (Biosphere Expeditions, n.d.)

MarViva is an environmental NGO created in 2002. Its mission is to promote the conservation and sustainable use of marine and coastal resources by fostering the protection, enlargement and creation of Marine Protected Areas. This organisation provides support for the creation and implementation of legislation protecting these areas, the enforcement of existing laws, and efforts to establish new reserves, as well as creating environmental awareness (Marviva, n.d.).

Operation Wallacea is an institution that organises scientific expeditions. These projects concentrate teams of university academics, research assistants and dissertation students in target study sites across the world, to conduct research on wildlife conservation. The aim of Operation Wallacea is to create knowledge that helps to organise effective conservation management programmes (Scientific Conservation Expeditions, n.d.).

‘Survivor’ is a television show produced by the several TV companies. In this programme, a group of contestants live for several weeks in a remote tropical location, competing in challenges for food or the right to remain in the group, and gradually voting one another out until only one person ‘wins’. The first series was broadcast in 2000 (Wright, 2006, p. 172).

The first programme in Cayos Cochinos was filmed in 2006. By June 2007, four series had already taken place in this setting (HCRF executive director, interview, 20/6/07).

Texaco Caribbean Inc. is a USA company dedicated to marketing lubricants, coolants, fuels and fuel additives. This brand has been present in the Caribbean since the beginning of the 20th century and in Honduras since the early 1930s (Chevron Products Company, 2005a; 2005b).

The Inter-American Foundation (IAF) is an independent agency of the United States government that provides grants to nongovernmental and community-based organisations in Latin America and the Caribbean for innovative, sustainable and participatory self-help programs. This organisation aims at supporting groups focused on improving the quality of life of the poor and strengthening participation, accountability and democracy (Inter-American Foundation, n. d).

The Nature Conservancy (TNC) is an international environmental NGO aimed at preserving the plants, animals and natural communities that represent the diversity of life on Earth by protecting the lands and waters they need to survive. The mechanism of action of The Nature Conservancy follows two steps. Firstly, it makes use of science-based processes to identify the places that it considers will ensure the conservation of biodiversity. It then addresses the principal threats to conservation at the sites where we work, focusing on fire, climate change, freshwater, marine, invasive species, protected areas and forests. This organisation liaises with local partners to achieve its goals (The Nature Conservancy, 2008).

The Peace Corps is an agency of the USA government that recruits US citizens to work on a voluntary basis on a wide range of areas of development. This agency has worked in Honduras since 1963. Peace Corps/Honduras works in the areas of HIV/AIDS prevention and child survival, business, protected area management, water and sanitation, municipal development, and youth development (Peace Corps, n.d.a & n.d.b).

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is the U.S. government agency for foreign assistance. The areas of work of this agency are: economic growth, agriculture and trade, global health and democracy, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance. This organization provides assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, the Near East, Latin America, the Caribbean, Europe and Eurasia (USAID, 2007).

World Bank's Global Environmental Facility (GEF) is an independent financial organization that provides grants to developing countries for projects and programmes that benefit the global environment and promote sustainable livelihoods in local communities. GEF grants support projects related to biodiversity, climate change, international waters, land degradation, the ozone layer, and persistent organic pollutants (Global Environmental Facility, 2007).

World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) is an international environmental NGO created in 1961. This organisation manages conservation projects, most of them through liaising with local partners. The Mission Statement of WWF is: "To stop the degradation of the planet's natural environment and to build a future in which humans live in harmony with nature, by conserving the world's biological diversity, ensuring that the use of renewable natural resources is sustainable and promoting the reduction of pollution and wasteful consumption (WWF, 2008).

Appendix 4. List of participants

Stakeholder type	Participant (nickname)	Location	Country	Date of interview
HCRF staff	Choluteca	La Ceiba	Honduras	29/05/07
HCRF staff	Pespire	La Ceiba	Honduras	26/06/07
HCRF staff	Pespire	La Ceiba	Honduras	7/06/07
Donor	Copán	La Ceiba	Honduras	20/06/07
Community member	Cortés	Rio Esteban	Honduras	7/07/07
GAD	Yuscarán	La Ceiba	Honduras	29/05/07
GAD	Yuscarán	La Ceiba	Honduras	30/06/07
HCRF staff	Suyapa	La Ceiba	Honduras	2/06/07
Community member	Paraíso	East End	Honduras	3/06/07
Community member	Morazán	East End	Honduras	10/06/07
Community member	Tegucigalpa	Chachahuate	Honduras	11/06/07
Community member	GraciasADios	Chachahuate	Honduras	11/06/07
Community member	Lempira	Rio Esteban	Honduras	8/07/07
Donor	Intibucá	La Ceiba	Honduras	11/07/07
HCRF staff	Roatán	La Ceiba	Honduras	20/06/07
HCRF staff	Roatán	La Ceiba	Honduras	19/07/07
Black Honduran Organisation	Guanaja	La Ceiba	Honduras	11/07/07
Donor	LaPaz	La Ceiba	Honduras	8/06/07
Community member	Ocotepeque	East End	Honduras	9/06/07
Donor	Olancho	La Ceiba	Honduras	27/05/07
Donor	Olancho	La Ceiba	Honduras	30/05/07
Community member	Juticalpa	Chachahuate	Honduras	3/06/07
Community member	SantaBárbara	Rio Esteban	Honduras	7/07/07
Community member	Nacaome	East End	Honduras	9/06/07
Community member	Yoro	Chachahuate	Honduras	11/06/07
Donor	Trujillo	La Ceiba	Honduras	8/06/07
Community member	Utila	Chachahuate	Honduras	12/06/07
Community member	Guineo	Chachahuate	Honduras	5/06/07
Community member	Tela	Chachahuate	Honduras	3/06/07
Community member	Gallo	Chachahuate	Honduras	4/06/07
HCRF staff	Paloma	La Ceiba	Honduras	13/06/07
Community member	Montecristo	Nueva Armenia	Honduras	30/06/07

Stakeholder type	Participant (nickname)	Location	Country	Date of interview
Community member	Limón	Nueva Armenia	Honduras	6/07/07
Donor	Jilamito	Tegucigalpa	Honduras	18/06/07
Community member	Timón	Nueva Armenia	Honduras	14/06/07
Community member	Bolanos	Sambo Creek	Honduras	30/06/07
Community member	Satuye	Sambo Creek	Honduras	28/06/07
Community member	Bahía	Nueva Armenia	Honduras	15/06/07
Community member	NanaCruz	East End	Honduras	9/06/07
Community member	Naranjo	East End	Honduras	10/06/07
Donor	Higueral	La Ceiba	Honduras	8/06/07
Community member	Fortuna	Chachahuate	Honduras	11/06/07
Community member	Jute	Sambo Creek	Honduras	28/06/07
Community member	Ocote	Rio Esteban	Honduras	7/07/07
Community member	Porvenir	Rio Esteban	Honduras	7/07/07
Community member	Urraco	Sambo Creek	Honduras	30/06/07
Community member	Zapotal	Nueva Armenia	Honduras	1/07/07
Community member	Ensenada	Nueva Armenia	Honduras	3/07/07
AFE-COHDEFOR	Entelina	La Ceiba	Honduras	15/07/07
AFE-COHDEFOR	Dacota	La Ceiba	Honduras	15/07/07
Local government	Berlin	Islas de la Bahía	Honduras	19/07/07
Donor	Ocote	San Jose	Costa Rica	3/08/07
Donor	Oropéndola	San Jose	Costa Rica	6/08/07
Donor	orotina	San Jose	Costa Rica	6/08/07
Donor	Palmira	San Jose	Costa Rica	6/08/07
Donor	Porvenir	San Jose	Costa Rica	26/07/07
Donor	Colón	email interview	---	10/10/07

Appendix 5. Modified questionnaires

I. HCRF

1. Please tell me how HCRF originated.
2. In what ways have the current direction of HCRF changed with respect to the original one?
3. What is the mission of HCRF in Cayos Cochinos?
How much of the job that HCRF undertakes in the area is related to conservation and how much is related to community development?
4. Please tell me about the origin, purpose and usefulness of the Management Plan
5. Could you please describe the nature of the partnership between HCRF and X [X= each of its donors and the government]?
6. What kind of support does HCRF receive from X [X= each of its donors and from the government]?
7. What administration, planning and reporting does X [X= each of its donors and the government] require from HCRF?
8. How do HCRF and its donors normally communicate?
9. To what extent is HCRF autonomous in terms of designing and managing the programmes or projects in which this organisation participates?
10. How do these requirements influence the functioning of HCRF?
11. How does HCRF negotiate these requirements with each of its donors?
12. What is the general perception HCRF about these requirements?
13. What are the issues about staff turnover (staff of this organisation/of the partner organisation)?
14. Which changes do you think could make it easier for the aid delivery process to work at its best?
15. What is the nature of the partnership between HCRF and the people living in CC?
16. How does the HCRF share information with the community?
17. How good is the relationship between HCRF and the community?

18. You interact with donors and also with the community. In your work, how much time and effort do you have to put into each of this?
19. How do you think HCRF will evolve within the next 10 years?
20. Whose idea was to hold reality shows in Cayos Cochinos?
21. How has the relationship between the local community and the foundation evolved since the latter started undertaking revenue-generating activities?
22. Will the foundation keep its donors after being able to finance itself? What for?
23. What would the foundation do if the organisers of the reality shows lost their interest in the area?
24. Where is the reality-show-related revenue being allocated?
25. Do you have any questions?
26. Is there anything you would like to add?

*COULD I CONTACT YOU SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE IF I HAVE FURTHER
QUESTIONS?*

Thank you

II. Local government, AFE-COHDEFOR and SERNA

1. What is the role of this government office in community development in Cayos?
2. What role does the government play with regard to providing the local communities with services and support?
3. Does this situation affect the job of the foundation?
4. Is the government's job adequate and sufficient?
5. Were any environmental impact studies undertaken before and after the reality shows?
6. Do you have any questions?
7. Is there anything you would like to add?

*COULD I CONTACT YOU SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE IF I HAVE FURTHER
QUESTIONS?*

Thank you

III. Black Honduran organisations

1. What is OFRANEH/ODECO's mission with regard to the local communities in Cayos Cochinos?
2. What are the land tenure problems of the local communities in CC and its surroundings?
3. What is (and what should be) the role of the Honduran government in the development of the communities of Cayos Cochinos and its surroundings?
4. What have been the achievements of OFRANEH/ODECO in Cayos Cochinos?
5. Has the relationship between the local communities and the foundation changed with time? What factors have caused these changes? (reality shows, entry fee)
6. Are there Garifuna communities in other protected areas in Honduras?
7. What are their life standards like in these areas (better or worse than in Cayos)?
8. Does this organisation work with the Foundation Cayos Cochinos?
9. What is OFRANEH/ODECO's opinion about the entry fee to the maritime monument?
10. What is OFRANEH/ODECO's opinion about the reality shows?
11. What is OFRANEH/ODECO's opinion about the relationship between the communities and the foundation?
12. Did OFRANEH/ODECO take place in the design or review of the management plan?
13. Do you have any questions?
14. Is there anything you would like to add?

*COULD I CONTACT YOU SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE IF I HAVE FURTHER
QUESTIONS?*

Thank you

IV. Donor organisations

1. How is this organisation involved with HCRF?
2. How did this organisation become involved with HCRF?
3. Why is this organisation interested in being involved with HCRF?
4. How has the partnership between HCRF and this organisation evolved?
5. Could you please describe the nature of the partnership which X [X= HCRF and the government]?
6. How do HCRF and this organisation normally communicate?
7. How does HCRF inform this organisation how it uses the support you provide?
8. How does this organisation negotiate with HCRF the requirements it is asked to meet?
9. What is the general perception this organisation has about these requirements?
10. Are there any reciprocal mechanisms by which this organisation informs HCRF about its performance?
11. To what extent is HCRF autonomous in terms of designing and managing the activities in which your organisation is involved?
12. How do you think the partnership between HCRF and this organisation will evolve within the next 10 years?
13. What changes do you think could make it easier for the aid delivery process to work at its best?
14. What is the nature of the partnership between this organisation and the communities living in Cayos Cochinos?
15. How does this organisation interact with the communities living in Cayos Cochinos?
16. How does this organisation share information with the community?
17. Did this organisation participate in the elaboration of the Management Plan?
18. Do you have any questions?
19. Is there anything you would like to add?

*COULD I CONTACT YOU SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE IF I HAVE FURTHER
QUESTIONS?*

Thank you

V. Garifuna communities

1. Can you tell me your role within this community?
2. What is your role in your family?
3. What are the traditional women/men roles iIn this community and within their own families
4. How has the protection of Cayos Cochinos changed the lives of the people in the community?
5. How did you participate in the conversion of this land into a protected area?
6. How do the community and HCRF communicate with each other?
7. Are there any circumstances in which the communities have direct contact with some of the donors?
8. What does HRCF expect of you?
9. What do donors expect from you?
10. How does the community fulfil the demands it is asked for?
11. How well are the community's demands satisfied by:
 - donors?
 - HCRF?
 - Government?
12. How well do you think the HCRF and the donor organisations work well together:
13. Do you know the Management Plan? What do you think about it?
14. What are the difficulties and worries of living in Cayos Cochinos?
15. What are the best things about living in Cayos Cochinos?
16. How do you think life will be in Cayos Cochinos if it continues being managed by HCRF?
17. Do you have any questions?
18. Is there anything you would like to add?

*COULD I CONTACT YOU SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE IF I HAVE FURTHER
QUESTIONS?*

Thank you

Appendix 6. Research information sheet and consent form

[Note: I used The Spanish translation of this document in the fieldwork]

Lincoln University

Division: *Agriculture and Life Sciences Division – International Rural Development*

Research Information Sheet

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled **Impact of the procedures and practices of international aid in local NGOs: The case of Cayos Cochinos, a marine protected area in Honduras.**

This research project is being completed as part of a Masters degree in International Rural Development

The aim of this project is to understand how current aid procedures and practices impact development work of local NGOs.

Your participation in this project will involve:

An interview with the researcher. It will take about one hour.

The participation in a feedback meeting. This meeting will take less than one hour and its attendance is optional.

The researcher will ask if you are happy to have the interview tape-recorded. If you wish she did not, she will take notes only.

You have the right to ask the researcher to review and edit the information that you have given to her. If you wish to do so, the researcher and you can agree on a time for you to listen to the recorded interview or read the researcher's notes, in case the interview was not recorded.

You are welcome to add any other information you want, both during the interview and at the end of the meeting.

In participating,

You might not want to answer some questions. If you feel like not answering a question, you can say so and the researcher will ask a different question.

You have the right to stop the interview, before it starts or at anytime during it.

If you change your mind and wish the researcher did not use the information in her study, you can ask her to do it.

The results of this research will be part of a thesis and might be published in a journal, but the researcher guarantees you complete confidentiality; all participants will remain anonymous

and no information that can identify you will be made public. In this sense, you can suggest the researcher a name by which you would like to be referred to as.

If you would like to have your information removed, please either email or write to the researcher with your personal code number. This number is _____. The last day that you can have your information taken out of the study is _____, 2007.

The project is being carried out by:

Name of principal researcher _____ *Claudia Jimenez-Castro* _____

Contact details *jimenec2@lincoln.ac.nz. Postal address: PO Box 84, Lincoln University, Lincoln 7647, Canterbury, New Zealand*

She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the project.

Name of supervisor *Dr. Miranda Cahn*

Contact Details *cahnm@lincoln.ac.nz. Postal address: PO Box 84, Lincoln University, Lincoln 7647, Canterbury, New Zealand*

The project has been reviewed and approved by Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.

Consent Form

[Note: I used The Spanish translation of this document in the fieldwork]

***Name of Project:* Impact of the procedures and practices of international aid in local NGOs: The case of Cayos Cochinos, a marine protected area in Honduras.**

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Name: _____

Signed: _____ Date: _____

I agree to have this interview tape-recorded