Sustainable Tourism Development in Tela Bay Honduras: A Case Study on Garífuna Resistance and Adaptation

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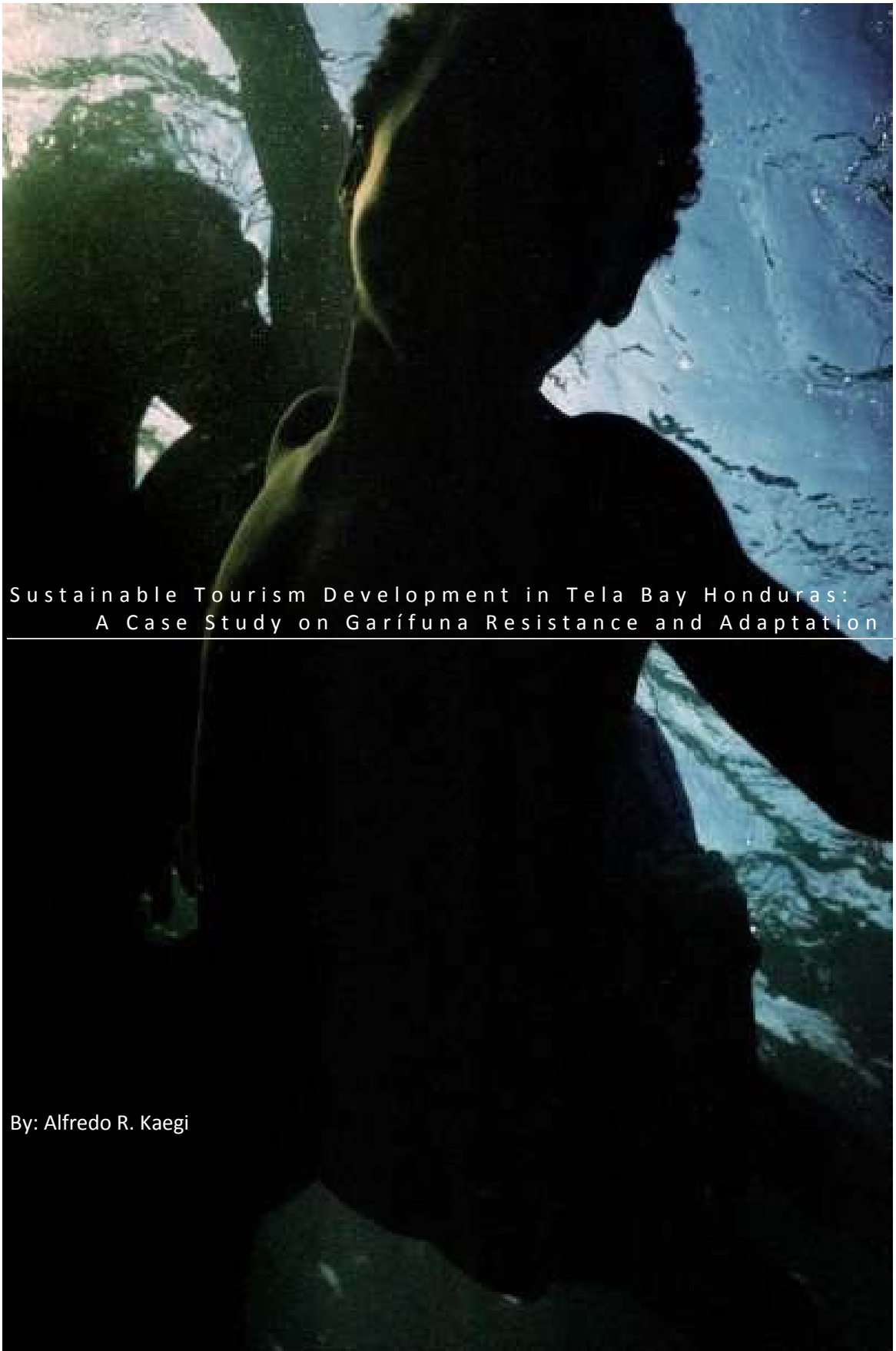

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Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all the people that have graced my life with their presence. I dedicate this, my academic masterpiece to my father, Daniel. In him I have found a teacher, a guide, a friend; but above all an example on tenacity, perseverance, and proof that love conquers all. I love you Dad.

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In Loving Memory of Andy Palacio, musician, leader, teacher, but first and foremost… A Garífuna.

List of Abbreviations and Special Terms

Abbreviations and Acronyms

DTBT: Dirección Técnica de Bahía de Tela

FHIS: Fondo Hondureño de Inversión Social

FHIT: Fondo Hondureño de Inversión en Turismo

HNSTP: Honduran National Sustainable Tourism Program

IDB: Inter American Bank of Development

IHT: Instituto Hondureño de Turismo

SMO's: Social Movement Organizations

NGO's: Non-Governmental Organization

NSM: New Social Movement

NSMT's: New Social Movement Theories

ODECO: Organización de Desarrollo Étnico Comunitario

OFRANEH: Organización Fraternal Negra de Honduras

PROLANSATE: La Fundación para la protección de Lancetilla, Punta Sal y Texiguat

RMT: Resource Mobilization Theory

SM's: Social Movements

UNESCO: United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF: United Nations Childrens's Fund

WB: World Bank UNDP: United Nations Development Program

Important Terms

Ladino: a westernized Spanish-speaking Latin American;

Garífuna/Garinagu: The Collectivity of Garífuna, including their language and culture. Garífuna is sometimes used as a term that refers to culture and language. Garinagu is used mostly to express unitary dimensions of the Garífuna.

Black Caribs: Used interchangeably with the term Garífuna; the term was used to create a historical distinction on Chapter 4.

RAMSAR: *The Convention on Wetlands of International Importance*.

Contents

Chapter 1

Justifying the Research

The Genesis of the Garífuna in Honduras

On the 11th of April 1797, a British convoy dropped anchor on the island of Roatan. On this island a small Spanish garrison was emplaced, which accepted immediately the British terms of surrender. The next day, Captain Barret reported on his log that the Caribs had disembarked on Port Royal along with provisions that would help them settle the harsh and infertile tropical island. On this same day, Captain Barret got the news that the ¨Prince William Henry¨, with 300 Caribs on board, had been captured by the Spanish and had been sent to the deep port of Trujillo, on the mainland of Honduras (Gonzalez, 2008; Andrade, 2002). What followed was a truly harrowing chronicle, the historical details of which remain languid on the sand of Trujillo Bay, conquered that summer day by the sea. This day, the British fought the Spanish for a ship filled with Black Caribs from St. Vincent; a ship of souls.

So began the genesis of the Garífuna in Honduras and their slow but steady struggle for recognition as a distinct ethnic group, a categorical recognition that has been instrumental in their struggle for the rights of their culture, land, identity and self determination.

The Garífuna of Tela Bay and the National Sustainable Tourism Project

The turmoil of Honduran pre independence from the Spanish gave way to the domination of the Creoles. During this period, the Garífuna joined the ranks of armies organized to advance Creole interests in the name of regional defense. They also helped to repel the continuous attacks from the English, French and Dutch. This period also saw the expansion of the territories they occupied on the Caribbean Coast, from Belize to the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. They became formidable resource extractors, contrabandists, farmers and fishermen (Andrade, 2002).

It was during this time of transition that the Garífuna became synonymous with the Honduran Caribbean Coast. Most of their present day settlements are located near areas of great biological diversity and natural beauty.

Within these spaces the Garífuna are struggling to construct their own meaning of place. Currently, there is an ongoing opposition and resistance against the Honduran National Sustainable Tourism Project on Tela Bay. The fact that the project is well underway may establish a precedent, a type of developmental formula that could bring in much needed foreign currency and investment for the country as a whole, but for the Garífuna this may mean displacement and loss of their land, cultural heritage and collective identity. Development is allegedly going to bring the Garífuna of Tela Bay, infrastructural upgrades like access roads, water sanitation and electricity. Also the presence of tourism may increase their access to potential customers, thus benefitting their businesses via economies of scale. But the Garífuna are not the only actors who could potentially benefit from this. For entrepreneurs, environmental NGO's and the local government, the 'space' of Tela Bay holds different meanings. For entrepreneurs it is a place that holds certain characteristics that may optimize revenue from a large influx of tourists looking for sea, sun and sand. For environmental NGO's it is a fragile place that must be managed. For the local government it holds the potential to expand into a hot spot of tourist activity that will pull the city of Tela out of the shadows of multinational fruit companies.

Tourism has become one of Honduras' leading industries (Statistical Bulletin for Honduran Tourism, 2007). In 2007, the WTO estimated that foreign tourist arrival increased by 8.1%, and is on the rise (Statistical Bulletin for Honduran Tourism, 2007). Tourism is a source of income for many, and under the rhetoric of sustainable tourism development, is being used as a strategy to legitimize the alleviation of extreme poverty. It is by rationalizing sustainable tourism in this fashion that the Honduran government has set in motion the *Proyecto Bahia de Tela*, through the Honduran Tourism Institute; this project is funded primarily through the IDB.

The Proyecto Bahia de Tela is part of the umbrella project known as the National Strategy of Sustainable Tourism which is directed towards the Honduran Strategy for Poverty Reduction (National sustainable Tourism Strategy, 2005). This program aims to provide the necessary infrastructure to attract national and foreign investment for the growing tourism sector (National sustainable Tourism Strategy, 2005). The Honduran government is trying to align its most popular attractions to be included within the Mayan Route, extending from the Yucatan Peninsula to Copan). They also seek to align the Lenca Route, extending from Copan to the rest of the Western part of Honduras, and compete with Caribbean countries in the tourism market.

The attractions that are benefiting from infrastructure upgrades are the Copán Ruins, a major Mayan archeological site; the Bay Islands, the most developed tourism attraction in Honduras; and Tela Bay.

The initial phase of Proyecto Bahia de Tela aims to provide basic infrastructure and stabilize the terrain where the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort will be built. A secondary goal in the initial stages of construction is to provide basic infrastructure: electricity, potable water/sanitation, and an access road to the Garífuna communities of Miami and Tornabe, these communities lie a stone's throw away from the project area. After the initial stage of construction is completed, four five-star, all-inclusive hotels

will be built. Transnational corporations, like Hyatt, Westin and Conrad-Hilton, will operate these hotels [1]

The Los Micos Golf and Beach resort takes its name from the Los Micos Lagoon that lies within the project area. The lagoon is a Wetland of International Importance (RAMSAR Site[2]) and is included within the larger Janette Kawas National Park. This case study provides the opportunity to document the outcomes of this project and the effects it might have on the Honduran Garífuna population, an ethnic minority that have become synonymous with the Honduran Carribean, a coveted area for tourism development. It also affords the possibility of outlining the reactions the Garífuna might have in order to adapt and resist upon arrival of "sustainable development".

Aim of the Research

This research aims to expand the body of academic knowledge pertaining to the Garífuna, their struggles, and organization as a social movement; their 'arts of resistance' and their capacity to cope in a world where preservation of ethnicity, identity, and culture has to be fought for inch by inch. I hope that it may serve the Garífuna and the rest of the public as a means to elucidate the facts behind the alleged preservation and protection of this truly unique ethnic group and its position in relation to sustainable tourism development of Tela Bay, Honduras.

Tornabe, Miami and the overall area of Tela Bay on the north coast of Honduras has served as the social-spatial setting for the development of the current research. Although the area of the Tela Bay holds three other Garífuna communities (San Juan, La Ensenada and Triunfo de la Cruz), Miami and Tornabe have been chosen because they lie at the seams of the project area and I believe it is here, at the seams, where the interest of my research lies. This is the space that lies between the development of sustainable tourism projects and the struggle to preserve Garífuna culture, identity, and

[1] To get an idea of the scale of the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort please watch http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q-ImzodWwqo and especially http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCE3NcTHz-c&feature=related.

[2] "The Convention's mission is the conservation and wise use of all wetlands through local, regional and national actions and international cooperation, as a contribution towards achieving sustainable development throughout the world" (Ramsar COP8, 2002).

ethnicity. A place where an unrelenting battle of tug of war is waged, where the meaning of place is being (re)contested, where boundaries are being (re)drawn, where social movements are being (re)defined. The space occupied by the Garífuna is highly contested, the meaning of place and its boundaries are blurred, and, thus Garífuna social movements are emerging to reclaim and redefine the space in which they reside.

Research Objectives and Questions

General research Question and Objectives

The General research objectives of this thesis are:

- T o determine the Garífuna perception of risks and benefits associated with 'sustainable tourism development' around Tela Bay.
- To identify the mechanisms of resistance and adaptation used by the Garífuna in order to resist and adapt to the onset of 'sustainable tourism development' around Tela Bay.

In line with this, the General research questions are:

- What are the dominant perceptions articulated by the Garífuna regarding the risks and benefits of "sustainable tourism development" around Tela Bay?
- What are the mechanisms of resistance and adaptation to "sustainable tourism development" by the Garífuna that reside in Tela Bay?

Specific Research Objectives and Questions

The Specific objectives of this thesis are:

- To further the understanding of Garífuna organization in order to resist/adapt sustainable tourism development of Tela Bay, Honduras.
- To determine if Garífuna Organization can be considered a Social Movement.
- To get a clear idea of the sources of power and resources that can be mobilized by the Garífuna to resist perceived risks of sustainable tourism development of Tela Bay, Honduras.

- To identify how the Garífuna have adapted to the changing socio-economic environment to maximize the benefits of sustainable tourism development of Tela Bay, Honduras.
- Identify the social, environmental, and cultural elements that the Garífuna are trying to protect from sustainable tourism development in Tela Bay, Honduras

Congruent with these objectives, my specific questions are:

- How are the Garífuna organized?
- Who participates in the Garífuna Movement?
- What are the goals of the Garífuna Movement?
- Are the Garífuna a Social Movement?
- What resources are mobilized and how is power exercised by the Garífuna to resist sustainable tourism development in Tela Bay?
- How are the Garífuna adapting to benefit from sustainable tourism development in Tela Bay , Honduras?
- What are the Garífuna in Tela Bay trying to protect?

CHAPTER 2

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

Methodology

Reflexivity and the Present Research.

During the course of my research I remained aware of my values, cultural background and position in relation to the case study. My interest in the Garífuna culture began during my travels through Honduran territory. I also had the chance to work in close proximity with the Garífuna community of Chachahuate and East End, Cayos Cochinos. I always had the impression that this culture had been on the verge, always near being imperiled. Their ability to resist the onslaught of a constantly globalizing world, all its threats and opportunities, made me gravitate towards designing the present research. I worked closely with the National Sustainable Tourism Program (NSTP), as part of the monitoring and evaluation team from the IDB/IHT. These offered me a chance to experience, contemplate, and write about this reality from my own subject position, but also from the perspective of those engaged throughout the course of the research and, thus, utilizes a heuristic approach.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data Collection

Data were collected through qualitative and quantitative means. However, the nature of the research required a heuristic approach, which ¨legitimizes and places at the fore the personal experience, reflections and insights of I¨ (Jennings, 2001on Patton, 1990, pg 159). I have selected to use methods, such as conversational interviews, semi-structured interviews and standardized open-ended interviews (Jennings on Moustakas, 1990:159). To collect data, I used these primary data collection methods but also employed participant observation, while drawing on secondary data collection methods (literature review, documents analysis, video-documentaries, video, music, web pages, and archival research).

In order to elaborate effective and efficient interview schedules for each specific actor, I proposed to investigate the Honduran national newspaper archives. The idea behind archival research is to create a time line that might enable ¨forecasting of future events, trends and patterns¨ (Jennings, 2001, pg 67). By generating a historical timeline, I will attempt to reveal emergent categories, trends and patterns.

Data Analysis

The data will be analyzed and synthesized by using the theoretical lens proposed in the following chapter. This will provide a case study that can be compared to similar situations on the north coast of Honduras and attempt to provide valuable insight into understanding the "sustainability" in future sustainable tourism projects.

Theoretical Framework

Introduction

To create a theoretical framework for the present research, I drew on two theoretical paradigms. European New Social Movement (NSM) theories and the more American, Resource Mobilization theories. Both of these theoretical frameworks approach social movements and collective action with the aim of explaining the purpose and significance of social movements in post-industrial society and use varying levels of analysis (Canel, 2004).

Although both of these theoretical approaches where established in relative isolation of each other, I argue, as have others (Buechler, 1993; Canels, 2004; Veliz, 2007), that these two approaches can be complementary and, thus provide a more comprehensive analysis of the Garífuna Movement's organization, mobilization, mechanisms of resistance, sources of power and resources; as well as the role of culture, identity and ethnicity in furthering the Garífuna Movement's agenda.

NSMs, Collective Action, and the Hidden Transcripts of Resistance

Social Movement Theory

A social movement is defined as an informal network of people that have shared beliefs and a sense of solidarity around specific issues. The individuals that constitute any given movement mobilize and constitute their identities around issues of importance to them and protest language and actions that threaten them (Della Porta and Diani, 1999: 16). While reviewing the existing literature and on preliminary semi structured interviews, characteristics that can be appreciated as characteristics of a social movement began to emerge. If a Garífuna Movement where to exist it can be held accountable for the actions and resistance that are taking place between the Honduran National Sustainable Tourism Development project in Tela Bay (better known as the Los Micos Beach and Golf Resort) and the Garífuna communities that surround the immediate area. In order for a social movement to exist, collective action has to be present (these can be public or hidden). Collective action requires significant ¨ *involvement of a group of people*, it requires a *shared interest* within the group and it involves some kind of *common action* which works in pursuit of that shared interest. Although not often mentioned, this action should be *voluntary*, to distinguish collective action from hired or corvee labor¨ (Dick, Di Gorgio and McCarthy, 2004:5). It could be said by this conceptualization that the term ´collective action´ (that it is the ¨will-power¨) differs from the conceptualization of social movements by degree. Social Movements can be seen as collective movements that have reached a critical mass and found the resources to establish constant protest and mobilization against a ¨colonizing entity of their lifeworld¨ (Habermas, 1984).

Collective action is easiest to identify where there is a clearly defined participating group. However, groups are not always clearly defined, and their forms of collective action and resistance sometimes operate covertly. This creates 'spaces of resistance', which are unofficial and are located out of the public sphere. According to Scott (1990), apart from the public transcripts "which represent the open interaction between subordinate and dominant groups (Oslender, 2005:1108)," often hidden transcripts

establish a ``privileged site for non hegemonic, contrapuntal, dissident, subversive discourse" (Scott, 1992:25 and 60). "It is within the space of the hidden transcript, then, that acts of resistance are imagined, planned, and take on shape. To understand how and why resistances occur where they do, we have to go beyond examining official and formal relations between the powerful and the weak. The site of the hidden transcript is a good starting point to attempt to locate the emergence of resistance practices in the micro-episodes of everyday life"(Oselander, 2005: 1108, 1109). The Collective Action and resistance of the Garífuna has been documented on their long journey to becoming an internationally recognized ethnic group (Gonzalez, 2008; Andrade, 2002). They have become recognized as a social group for their bravery in combat, their capacity to negotiate with different States, their will to overcome great odds and to assimilate new surroundings and realities (Gonzalez, 2008). An approach that includes the analysis of Scott's "hidden transcripts" will provide an entry point to Garífuna resistance, the unofficial and tacit resistance. This resistance is palpable in the perceptions of some of the non-Garífuna actors involved in this case study refer to it as the "difficulty of working with the Garífuna of Tela bay" (Interview with Eduardo Zavala, Director of PROLANSATE).

Hidden transcripts also use music, stories and poems (and in this special case the Internet). An analysis of music, stories, information available on the internet and other material provides yet another entry point into this "art of resistance", clarifies the position that these hidden transcripts have within the construction of the Garífuna collective identity, and identifies how the issues surrounding alleged sustainable tourism development of Tela Bay have permeated their everyday perspectives. This is what Scott would refer to as "rushing the stage" where the' backstage' fermentation of dissent and resistance transcends its way to the 'front stage', establishing an assertive pliticoal position (Scott, 1990).

New Social Movement Theories and Resource Mobilization (NSM´s)

New Social Movement Theories

For Prichardo (1997) New Social Movement Theories present a ¨distinctive view of social movements and of the large socio-economic environment, of how individuals fit into, respond to, and change the system¨ (Prichardo, 1997:411). He sees the major contributions of these theories in the emphasis they posit on ¨identity, culture and the role of the civic sphere-aspects of Social Movements that had previously been largely overlooked¨ (Prichardo, 1997:411). This approach stems out of previous Social Movement theory because of its heavy influence of reductionist Marxism ¨which assigned the working class a privileged place in the unfolding of history¨ (Canel, 2004). In fact one of the central claims of the NSM´s discourse is a ¨direct reaction to the perceived deficiencies of Marxism ¨ (Laclau and Mouffe 1985, 1990). Offe (1985) believes that NSM´s may come from various social sectors ¨the new middle class, the old middle class (farmers, shop owners and Artisan producers) and a peripheral population consisting of persons not heavily engaged in the labor market: students, housewives and retired persons (Offe,1985). It is this diminishing importance of class in social level that in part gives NSM´s their ´novelty´ (Buechler, 1995).

This post-Marxist era of Social Movements can be linked to the rise of New Social Movements by ¨ the changing requirements of capital accumulation in a post modern age¨ that is no longer only preoccupied with economic and productive relations but also many other (post) industrial, non materialistic pursuits Prichardo, 1997:419).

The focus on identity is considered to be a unique characteristic in modern movements because¨ identity politics also express the belief that identity itself, its elaboration, expression or affirmation is and should be fundamental focus of political work¨ (Kauffman, 1990:67). In relation to resistance, identity conveys a collective rallying point of resistance. Safeguarding identity is not the only reason that the Garífuna are resisting development. Evidence in the literature suggests that access to natural resources and protection of their land rights are yet another set of rallying points for their resistance(Montgomery, 2006; Brondo, 2007; Brondo and Woods, 2007; Mowforth and

Munt, 2003/2008). In Gonzalez (2008) as well as in the semi-structured interviews conducted as part of the fieldwork in Tela Bay, the connection between identity and land is evident. Rather, the loss of identity and the loss of their 'ancestral' land are evident and will be elucidated in the analysis chapters. Therefore, NSM offers a valid entry point into this and other important aspects of the Garífuna struggle.

It is in part this claim to their identity that has led the Garífuna to ¨unprecedented politicization of previously non political terrains¨ (Kauffman 1990: 67). They are synonymous with their surroundings of natural beauty and pristine Caribbean Sea Beaches on tourism promotional material[3]. Their dances and songs as part of their collective identity are being commoditized (and not on their terms) as images of a perfect vacation on the beaches of the north coast of Honduras (Kristglou and Theodosopoulous, 2004, Brondo and Woods, 2007).

It is within this realm that the Garífuna are resisting. NSM´s theories provide a view of the Garífuna´s tactics, structure and participants and thus provide a macro level of analysis. It is their ¨unique ideological orientation¨ and ¨self-reflexive character¨ that will largely ¨dictate the kind of tactics, structure and participants evidenced in NSM´s"(Pritchardo, 1997:415). Melucci argues that this paradigm is oriented to explain the 'why' of SMs, at least in so far as the answer is restricted to broad structural conditions and does not include how the actors mobilize resources. It does not, however, explain the 'how' of SMs; that is, how strategies, decisions, resources, opportunities and other factors converge to give rise to an SM. NSM theory excludes from its analysis the dynamics of mobilization, the instrumental level of action, political action, the relationships between SMs, political reform and institutionalization of civil society, and organizational dynamics. These are precisely the aspects in which RM theory is strongest¨ (Canel, 2004).

[3] For an example of this please refer to the Honduran Tourism Institute's main page on their official web site on http://www.iht.hn/?page_id=33

Resource Mobilization Theory (RM)

¨While NSM theory explains the origins of social movements with reference to macro-processes and identifies the structural potential for social movement activity, RM theory, in contrast, focuses on a set of contextual processes (resource management decisions, organizational dynamics and political changes) that condition the realization of this structural potential¨(Canel, 2004).

During the 1970's, Resource Mobilization Theory gained recognition "as a distinctively new approach to the study of social movements" (Buechler, 1993: 218). "The emergence and increasing prominence of RM in the 1970s and 1980s was a response to the cycle of protest that was initiated in the United States by the civil rights movement and that spread to numerous other groups and issues during the 1960s and early 1970s" (Buechler, 1993: 218). Resource Mobilization Theory presented a framework from which to underpin the particularities of social movements away from simple proletariat-elite based binaries into a more elaborate and socio-historically sophisticated context.

In line with RM's main ideas that "social movements are an extension of politics by other means, and can be analyzed in terms of conflicts of interest just like other forms of political struggle, movements are also seen as structured and patterned, so that they can be analyzed in terms of organizational dynamics just like other forms of institutionalized action (Oberschall, 1973; McCarthy and Zald, 1973/1977; Tilly, 1978)" (Buechler, 2003: 218).

RM theory ¨takes the issues, the actors and the constraints as given, and focuses instead on how the actors develop strategies and interact with their environment in order to pursue their interests¨ (Canel, 2004). According to Beuchler, Resource Mobilization Theory centers around the way groups organize in order to meet collective goals by managing and mobilizing resources. Buecheler (1995) believes RM theory views social movements as normal, rational, institutionally rooted, political challenges by aggrieved groups. This is a step away from Durkheim's view of collective action as ¨anomic and irrational behavior resulting from rapid social change, and it questions 'relative deprivation' theory, which assumes a direct link between perceived deprivation and collective action¨ (Canel, 2004). After RM was firmly established, social

movements were no longer seen as a reaction based on grievances. According to Buechler (1993), resource mobilization theorists "proceeded to argue that control over actual and potential resources is a more important determinant of the emergence as well as the likely success of collective action" (Buechler, 1993: 221). Even though some of the authors dealing with RM might still put considerable weight on grievances as a constant rallying point for collective action, as is the example of Tilly (1978), "none would rank them on a par with resources in accounting for collective action and social protest"(Buechler, 1993: 221). Grievances themselves do not allow for collective mobilization, it is "the social construction of grievances" that can be the "critical step which allows members of socially dispersed groups to begin to mobilize for action" (Buechler 1990: 221).

Buechler also expands on McCarthy and Zald's (1977) ideas and positions on the "distinct questions of recruitment, motivation and participation" of social movements. "Based on a rational actor model, individuals are viewed as weighing the relative costs and benefits of movement participation and opting for participation when the potential benefits outweigh the anticipated costs" (Buechler on McCarthy and Zald. 1993: 218). The problem with the Rational Actor Model is that "when movement goals take the form of public goods which cannot be denied to non-participants, the free-rider dilemma is created because it is individually rational for each actor to let others win the goal and then share the benefits without the costs. In response to the free-rider dilemma, organizations may offer selective incentives for active participants that can be withheld from nonparticipants (Olson 1965)" (Buechler, 1993: 218).

Canels explains that RM places four central conditions or factors of the process of resource mobilization: organization, leadership, political opportunity and the nature of political institutions (Canels, 2004). These four processes of mobilization will be used to analyze and assess the Garífuna social movement.

Organization: In order for collective action to take place social networks that provide group coherence and strong horizontal links must exist. This aspect of RM can help conclude what level of organization the Garífuna have and if this association is mature enough to foster collective action. Organization will also provide an entry point on the matter of social construction of grievances (as a constant rallying point for collective action), resources, recruitment, motivation, participation and resource administration/use (Canels, 2004).

Leadership: RM theory stresses the importance of leadership in the emergence of SMs. Leaders identify and define grievances, develop a group sense, devise strategies and facilitate mobilization by reducing its costs and taking advantages of opportunities for collective action (Canel, 2004). Although many Garífuna ¨leaders¨ can be identified, it is necessary to assess their capacity and effectiveness in guiding the Garífuna. There is evidence to suggest that the Garífuna are becoming fractured in that their leaders have colliding interests over their (Garífuna) development. If the Garífuna are all pulling in different directions, effective contending collective action might be diluted by the interests of (a) ´the few´. This will be subject to further analysis in upcoming chapters.

Political Opportunity: Political Opportunities, as the word implies, come and go. They are the key to the advancement of collective action and can amplify or render useless its pursuits. The structure of political opportunities refers to ¨the conditions in the political systems which either facilitate or inhibit collective action. Political and cultural traditions, for example, will determine the range of legitimate forms of struggle in a given society. The degree to which civil liberties and individual rights are respected in a given society will also facilitate or inhibit collective action¨ (Canel, 2004).

The Nature of Political Institutions: Tilly (1978) views ¨collective actions as efforts by new groups ('challengers') to enter the political system¨ (Canel 2004 on Tilly, 1978: 52). Ash-Garner and Zald state that in ¨societies which are highly politicized and mobilized by parties and corporatist groups, SMs tend to be aligned along party lines and enjoy limited autonomy from the political system (Canels, 2004: 295). By understanding the ¨character¨ of the political institutions that help shape society as a whole, a more exact

picture of the groundwork that must be laid down for the Garífuna to work from, will emerge. The relative size of the public sector will influence SM activity in at least two fundamental ways. First, a large public sector places resources (employment and/or grants and social action programs) in the hands of the state; these resources can then be used to co-opt, neutralize or destroy SMs, and/or to promote SM activity by channeling resources to grass-roots organizations. Second, the size of the public sector determines the potential politicization of issues and the legitimacy of various courses of action available to SMs. Societies with less interventionist states and smaller public sectors are more likely to have more autonomous and less politicized SMs (Ash-Garner and Zald, 1987: 311).

A Macro and Micro Level Approach to Analysis

While NSM theory explains the origins of social movements with reference to macro-processes and identifies the structural potential for social movement activity, RM theory, in contrast, focuses on a set of contextual processes (resource management decisions, organizational dynamics and political changes) that condition the realization of this structural potential¨(Canel, 2004).

The use of both of these social movement frameworks will permit a Macro and Meso/Micro level analysis that will enrich the scope and depth of this research. Resource Mobilization theory, "given a historical context of sociological theories which traditionally approached collective behavior as a micro level phenomenon to be explained in social-psychological terms or as the manifestation of macro-level social disorganization and breakdown, gave the academic community an optimal framework of the meso-level" (Buecheler, 1993: 224). "By reorienting the study of collective action to this level, the connecting links between macro structures and micro processes were highlighted" (Buecheler, 1993: 224). The problem, as noted by Buechler (1993) and evident in the existing literature that legitimizes the marriage between aspects of RM and NSM theories is that RM focus so exclusively on the meso-level of organizational analysis that "larger" questions of social structure and historical change and "smaller" issues of individual motivation and social interaction receive scant

attention" (Buecheler, 1993: 224). **"**With such premises, RM remains remarkably uninterested in who engages in collective action and how they view themselves and their allies in struggle. These subjects are central in much work being done under the rubric of "new social movements" where such questions are approached through the concept of collective identity (Cohen, 1985; Eder, 1985; Melucci, 1985, 1988, 1989 Buecheler, 1993: 224). NSM recognizes as collective identity "people who participate in collective action (who) do so only when such action resonates with both an individual and a collective identity that makes such action meaningful" (Beuchler, 1993: 228).

" For many mobilizations, the most central process is the social construction of a collective identity that is symbolically meaningful to participants and that logically precedes any meaningful calculation of the costs and benefits of joining in collective action" (Buecheler, 1993: 228).

Using the concept of 'collective identity' offers a possible solution to the rational actor theory paradox as well as the afore mentioned Homo Economicus approach in the form of the free rider explained in the Resource Mobilization section. The free rider dilemma within the Garífuna social movement can be automatically excluded. To be Garífuna is to be part of a collective identity through participation in collective action. Given the fact that the term Garífuna refers to the collective identity[4] (Garinagu refers to the ethnic group itself), points the matter even further towards the use of NSM as a means to elucidate this level of analysis. In other terms, if a person is part of the Garífuna collective identity, a resistance towards the colonization of their collective "lifeword" will be observed Habermas, 1984).

[4] Garifuna is the term used to refer to the Garinagus culture, language, music and heritage. Garinagus is the term used to refer to the descendants of Island Caribs and African slaves that shipwrecked near the coast of St. Vincent near the 1600's.

Conclusion

The proposed theoretical framework is not intended to further the literature on the merging of NSM and RM theory to expand the level of analysis of this particular social movement or collective action. It aims at providing a framework from which to understand the pressures of modernity by way of ´Sustainable Tourism Development´ on the Garífuna and how these pressures foster reactions in the forms of social movements and resistance. The framework also sheds light on the form(s) of organization the Garífuna have adopted in order to negotiate and resist this development and how their culture, identity, ethnicity, power and access to resources rise to the foreground as tools of empowerment and self determination. The present research will also serve, in part, as empirical evidence that legitimize the use of NSM and RM theories to provide a multilevel assessment of the Garífuna Social Movement, as well as other ethnic social movements, in relation to the impacts of sustainable tourism development projects.

Chapter 3

General Characteristics and a Macroeconomic Overview of Honduras in Relation to Sustainable tourism development of Tela Bay, Honduras

Honduran General Characteristics

Introduction

Honduras is a country of somewhat sharp contrasts. It is one of the poorest countries of Latin America (Bussolo and Medvedev, 2006). Great differences exist between the rural and the urban, the rich and poor, between social classes and gender. In major cities, shanty towns lay scattered along inaccessible hillsides, forming rings around the bigger cities, known crudely as "anillos de miseria" or "rings of misery". On other sides of the city, the landscape changes and gives way to very modern and opulent houses, property of the upper class or the expatriates.

"Honduras is the third poorest country in Latin America and the Caribbean after Haiti and Nicaragua. Its 2004 per capita GDP is just 952 USD (at constant 2000 prices), compared with 3,935 USD per capita for the region as a whole, and more than 64 percent of the country's population is below the national poverty line, while almost 45 percent live in extreme poverty" (Bussolo and Medvedev, 2006).

The general perception of any tourist reading the Honduran daily newspapers or watching the morning news could be that Honduras is a poor country, highly indebted, where drug trafficking and organized crime seems to be taking over and where corruption has become institutionalized within a democratic governmental framework. Yet, great beauty is hidden between the lack of basic infrastructure and relative inaccessibility. This beauty lies in its natural scene selection, its people, its topography, its oceans and rich cultural heritage. One might say that Honduras has been lucky enough to have been afforded the time to potentially develop tourism in an efficient, organized and responsible way; this is yet to be seen.

Although environmental degradation has been rampant in many parts of Honduras (due in part to the pressures of satisfying foreign demand for natural resources and agricultural products), its natural beauty is indisputable and sustainable tourism could be a motor towards generalized development. For the Garífuna that live on the north coast of Honduras, it could mean development on their own terms.

Geography

Honduras, Central America. 15 00 N, 86 30 W

Honduras lies in the heart of Central America. Its national territory is bordered to the north by the Caribbean Sea; it bathes the Honduran coast from the Gulf of Honduras on the north-west to the cape of Gracias a Dios on the north-east. To the north-west lies the border between Honduras and Guatemala. Towards the south and south-east lies the border with Nicaragua. On the south-west Honduras shares borders with the Pacific Ocean, more accurately the Gulf of Fonseca and the small country of El Salvador (Guia Geografica, 2000).Honduras is a mountainous country, it is crossed in a mainly west to east fashion by what could be considered an extension of the Sierra Madre which meanders its way from Guatemala. This creates large and deep valleys and gorges which makes communications difficult and vulnerable to the onslaught of natural processes. Fifty-five percent of the territory lies well above 600 meters above the sea level, 2, 800 meters being the highest point of elevation (Guia Geografica, 2000).

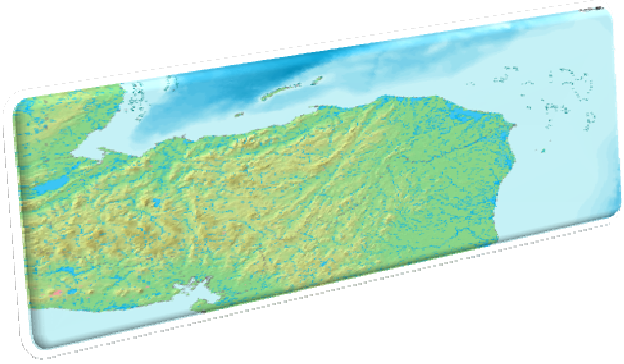


figure 1 Source: Guia Geografica 2000

The area of Honduras can be dissected into three major zones:

1) The Caribbean coastal plain
2) The central mountainous areas
3) The Pacific coastal plain

The Caribbean coastal plain penetrates deep into the Honduran interior. This is due to the fact that most rivers flow into these plains from the highlands of central Honduras. This rivers have created a number of valleys with fertile lands, optimum for agronomic and livestock production. The Caribbean Coast of Honduras was the scenario, for many years, of the great banana enclaves. These American owned companies had access to these fertile grounds at incredibly low costs and yielded high volumes of production. After the companies left these areas, many towns that had been dependent on the companies (Tela, La Lima, etc.) fell into quiet oblivion (Guia Geografica, 2000).

The central mountainous area is basically a plateau from which mountain ranges scatter in diverging and converging directions throughout the national territory. It is subdivided by a central valley that stretches from the Caribbean Coast to the Pacific Coast. This valley splices the country into halves, east and west.

The Pacific Coastal plain is rather small and underdeveloped. This is the scenario for a number of nontraditional export production endeavors. From shrimp to honey-dew cantaloupes during the 70's, the south became the center for intensive production of cotton, watermelons, melons, shrimp and livestock. The Pacific Coastal plain lies within the Gulf of Fonseca. The Gulf of Fonseca is shared by Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador. It is a refuge for a large number of migrating and local fowl. Mangroves line a large part of the Gulf and serve as spawning grounds for several species of fish, mollusks and crustaceans that thrive in the protective habitat away from bigger, more mature fish and birds. (Guia Geografica, 2000).

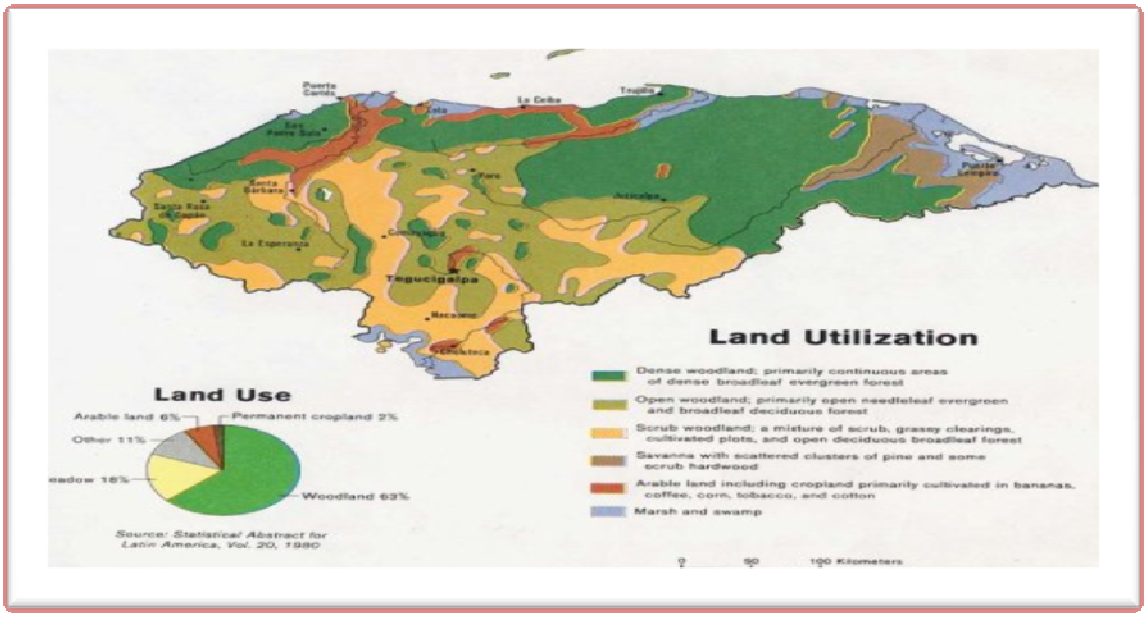


figure 2 Source: Guia Geografica 2000

Weather

Honduras lies within the tropical climatic zone. This means that it presents similar thermal conditions throughout the year. Due to its location, Honduras is prone to the impacts of hurricanes from the Atlantic as well as droughts generated by El Nino phenomenon.

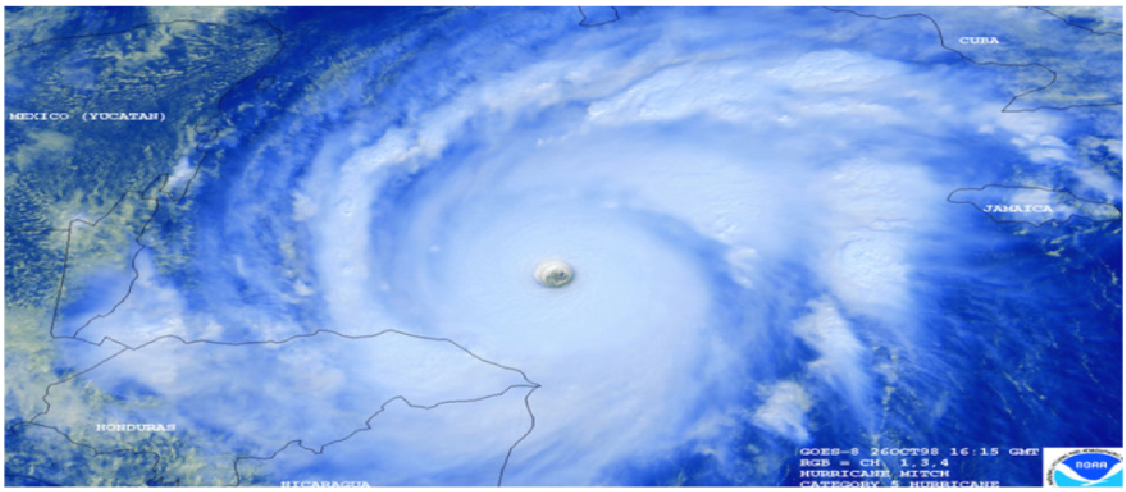
The north coast of Honduras is comparatively more humid then the dryer southern coast. There are two defined seasons throughout the year, the wet season (May till October) and the dry season (November till April). On the highlands of Honduras the climate in general is template.

For a country with only 112,492 Km^2, Honduras presents a wide range of climatic zones. Honduras can be subdivided in six climatic zones: the Atlantic coastal zone, the northern inner zone, the central zone, the western zone, the eastern zone and the southern zone (Guia Geografica, 2000).

Atlantic coastal zone: The Atlantic coastal zone extends throughout the Caribbean coast well into the area known as La Mosquitia or The Mosquito Coast. All of the Garífuna settlements in Honduras lie within this zone. The combination of various bio-

geographic characteristics, as well as the weather and its proximity to the ocean make this an attractive area for the Garífuna (Gonzalez, 2008) and in modern times, for the tourism industry(Honduran National Sustainable Tourism Strategy, 2005).

Ten years ago, Hurricane Mitch[5] tore through Honduras mercilessly. According to the UNICEF, it was one of the most destructive storms to hit the western hemisphere in 200 years. Hurricane Mitch completely changed the landscape of Honduras. It practically drowned 50 years of progress in the wake of a few days of very intense rainfall. Whole mountain sides gave way like butter to a hot knife. (Unicef Honduras, 2008).



While fieldwork for this research was in progress, Honduras was hit by Tropical Depression 16. The Bay of Tela received rain for 7 days straight. Many communities around the larger area were left without communication. The major rivers that flow into the Caribbean had surpassed their courses, creating havoc in remote communities. Honduras' vulnerability was again tested by the climatologic phenomenon which stir in the Atlantic during the time that is collectively known as Hurricane season.

[5] For more information on Hurricane Mitch please watch "Hurricane Mitch" http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0A4ufJ66TUs

For tourism, especially tourism that is built around the idea of sun, sand and sea, weather is a major issue. While interviewing Alvaro Duron, National Strategy for Sustainable Tourism Specialist, we talked about the climatologic problems,as well as other limitations, that Tela Bay faces.

> *"I believe the access is bad, the infrastructure is bad, the beaches aren´t the best, in Honduras there is no other place that rains as much and for beach and sand tourism it isn´t that good" (Interview with Alvaro Antonio Duron, HNSTP).*

Even though the temperature within the borders of Honduras fluctuates minimally, precipitation and cyclical droughts pose challenges. It is hard to imagine Tela Bay without a modest amount of rainfall year around. Tropical Depression 16 was just a reminder of the vulnerability of this area, where plans are to exploit the sun, sea and sand market, and where the sand isn't the best and the sun comes and goes.

Protected Areas, Flora and Fauna

Protected Areas

Honduras has set aside 20.8 percent of its land area to be managed under the categorization of protected areas. Nature Reserves, Wilderness Areas, and National Parks (IUCN categories I and II) make up for 397,000 Ha. Natural Monuments, Species Management and Seascapes (IUCN categories III, IV and V) make up 132,000 hectares of the total of protected areas. Areas Managed for Sustainable Use and Unclassified Areas (category VI & "other") add up 1,816,000 hectares to total 2,345, 000 hectares approximately (World Resource Institute, 2006).

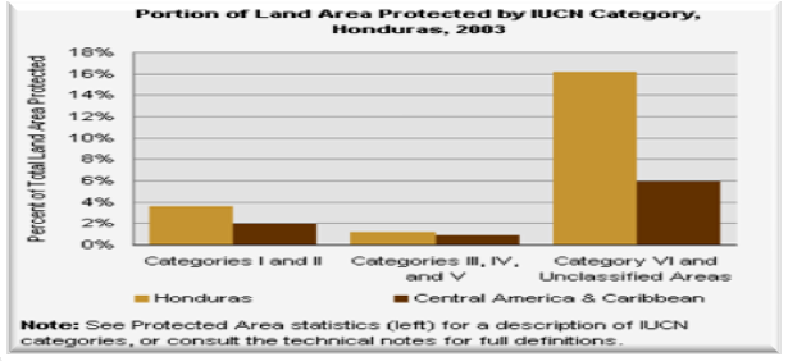


figure 3 Source: World Resource Institute

By 2003, Honduras had created 73 protected areas, five of which greater than 100,000 hectares and one protected area which surpassed the 1,000,000 ha. mark. As for wetlands and Ramsar sites, there have been four areas designated as such with a total area of 172,000 ha. Honduras also has a large biosphere reserve (800,000 ha.) called La biosfera del Rio Platano. This biosphere is said to be the lungs of Central America and is part of the UNESCO's world heritage sites (World Resource Institute, 2006).

Flora and Fauna

Many diverse species of flora and fauna exist in Honduras. Although an extensive and precise national inventory is yet to be done, sources reveal the presence of 5,680 species of higher plants, of which 108 are categorized as threatened. There are a total of 173 mammals known to live within the boundaries of Honduras, of which 10 are listed as threatened; and 232 species of breeding birds live in Honduras, of which 5 are listed as threatened. In Honduras there are 232 species of reptiles and 101 species of amphibians. As for fish, there are 225 known species, of which one species is listed as threatened (World Resource Institute, 2006).

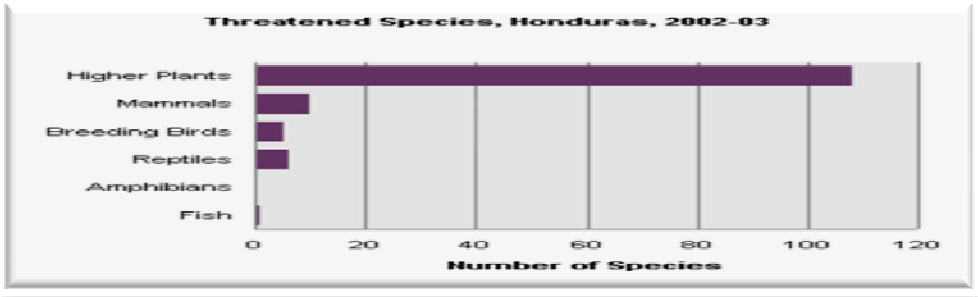


figure 4 Source: World Resource Institute

Honduras and the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species

Honduras subscribed to the CITES agreement (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species) since 1979. The CITES in the case of Honduras has promoted the creation of an administrative and scientific authority that regulates the export and imports of wild plants and animals (Secretaria de Agricultura y Ganaderia de Honduras, 2008). The CITES reported that in 2000, half a million live lizards, 4,391 live snakes, 530 live monkeys, 3,400 live parrots, 300,000 lizard skins, 200,000 snake skins, 300,000 crocodile skins and 13 big cat (puma, ocelot, jaguar) skins where exported from Central America and the Caribbean. Of this figures almost no information was gathered from Honduras. The illegal export of fauna and flora is rampant in all the Honduran territory, the success of the CITES convention within Honduras is disputable (Secretaria de Agricultura y Ganaderia de Honduras, 2008).

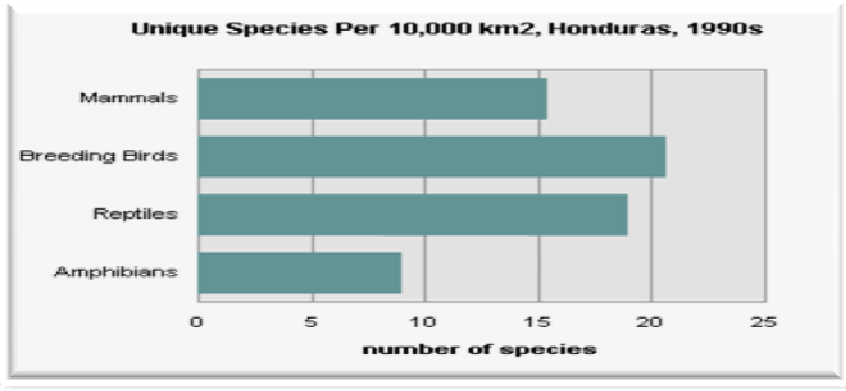


figure 5 Source: World Resource Institute

Characterization of Population

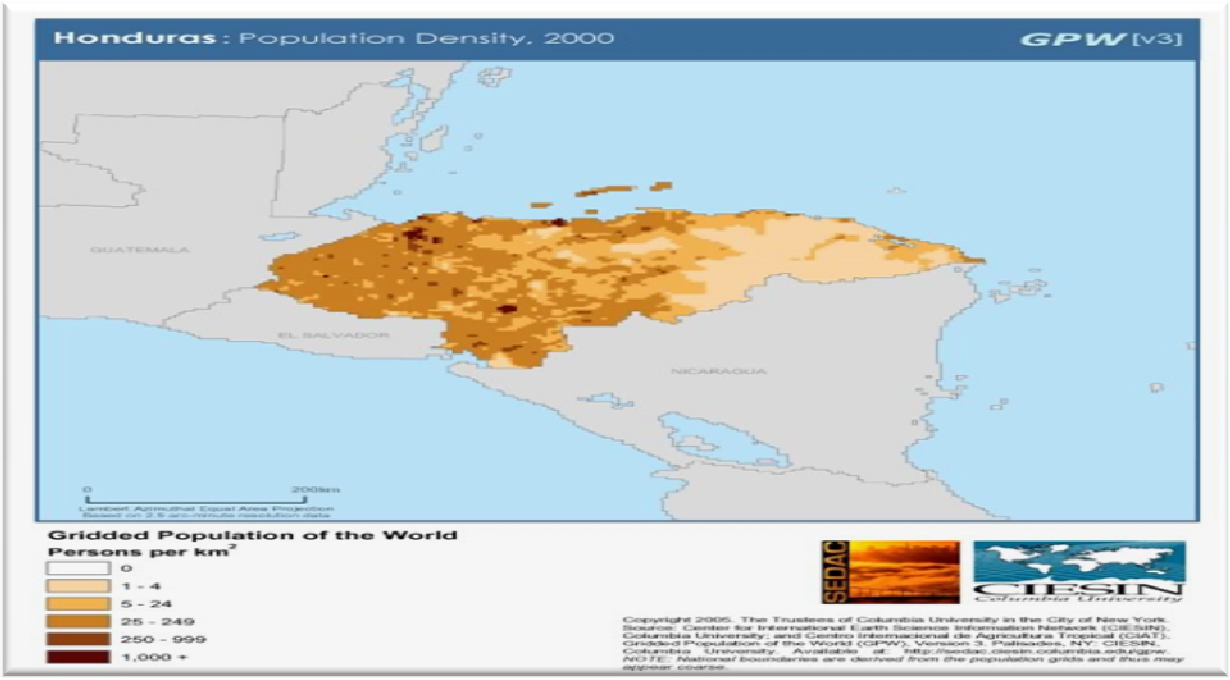
Honduras is a relatively young country; of the total population in 2005 39% were under the age of 15. The rural population (2005) of Honduras sums 54% of the total population and more than half of this population are women (UNDP, Human Development Index Report on Honduras, 2006: 66). According to Bussolo and Medveded (2006), Honduras has achieved some advances within the Millenium Development Goals in Water Sanitation and other health improving investments, unfortunately challenges still persist. With a total general government expenditure on health of 16.1%, (2004), to say that the general population is healthy is a far cry from the truth. The death of children under the age of five is 41 per 1000 (2004). Honduras' human development index is 116 out of 177 countries. This index has remained stagnant according to the UNDP's 2006 Human Development Index Report due to poverty and the great schism between social classes.

The gross national income per year for the typical Honduran in 2004 was 1030 (US)$. Also, 53% of the whole population lived under the national poverty line (UNDP, Human Development Index Report on Honduras, 2006: 66). [6]

As you can see on the following graphic the population is concentrated basically in the major cities of Tegucigalpa,San Pedro Sula and La Ceiba. The rest of the density is appreciated towards the western part of the country. The state of Gracias a Dios,on the eastern end of Honduras, is the biggest in area and the smallest in population density; this is due to its dense inaccessible jungles and savannah. During the beginning of the twentieth century there was a great shift in the demographical distribution of the population of Honduras. People from the Northwest Territories moved towards the bigger cities and the north coast because of the employment possibilities experienced during the heyday of the Banana Enclaves.

[6] Statistical Information for the Characterization of the Population of Honduras was gathered from the web page of the Pan American Health Organization. Their sources range from United Nations Population Division, World Health Report 2006, and World Health Report 2005, WHO data on National Health Accounts, Human Development Report 2005 and World Development Indicators 2005.

"Demographers have predicted that, unless significant social and economic reforms are instituted, the rural-to-urban migration trend so prevalent in the twentieth century not only will continue but also will probably increase. Although Honduras is still primarily an agrarian society, urban centers have grown considerably since the 1920s. Analysts speculate that urban centers will continue to expand as a result of internal migration and national population growth." (*www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-5646.html*)



After Hurricane Mitch hit the Honduran territory in 1998, hundreds of thousands of Hondurans immigrated legally and illegally to the United States[7]. The U.S. granted the TPS (Temporary Protected Status) to Hondurans whose lives had been affected by this climatologic phenomenon. The money sent by Hondurans working in the United States and other parts of the world, has become an important source of income for their families back home. It has become a "fundamental fact that the money sent by these people is a vital factor for their families' economy and a stabilizer for the Honduran

[7] Illegal migration has been common from Honduras to the U.S. It has certainly spiked after Hurricane Mitch and the TPS was granted by the U.S. congress.

macro economy" (International Congress about the Reform of State and Public Administration, 2002).

During fieldwork in Tela Bay, the number of people observed lining up on a Saturday morning around Western Union[8] was incredible. This observation helped explain how such a small town with so little job opportunities could sustain itself economically.

figure 6 People lining up outside Western Union, Tela City.

Government, Economy and Industry

Government

Honduras is a democratic constitutional democracy. Its political center lies within its capital, Tegucigalpa. Honduras' political map has been divided into 18 departments and 298 municipalities which have full autonomy of their area (www.amhon.hn). In 1982, by decree number 131, the constitution of Honduras was established. It states that it is based on rule of law, and that sovereignty corresponds to the people from whom the powers of state emanate and are exercised by its representation. The form of government is republican, democratic and representative. It is exercised through the three powers of state: legislative, executive and judicial powers. This are all complementary and independent and with no relations of subordination. The

[8] Western Union is advertised to be an easy and safe way to send money around the world. This is a major agency in Honduras and one way the immigrants send money to their loved ones. See also http://www.westernunion.com

constitution also states that the government must be based on the principle of participative democracy from which national integration is derived and implies the participation of all political sectors in the public administration so that progress can be assured and strengthened by political stability and national cohesion. (Constitution of the Republic of Honduras, 1982).

Brief Introduction to the Economic Context of Honduras

"Poverty in Honduras, as in other countries, has deep historical and structural roots in economic, political, social and cultural characteristics, that have not favored the development of productive factors and that have also created exclusionary or unequal conditions for wide sectors of the population. Other contributing factors include international economic relations that limit the development of small economies, the share increase in the foreign debt, and the lack of rational and transparent use of scarce domestic resources" (Poverty Reduction Strategy for Honduras 2001-2005, 2001: 21).

As mentioned before in this chapter, in 2002, Honduras was rated 116 of 173 countries by the human development index used by the UNDP. Life expectancy was of 65.7, considerably lower than other Central American countries like Costa Rica (76.4) and Panama (74.0). In 2006 Honduras still owned the 116th place out of 177 countries on the UNDP Human Development Index (UNDP, Human Development Index Report on Honduras, 2006:66). Much of this stagnation has to do with the Central American (and Latin American) crisis of the 80's. During this period the country's territory was used as the rear for the armed conflicts in neighboring El Salvador and Nicaragua (Aseprola, 2006). Honduras served as a platform from which the United States could fight communism, and even though it did not openly engage in all out war, the social, environmental and economic effects where devastating. Many Hondurans where displace or killed. The 1980's were known as La Decada de los Desaparecidos(decade of the disappeared), during which many Hondurans that were thought to be a threat to an already eroded national security where kidnapped, tortured and killed. "Applying

national security doctrines directly from the state (thus destroying citizen security) and the increasing levels of poverty, were the factors that intensified the structural crisis and the decrease in life quality in the 80's" (Aseprola, 2006). Honduras became home to a U.S.- run military base as well as a home to thousands of refugees displaced by the conflict, and came to be known as "the country that did not fight a war" (Aseprola, 2006). This decade also became well known as the "Lost Decade of Honduras" (Zuvekas, 1999: 11). "The region as a whole suffered a decline in per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of about 10% between 1980 and 1990" (IDB, 1997: 221). Honduran governments during the 1980s resisted an adjustment in the official exchange rate because they were being maintained by large (but unsustainable) official grants from the U.S. government (Zuvekas, 1999: 12).
"John Williamson (1990: 66) classified Honduras as being among the Latin American countries that through 1989 had not yet begun the economic reform process. Similarly, Sebastian Edwards (1995: 2-3) maintains that the reform process in Honduras was postponed until 1990, and Andy Thorpe (1996) considers 1990 to be the starting point for the "New Economic Model" in Honduras" (Zuvekas, 1999:12).

During the early 1990's, the cold war was nearing its end, peace talks in the region where underway and neoliberalism was the new prescription for development and reform. "Between 1989 and 1995 the public budget decreased from US$ 1.308 billion to US$ 810 million. This meant a decrease in public expenditure of 26% in health, 56% in education and 63% in social security (Aseprola, 2006). This occurred partly because the dollars that had been flooding Honduras for the best part of the 80's in the form of official grants, were no longer being injected into the economy by the U.S. According to ASEPROLA, a Central American NGO whose mission is to promote and defend workers rights, especially those of the agro-industrial and manufacturing sectors, many studies concur that "the economic structural adjustment policies in this period made the poor, poorer and the rich, richer. This accentuated exclusion and increased the gap between social classes and gender; women, according to ASPEROLA, were the most affected." (Aseprola,2006).

According to Zukevas, adjustments to the economic reform policy were long overdue (Zukevas, 1999: 12). "The macroeconomic disequilibria (imbalances in the fiscal and external accounts) had increased to such an extent that a strong adjustment—orderly or disorderly—could not be avoided, since the failure to resolve the debt-arrears problem had begun to release repressed inflationary forces and to curtail economic activity because of the scarcity of foreign exchange" (Zukevas, 1999:12). During the first part of the 90's, Honduras began an aggressive economic policy reform. One of the first orders of action was to pass the law for Economic Structural Adjustment (Decree 18-90), which was approved in March 1990. This was the first major package to be implemented and it included a structural adjustments and stabilization plan. Other major actions taken during this first phase of economic restructure and adjustments were:

"(1) The devaluation of the Lempira from 2.00 to the dollar to 4.00; (2) an increase in the sales tax from 5% to 7%; (3) higher taxes on the consumption and production of petroleum products; (4) a temporary tax on exports to capture some of the windfall gains of the devaluation, (5) an accelerated reduction of external tariff rates, with the objective of lowering them to a range of 5%-20% by 1992, as well as a reduction in tariff surcharges; and (6) a package of measures, including food and urban-transport subsidies and the establishment of the *Fondo Hondureño de Inversión Social (FHIS)*, to mitigate the short-term effects of economic policy reforms on poor households" (Zukevas, 1999: 13).

"The implementation of these measures allowed Honduras to reach an agreement with international donors in June 1990 that provided resources permitting the country to clear its arrears with the IFIs (International Financial Institutions, for example, World Bank Group and IMF) and thus regain its eligibility to borrow. In July 1992 Honduras signed an Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) agreement with the IMF for SDR 40.48 million ($58.5 million), in support of measures to consolidate the stabilization and structural adjustment policies initiated in 1990" (Zukevas, 1999: 13).

"It is recognized that although structural economic adjustment seeks to establish positive long term effects on production growth rates and therefore on poverty reduction, in short term, while the economy is being reoriented, some measures can have negative effects on vulnerable groups"

(Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper for Honduras, 2001: 30)

Honduras and International Development Organizations

Introduction

In order to explain the battle against poverty in Honduras (as well as other countries within the Central American region) we have to recur to dozens of acronyms that stand for the names of programs and projects that aim at reducing it. The list of projects, their aims and their target groups lay across the different beaches, valleys, mountains, inner cities and barrios. Results of these interventions are somewhat tainted with pessimism, others vary subjectively between audiences and discourse.

"Honduras, like many other Latin American nations, is in a state of transition; it is caught between the troubled remnants of post-colonial dependency on American fruit companies, and the realization of an autonomous position within a globalizing world. As the country confronts the new millennium, it must battle widespread poverty, AIDS, class and racial struggles, and cultural as well as environmental degradation. Meanwhile, tourism is on the rise. For many Hondurans, this is an encouraging prospect, promising economic and social improvement. However, various forces and viewpoints exist, often conflicting with each other, on the subject of tourism development, each with serious implications for Honduras' people, environment, and future." (Montgomery, 2006: 81)

In order to elucidate "the forces" that Montgomery (2006) mentions in *Paradise in the Making: The Complexities of Tourism Development in Honduras,* international development organizations and their roles in advocating for sustainable tourism development (STD) as a mechanism for progress in Honduras will be posited. The following section of the present research will concentrate on the role of the World Bank and the IDB (Inter-American Development Bank) in establishing the sustainable tourism development rhetoric and its effect on gearing governmental policies in Honduras.

The World Bank the Inter-American Development Bank

Brief History of the World Bank

The origin of the World Bank extends back to the Bretton Woods conference (1944). After the Second World War, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund where established as "institutions that would serve as pillars to the new international economic order of the post war era" (Maestro, 2001: 1). It is noteworthy that the structure of the World Bank has remained significantly unchanged from its genesis (Maestro, 2001: 1).

To say that its structure has not changed over time does not mean that its function has remained static. Originally the World Bank was not geared towards development; it was oriented towards the reconstruction of post-war Europe. The institution was geared towards lending money to "countries that were in dire need of capital" and where having problems obtaining it (Maestro, 2001: 2). Although the World Bank played a large role in the reconstruction of Europe, it was significantly less than that of the Marshall Plan.

During this period the ideas of underdevelopment (or lack of access to capital) shifted the World Bank's attention from the reconstruction of Europe to the development of the countries that make up the world's periphery; what is now known as (and in relation to the north) the south. Maestro argues that even though this was not the original task of the World Bank, poverty and underdevelopment of the periphery "consolidated and legitimized" its presence and position as a financial institution (Maestro, 2001: 2).

The World Bank's function has grown dramatically; it is now a large and complex entity which includes five institutions. These institutions, which complement each other, are commonly known as the World Bank Group. These five separate arms are the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) and the International Center for Settlement of Investment disputes (ICSID). The IBRD and the IDA work directly with

governments and are what is commonly known as the World Bank. The IFC and the MIGA support private business in developing countries. The ICSID serves as referee when disagreements arise between foreign investors and governments. (World Bank Information Center, www.bicusa.org).

The World Bank and Sustainable Tourism Development in Honduras

"In the late 70s, after a decade of advocating the economic value of tourism through financing development loans and projects (Christie and Crompton, 2001; Mann, 2005), the bank jointly funded the first international seminar on tourism and development with UNESCO. This led to de Kadt's seminal publication, Tourism: Passport to Development, in 1979. His work was followed by theoretical research—well documented and discussed in Sharpley and Telfer (2002)—focused on development impacts. Among the most prominent, Britton's (1982) ''dependency model'' emphasizes that tourism may add to already apparent inequalities between North and South." (Hawkins and Mann, 2007:350).

In 1987, through the United Nations State of the Environment Report, tourism as a mechanism oriented towards sustainable development was legitimized This was due, in part, to the rhetoric of sustainable development that was gaining popularity during this period. "Hand in hand with ''sustainable development' went ''sustainable tourism,' and the ideology of environmental and social sustainability provided a new entry opportunity for the World Bank" (Hawkins and Mann, 2006: 351). "This was reinforced at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, when the signatories to the declaration formally adopted Agenda 21" (Hawkins and Mann, 2007: 352). Attention was drawn ''to maximize the potential of tourism for eradicating poverty by developing appropriate strategies in cooperation with all major groups and indigenous and local communities'' (Sharpley and Telfer 2002: 17). "This ideology built upon earlier critiques and advanced a new perspective, emphasizing community involvement, environmental conservation, and greater inclusion; what Burns (1999) might type as development first" (Hawkins and Mann, 2007: 352). The product of this marriage of lexicons and rhetoric between the United Nations Development Programs and the World Bank produced the Global

Environmental Fund[9], which "opened the door for tourism dimensions to be included in a host of new projects that used the economic benefits to justify the sustainability of investments for environmental and cultural preservation" (Hawkins and Mann, 2007: 357).

In the past decade, 78 Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC's) that were eligible to borrow money from the World Bank through the International Development Association (IDA), have mentioned sustainable tourism within their Poverty Reduction Strategy Report, as a means to combat and reduce extreme poverty. "Several (Ethiopia, Tanzania, Uganda, Ghana, Nigeria, Mozambique, Kenya, Cambodia, and Honduras) give it equal weight with agriculture and manufacturing (Hawkins and Mann, 2007: 353)". "Of the 44 countries that mention tourism in their poverty reduction strategy papers, only eight countries' assistance strategies (Ethiopia, Mozambique, Zambia, Cambodia, Honduras, Tanzania, Uganda, and Lesotho) acknowledge tourism in the form of earmarked funding commitments"(Hawkins and Mann, 2007: 353).

Conclusion

As hinted by the current chapter, Honduras has jumped on the sustainable tourism project bandwagon. It appears both as one (out of 44) of the 78 HIPC's that have included sustainable tourism as a means of poverty reduction, as well as one of eight countries that mention sustainable tourism within country assistance strategies in the form of earmarked funding. In relation to the Honduran National Sustainable Tourism Program, the World Bank has legitimized the use of sustainable tourism as a mechanism for progress and development. Even though it is not currently funding the program (this is being done by the Inter American Development Bank), it has geared national policy and public indebtedness and spending towards the achievement of these goals. The World Bank, apart from having impact on the public sector, also has great impact on the private sector. The private sector is offered, through the International Finance Corporation, technical assistance and micro finance instruments to "support the

[9] La Ruta Moskitia is a Honduran Award Winning tourism project funded by the Global Environmental Facility. It is listed in Conde Nast Magazine *Traveler's "Green List". For more information please visit http://www.larutamoskitia.com/*

creation of better linkages between large anchor investment and small scale supply business" (Hawkins and Mann, 2007: 358)[10]. The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) "offers risk mitigation guarantees to entities like a large hotel investor in politically turbulent destination" (Hawkins and Mann, 2007: 358). The World Bank is also "engaged in analytical work through an Enterprise Benchmarking Program that supports ongoing bank-wide efforts to define investment opportunities and binding constraints more explicitly through firm-level analysis using tools like the investment climate assessments and the doing business indices"(Hawkins and Mann, 2007: 358).

The Inter American Development Bank

Brief Introduction

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) was established on December 30th 1959 by the Special Advisory Commission of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the OAS. It was originally ratified by 18 countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haití, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and the United States) and had a startup resource of one billion dollars ($850 million of which was authorized for the ordinary capital and $150 million for the Fund for Special Operations). The IDB remains the main source of multilateral financing and expertise for sustainable economic, social and institutional development in Latin America and the Caribbean. (www.iadb.org).

The IDB Group is composed of the Inter-American Development Bank, the Inter-American Investment Corporation (IIC) and the Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF). The IIC focuses on support for small and medium-sized businesses, while the MIF promotes private sector growth through grants and investments, with an emphasis on microenterprise (www.iadb.org).

- [10] The Inter-American Bank was modeled after the World Bank. It includes within its aims the promotion of "regional integration by forging links among countries to develop larger markets for their goods and services". This is one of the driving forces legitimizing the aims of the Honduran National Sustainable Tourism Program.

The IDB's main goals are "to promote economic growth and regional integration in Latin America and the Caribbean" (www.iadb.org). It aims to do so in "environmentally and socially sustainable ways, in order to achieve lasting poverty reduction and greater social equity" (www.iadb.org).

According to the IDB's official website, the bank aims to:

- "Make countries more competitive by supporting policies and programs that increase their potential for development in the global economy."
- "Modernize the state by strengthening public institutions, increasing their efficiency and transparency."
- "Invest in programs and activities that expand economic opportunities for the low-income majority of the region's population."
- "Promote regional integration by forging links among countries to develop larger markets for their goods and services" (www.iadb.org).

The Inter American bank of development claims to have 5 strategic priorities:

- "In poverty reduction, it strengthens social safety networks."
- "In energy and climate change, it seeks to develop renewable energy sources and responses to the challenges posed by climate change."
- "In infrastructure, it promotes investment in better infrastructure, with a special focus on water and sanitation."
- "In education and innovation, it promotes effective social policies and programs and supports regional development of science and technology."

- *"In opportunities for the majority, it engages the private sector in social and development projects using market incentives and partnerships (www.iadb.org)*

The Inter American Bank of Development and the Implementation of the Honduran National Sustainable Tourism Program

"Honduras has identified poverty reduction as its major challenge. It has accordingly drawn up a poverty reduction strategy that enjoys the backing of the local and international community as part of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, for which Honduras has been eligible since December 1999.The country strategy is designed to assist the government with its efforts to reduce poverty by fostering stronger growth that can be sustained through greater competitiveness and increased production capacity for the poor. The strategic areas around which the IDB's action will be focused are: increasing the competitiveness of productive activities; enhancing the development of human capital, strengthening governance".

(IDB Country Strategy in Honduras, 2008)

In May of 2005, the Inter-American Development Bank "announced the approval of a $35 million soft loan to Honduras for a national sustainable tourism program designed to promote an industry with strong potential for boosting hard currency inflows, economic growth and employment"(IDB News Release, 2005)[11]. This loan was originally to be distributed within the program to different strategic projects that would enhance the Honduran tourism infrastructure. Original plans included construction of an airfield near the Mayan ruins in Copan, one of the most important touristic areas of Honduras; as well as the restoration of the archaeological site know as Rio Amarillo that lies 17 kilometers from Copan. The historical fort of San Fernando de Omoa would also have benefited from restorations and a center for scientific, academic, volunteering and educational tourism would be built near the Pico Bonito national park. Other investments included infrastructure for visitors on both protected areas of Tela Bay: Parque Nacional Jeanett Kawas and Punta Izopo. "In order to encourage private investment in the tourism industry, the program will finance basic infrastructure for the Los Micos development project, which will include two hotels with a total of 400 rooms, 130 villas and an 18-hole golf course"(IDB News Release, 2005). "The first phase of Los Micos has an estimated cost of $105 million. More than 80 percent of the total corresponds to hotels and recreation facilities, which will be financed by private sector

[11] IDB News Release of 2005 can be found in http://www.iadb.org/NEWS/detail.cfm?language=EN&id=1833

investors. Basic infrastructure will also be provided to the Garífuna communities of Tornabe and Miami, which are located on the area of the project. Another component of the program to be financed by the IDB was the creation of a special fund that would promote "nationwide participation of small businesses in the tourism industry in order to build a vital network of suppliers for the sector. The fund will offer matching grants as well as technical assistance" (IDB News Release, 2005).

All components of the program but the airfield were left on the loan proposal. The local government of Copan rallied against the idea of building an airfield that could have unearthed Mayan edifications due to air traffic generated vibration, and it petitioned UNICEF to leverage it's relationships with the World Heritage Status Copan to assuage the building of the airfield. Indeed, my in-situ field work revealed the basic infrastructure of the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort was well underway, and Fernando Ceballos, Director of the Tela Bay Technical Offices stated in an interview that he expected "the resort to be operating by the first quarter of 2009".

Conclusion

The World Bank and the IDB (which was initially modeled as the World Bank) have had great influence in establishing the sustainable development and sustainable tourism agenda in Honduras. With the IMF, they have steered the macro economical climate of Honduras in such a way that sustainable tourism has been included as a mechanism of progress up to par with agriculture and manufacturing , which are the current pillars of economic propulsion(Hawkins and Mann, 2007: 353). The capacity for mass tourism endeavors to meet the IDB's main objectives is still to be seen.

The Honduran National Sustainable Tourism Strategy in Relation to Poverty Reduction

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) where prepared by Honduras through a participatory process involving "domestic stakeholders as well as external development partners, including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund" (www.imf.org). Basically these papers produce a snapshot of the macro economic situation of a country, detail the most urgent needs in policy restructuring and define "structural and

social policies and programs over a three year or longer horizon to promote broad-based growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated external financing needs and major sources of financing" (www.imf.org).

In the case of Honduras, poverty is attributed to low per capita income as well as slow economic growth. Other factor that define Honduras' status as poor are the inequalities between the rich and poor, the lack of access for the general public to means of production, low income levels, low levels of education and demographic dynamics, including its alleged pressure on natural resources. In the past, the efforts to eradicate poverty in Honduras have fallen short due to targeting problems, where public funds fail to reach the poorest citizens. During the 80's, when grants from the U.S where flowing in order to stabilize the country during the Central American crisis, many projects geared at upgrading the industrial sector failed to deliver the desired results and cash ended up in the pockets the powerful and corrupt elite. By utilizing a more participatory process, these targeting problems will hopefully be significantly reduced.

The Honduran National Sustainable Tourism Strategy (HNSTS) aims to contribute with the National Poverty Reduction papers in six of the strategies proposed axes, they are as follow:

1) **Economic Growth**: The HNSTS will contribute with administrative simplification, investment promotion, promotion of the country's image, quality certifications, development of business clusters and concession of tourism infrastructure, . (e.g.) hotels, luxury cruise docks, airports, etc.
2) **Reduction of Rural Poverty**: Capacity Building and professional formation for the rural population and small and medium enterprises. Granting of access to basic services, development and diversification of products and employment, and inclusion of ethnic groups and other vulnerable groups, (e.g.). women, children and the elderly.
3) **Reduction of Urban Poverty**: Small and medium enterprises as well as larger conglomerates, improvement of the urban layout, restoration of national

heritage sites, creation of tourism circuits between communities, events and conventions and improved access to basic infrastructure.

4) **Poverty Reduction Strategy Sustainability**: Institutional strengthening, decentralization, socio-cultural and environmental sustainability.
5) **National Security**: Touristic police, information centers.
6) **Human Capital Improvement**: Capacitating and educating to create a tourism and service culture in Honduras, strengthening of national identity.

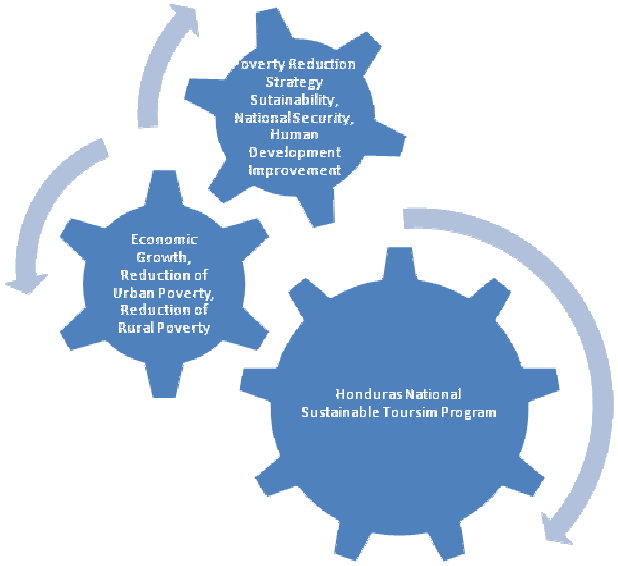


figure 7 Gearing up Sustainable Tourism Development in Honduras

Conclusion

In this chapter, the general characteristics of Honduras and a historical context of its current macro economic climate have been presented. The historical dependency of this country to foreign intervention, as well as technical and financial aid, have steered its development (or rather underdevelopment) to its actual state. Because Honduras relies so heavily on foreign aid, its auto determination is depleted by the conditionalities attached to these loans. It must rely on International Development Organizations and International Financial Institutions that promote neoliberalism, along with its open market policies to insert itself within global markets. The marriage of poverty reduction and sustainable tourism as a mechanism to reduce poverty, and the presence of the World Bank as well as the Inter-American Development Bank serve as evidence of the prevailing neoliberal policy agenda.

The WB and the IDB both situate the United States as the most powerful stockholder. The U.S has great influence over their Modus Operandi and their hegemonic and interventionist structure is reproduced in a post colonial manner. In the middle of this puppet show are the excluded and the vulnerable; the ones who are supposedly targeted to be beneficiaries. Yet, in Tela Bay, the union of poverty reduction and sustainable tourism are causing great impacts on Garífuna communities within the area of the Los Micos project. Even though this project is in its initial stages, the pressure of its presence has been enough to displace a complete Garífuna community. It has also spawned a new alleged Garífuna community that is claiming ancestral land rights. Land speculation is generating a great conflict of interests. The Garífuna culture of Honduras faces a unique challenge: Their survival as a culture depends on their ability to protect themselves from the negative forces of progress. Although there most certainly is a positive side to development, in this instance, the potential transformation of this culture by the presence of mass tourism could be irreversible. Such was the

unfortunate case of Miami, which went from being one of the few traditional Garífuna villages to a deserted lot of private property.

Chapter 4

The Garífuna in Honduras

Introduction

The previous chapter attempted to establish the macroeconomic context (in relation to sustainable tourism development of Tela Bay, Honduras) in which the Garífuna are currently playing a role. The idea behind connecting both the macroeconomic context of sustainable tourism development with the ethno history of the Garífuna, is to provide the reader with a vantage point from which to understand the importance of ethnicity (as well as culture and identity) to the Garífuna and to provide a link to the origins of its use as a mechanism of resistance. "Whenever the objective of research is to warn developmental agencies or individuals about what looms ahead in the future and the effects of following or not, certain policies; the starting point is always the recent past or better yet the present (Gonzalez, 2008). "Contemporary Garífuna research reveals that without a doubt ethnicity has become a very important factor to them, a sort of conscious value (even though they might not be consciously aware of it) as a way to improve their position within the complex modern societies in which they live in (Gonzalez, 2008:XXVii).

For the task ahead the current research will rely on two bodies of work on Garífuna Culture and ethno genesis. This are Ruy Galvao de Andrade Coehlo's "Black Caribs of Honduras" (Andrade, 2002) and Nancie Gonzalez's "Sojourners of the Caribbean: Ethno genesis and Ethno history of the Garífuna" (Gonzalez, 2008). Apart from field work and previous experiences working closely with this ethnic group, these books have greatly influenced the current research's understanding of the Garífuna in Honduras.

Ethno history of the Garífuna

Origins

St. Vincent and the Antilles (1668-1797)

The emergence of the Garífuna as a distinct ethnic group has its origins in the Island of St. Vincent. They are the descendants of "African slaves (that survived a shipwreck, as well as fugitives from plantations of nearby isles) and Island Carib Indians who granted them asylum," (Andrade, 2002: 31). This tropical island of St. Vincent is a beautiful and fertile island, whose mountains and rivers have created well irrigated, fertile valleys, heavily wooded before the end of the nineteenth century.

The Spanish were the first to arrive to its coasts. Since they did not find pearls, silver or gold in respectable quantities, they left it basically untouched and shifted their attention to more lucrative conquests. Even so, certain commerce was established between the Spaniards and the Island Caribs, as well as a mutual traffic of slaves, which ultimately extended to other European partners. This lasted for the next two centuries (Gonzalez, 2008).

The Island of St. Vincent was considerably less invaded by Europeans than neighboring islands. An agreement between the French and the English was one of the reasons why this island was not yet fully colonized, this treaty established the island as a neutral land (a way for Spain, England and France to keep each other in check), and it would be granted property to the Island Caribs (Gonzalez, 2008; Andrade, 2002).

After the peace of Utrecht (1713), the English increased their presence in St. Vincent, but did not establish any permanent settlements until later on. The French, on the other hand, had successfully established a handful of permanent settlements, and had cultivated positive rapport with the Caribs. It was during this time that Nathaniel Uring observed in 1722 that some of the Caribs already spoke French and that they had mixed considerably with the "Africans" (Gonzalez, 2008).

In 1763, the treaty of Paris established St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, Granada and the Grenadines within English rule. Guadalupe and Martinique came to be French, as well as Santa Lucia. It was around this time that the British began a more proactive establishment of sugar cane plantations in St. Vincent (Gonzalez, 2008; Andrade, 2002).

Even though the French had ceded St. Vincent to the English, they had kept their ties with the "natives" of St. Vincent; the majority of which, during this time where already known as "Negros" (Gonzalez, 2008; Andrade, 2002).

Around 1772, the British brought in troops from Boston, and decided to subjugate the Island Caribs of St. Vincent. They established a treaty in which the Island Caribs forfeited all of their land, except for four thousand acres on the northwestern part of the island. Under this agreement that was finally ratified in 1773, the Island Caribs would live under rule and law of the British crown, they were to abstain from commerce with the "French isles", and if deemed necessary they were required to help the British Crown allay its enemies (Andrade, 2002).

During the American war of independence in 1776, the Black Caribs of St. Vincent rebelled against the British. "The terror they (Black Caribs) inspired amongst the British ranks was a pivotal point in their surrendering the island without a struggle to the French invasion forces" (Andrade, 2002: 41). St. Vincent was delivered again to British rule after a peace treaty between France and Britain in 1783; the French government did not include any stipulation within this treaty with respect to their allies. Andrade (2002) states that the British treated the Black Caribs as "ignorant, deceived people who deserved compassion instead of vengeance; it was accorded, prudently and generously, and with mutual consent, that their past offences were going to be forgotten "(Andrade, 2002:41). Thus, the Black Caribs of St. Vincent were left to prosper, having won certain respect from their neighbors.

The decade that followed is remembered as the golden age for the Black Caribs that would later on be known as the Garífuna. Yurumain (the Carib word for the island of St. Vincent) is remembered in songs and tradition as a sort of paradise. The Black Caribs where assigned by the British a part of the island that had fertile lands. Even though the

coastline was dangerous and in the past had proved fatal for many European boats, it had been tamed by the Black Caribs. Their cultural heritage of African and native navigators, permitted them to trade with boats that where anchored at a safe distance from the savage shores (Andrade, 2002).

During this period, prosperity reigned for the Black Caribs. The majority of them spoke French and English fluently, as well as their own language, of which they were very proud (Andrade, 2002). They bought slaves, especially women that could work the land. Also, Black Carib leaders were eager to buy commodities like bread and wine and to build European styled houses. Sir William Young's impression of free black women was that of "walking around with colorful clothing with golden earrings and necklaces. They were the most 'arrogant creatures' he had ever seen" (Andrade, 2002: 42). According to Gonzalez, the economy of the Black Caribs during this period was well over the level of subsistence (Gonzalez, 2008: 45). They managed to establish plantations and other agricultural production systems that provided them with a surplus with which they could trade and barter (Gonzalez, 2008).

The idea of Black Caribs owning successful plantations did not settle well with English landowners. This idea, plus the fresh memories of the rebellion during the American Revolution during which the Black Caribs expelling them form their own lands, began to advance animosity between both parties. Meanwhile, in Europe, the French revolution had exploded and its ideals began to permeate into the dispossessed; the free slaves and the Mulatos, as well as poor white people. The Black Caribs strengthened their ties with the French, in part because they distrusted the English, and in part because they wanted a political system that would guarantee their right to the land. It was only a matter of time before the French Revolution reached the Antilles.

In 1794, "guerilla warfare had broken in Santa Lucia and Dominica and insurgent slaves and dispossessed whites, as well as free colored people made up the front" (Andrade, 2002: 43). Eventually, the revolution hit Haiti and made the British weary of the repercussions of sharing the island of St. Vincent with so many Black Caribs. According

to Gonzalez, there were enough Black Caribs to raise havoc if polluted by the revolution, Gonzalez (2008: 48).

It was in 1795 that Chatoyer, chief of chiefs of the Black Caribs proclaimed their adhesion to The Revolution. Almost immediately, British plantations where attacked and burned. According to Andrade, the British prisoners captured in Chateu Bellair where assassinated in cold blood.

If the British- African slaves had joined the Black Caribs in this revolt, the victory would have been secured, but "great animosity existed between them and the British slaves that fought aside their masters", (Andrade, 2008: 44). This made it possible for the English to fend off the attacks until fresh reinforcements arrived, and thus The Revolution of Chatoyer was stopped in the Island of St. Vincent. After this incident, the "prisoners of war" where expelled from St. Vincent. They were vanished to Balliceaux while the rest of the Black Caribs where being hunted on main land St. Vincent. Balliceaux became rapidly overcrowded and they were again transferred to another island, this time to Bequia. As fate would have it, Bequia would not be the Black Caribs' last destination. At least 5,040, Black Caribs were allegedly captured and loaded onto two warships and a brigantine that were under the orders of Captain Barret. "The date mentioned in the archives is April, 1797" (Andrade, 2002: 45).

Honduras, Central America (1797-Present Day)

Every year on the 12th of April, the Honduran Garífuna community celebrates the day of their arrival to Honduran soil. Each year they reenact their arrival to that land. "They slip out to sea in boats, and then ride the surf onto shore, waving palm fronds and banana leaves to symbolize the cassava that sustained their ancestors.[12] This ritual, rich in music and dance, helps sustain Garífuna culture" (Post, 2001).

The Black Caribs that reached Punta Gorda on the Island of Roatan in the historic deportation were no longer unsophisticated free slaves from St. Vincent. According to

[12] To watch this ritualized reenactment of the Garifuna arrival to Central America please watch http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qyDuQrvF2io and http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tMcloOBiSIs&feature=related

Gonzalez, before they were deported they managed to develop methods of food production and storage and "the beginnings of what could be considered a foreign policy" (Gonzalez, 2008: 73). They had adapted to new crops and the domestication of birds, pigs and livestock. Anderson (1797: 61) writes in his memoires: "They were not ignorant peoples. Because of their great communication with the Europeans, they were more intelligent than any other race of savages" (Gonzalez, 2008: 73).

Another brief glimpse of the Garífuna during this period comes from a description that Gonzalez notes as appearing on the Methodist Missionary Society's ledgers where an aristocratic Lady from St. Vincent writes: "I saw many of them, they are quite civilized and some even know how to read. There is something very noble in the spirit and the customs they have developed; it certainly surpasses that of common Negros in general" (Gonzalez, 2008: 73).

Gonzalez theorizes that before Black Caribs were deported from St. Vincent, the Island Caribs had been absorbed by the Black Caribs. "By 1763 the Black Carib Society had entered a new phase; with different characteristics form their predecessors" (Gonzalez, 2008: 73). They had incorporated Afro European structures within their societal institutions, and they had also incorporated the ecological scenarios they had come in contact with. The fact that their access to land had diminished notably during British oppression had forced the Black Caribs to shift from doing commerce with other Caribbean Islands to negotiating and strengthening commercial ties with the Europeans (Gonzalez, 2008: 73). "The conquest and eventual exile of the Black Caribs of St. Vincent (partly) destroyed a society that had reached a greater level of sophistication and development than what scholars and present day Garífuna would have imagined" (Gonzalez, 2008: 75).

Because the Spanish and the English where at war, in May of 1797 a considerable Spanish military force was sent to Roatan to survey and possibly quell any resistance from the Black Caribs that had been left there by the English (possibly because the British thought they would be a nuisance to the Spanish). Don Jose Rossi y Rubi was in command and upon arrival to the Island of Roatan did not find any signs of resistance.

Amicable relations were established between the Spanish and the Black Caribs and they were eventually permitted to travel to main land Honduras and help reconstruct Trujillo, which had been burned for a third time by pirates. By the end of 1779, only a few families had stayed in the community of Punta Gorda, Roatan (Andrade, 2002: 45).

The Black Caribs that had managed to escape the exodus of 1779 eventually became tolerated by the English but were confined to a reservation near Morne Ronde, St.Vincent. By 1877, only three hundred Black Caribs were to be found in St. Vincent.

The abrupt geographical relocation the Black Caribs experienced during this period in their history "made little difference to them". "Wars, revolutions and conflicts of all nature have surrounded them till present times" (Andrade, 2002: 46). Actually, it is suggested both in Andrade (2002) and Gonzalez (2008), that the incorporation of Black Caribs to the military ranks of the Spanish army fostered great respect and acceptance of their arrival. In 1820, a relatively small fleet of insurgents from the recently established Republic of Colombia, which was commanded by a man named Aury, attacked Trujillo. The port was defended by regular troops and by a company of Black Caribs under the orders of their own officials who "fought gallantly" (Andrade, 2002: 46). The enemy was forced to retreat back to their boats. "The defense of Trujillo cost the Black Caribs many lives, including the life of two left-tenants, but the losses were compensated by the privileges vested on the Black Caribs by the colonial rule. These privileges where maintained even after Spanish rule, where the privileges of the Morenos[13] were completely recognized within Honduras' first Constitution" (Andrade, 2002: 46).

War, revolution and dissention were main reasons for the Garífuna expansion over the Caribbean Coast of Central America. After Honduras gained independence from Spain, the Black Caribs sided with the Conservative Party in 1832. The aim of the conservative party was to once again reinstate Spanish rule over Central America. This party was completely defeated in the battles of Tercales, Trujillo and La Ofrecedera. The Federation of Central American States was consolidated after this maneuver. The

[13] Morenos became a euphemism of people who presented African or Negroid characteristics. This term became synonymous over time with the Black Caribs/Garifuna.

Black Caribs that had sided with the Conservatives were mercilessly persecuted. Many fled to British Honduras (modern day Belize) and established a community in Stann Creek(renamed in recent times under the Garífuna name Dangriga). Others migrated towards the east where they found refuge within the Miskito Kingdom. The Miskito King "treated them with kindness and respect and permitted them to settle on the lands west of Rio Tinto" (Andrade, 2002: 47).

After this period of expansion, specifically during the second half of the nineteenth century the majority of Black Caribs where converted to Christianity. The strength of the Catholic Church was an inevitable force, and with the aid of Padre Subirana (known as the Apostol of the Black Caribs), the Black Caribs were evangelized. Andrade makes a note on the fact that even though the Black Caribs embraced Christianity, they did not abandon their own religious practices, but rather integrated them with the new ones (Andrade, 2002: 47).

After independence, Honduras became a state in transition. Francisco Morazán had come into power of the Central American Federation. He began the transformation of Honduras into a modern republic with massive social and economic development projects, separated the state from the church and instituted freedom of religion. During this period, the Creole elite and the church organized counter revolutions to defeat Morazán's idealistic movement. The Black Caribs, who "were not really sophisticated in their political philosophy", would side with the highest bidder (Gonzalez, 2008: 100). Gonzalez explains that apart from economic factors, religious reasons might have also tilted the balance on the sides they chose (Gonzalez, 2008: 100). History would condemn the Black Carib's choice of side when armed revolutionary forces, which were commanded by the Central American Federation's first president Manuel Jose Arce, attacked Morazán's forces on three different fronts. Morazán managed to win on all three fronts. The Black Caribs fearing persecution and oppression, again fled towards Belize; where wealthy merchants where supporting Arce's cause (Gonzalez, 2008: 101). Another reason for this exodus might have been the proliferation of cholera in 1830. It is believed to have penetrated into Honduras from Belize, and it devastated the Black Carib population from 1833 to 1837 (Gonzalez, 2008: 102). Even though the threat of

cholera was high during this time period, the government of Honduras made many attempts to have the Black Caribs come back to Honduras and Guatemala. The Central American government recognized and valued the Black Carib manpower (Gonzalez, 2008).

Beaucage (1966) and Davidson (1979) have manifested that by 1830, the Black Caribs had already established their current patterns of life as well as their communities (Gonzales, 2008). From the mid 19th century to mid 20th Century, Honduras knew little of peaceful times. By the end of the 19th century, as the Honduran historian Romulo E. Duron puts it, "every Honduran had raised arms against each other" (Duron, 1927: 178). "During the first half of the 20th century, revolutions continued one after the other" (Andrade, 2002: 48). Out of pure exhaustion of resources and probably manpower, a central authority was established, although not for long. In 1929, the Garífunas sided with the liberal party who managed to position a Constitutional President, Mr. Vicente Mejia Colindres. Soon after, Mejia Colindres was replaced by a coup de stat by Tiburcio Carias Andino who became dictator from 1933 to 1949. The Black Caribs who had fought on the Liberal Party's' side where apprehended and accused of conspiracy. In 1939, the whole community of San Juan in Tela Baywas accused of having smuggled liberal leader Jesus Umana into Honduras. All the men of the community where lined up on the beach and forced to dig their own graves, they where then shot on the spot and buried. The only ones to survive the carnage were the Garífuna that where off to sea, fishing; they escaped persecution again by reaching British soil in Belize (Andrade, 2002: 48).

Conclusion of the Present Section

In conclusion to this preliminary introduction to the Garífuna ethno history, the Garífuna culture, from which claims to differentiated ethnicity stem , can be attributed to absorbing and assimilating the many cultures they encountered. This is why Gonzalez has characterized the Garífuna as "Neoteric", or having shallow roots (Gonzalez, 2008: 117). Gonzalez (2008) claims that the Garífuna culture contains elements from Island

Caribs, and cultural patterns of the West Indies, Ladinos and Miskito. "The Garífuna[14] are a new socio cultural entity which is trying to find its own place within a complex modern society. They are not only known as a distinct ethnic group in Central America, but New York, New Orleans, Los Angeles and London as well" (Gonzalez, 2008: 118). The following section will be based on Gonzalez' (2008) analysis of the Garífuna in relation to development. This will be done in order to place the last pieces of the research puzzle on the table so that the organizing process in the analysis chapter will permit a clear focus of the picture once assembled.

The Garífuna in Relation to Development

To place the Garífuna within a context of development is a difficult task. The main reason for this is that the Garífuna are a transnational ethnic group. The Garífuna are peppered throughout the Caribbean Coast of Central America, from Belize to Nicaragua. Gonzalez questions the validity of this by stating that the "planning and discussion around development has always been defined territorially, nationally, regionally or within small communities" (Gonzalez, 2008: 280). Not many development projects have been aimed at organizing dispersed ethnic groups and at the same time improving their socioeconomic conditions (Gonzalez, 2008).

In many cases development projects are managed by the national governments. These projects are subordinated to "leaders of political units [majors and governors] and in many cases, the central government by way of a Ministry" [as in the case of the Honduran Sustainable Tourism Program] (Gonzalez, 2008: 280). "Anthropologists and Social Scientists have for some time now, been pointing out the problem plural societies have in relation with a sector of the population dominating another" (Gonzalez, 2008: 281). This diminishes the controlled groups' access to power of self determination. "Even though development projects are aimed at improving general conditions of less fortunate groups, these have little or no say in the design of these projects. This is a major reason why many development projects fail to reach the target groups and the predetermined goals. The idea that these less fortunate groups cannot opt for self

[14] Garinagu is the term used to characterize the Black Caribs as a whole and Garifuna is the term used for the Black Caribs language, music, food and culture.

determination because of no education, their apparent backwardness and lack of ambition is ludicrous. Accordingly, a bottom up approach must not become the new rhetoric used to fully legitimize an optional panacea to a developmental approach (Gonzales, 2008).

"The example set by the Garífuna is an instructive one. Here we have a group of people that during hundreds of years have managed themselves in a very effective way, even when they've had to confront problems that would seem insuperable. First the French, then the British, later on the Spanish and finally the different Central America Governmental forces (that culturally where still European (Gonzalez, 2008: 281).

This capacity to survive will now be put to the test in a modern context. The pressures of globalization, migration and displacement from their rural communities to urban landscapes pose a unique threat to the Garífuna. In Gonzalez' (2008) opinion this might be an impossible task. The thesis behind her book states that the Garífuna are no longer in control of their own destiny because the contemporary world system to which they have constantly been adapting in a culturally and psychologically way during all their history as a distinct ethnic group has devastated and destroyed the ecological niche that they have dominated (Gonzalez, 2008).

Conclusion

The book *Sojourners of the Caribbean* was originally published in English in 1988. Since then Gonzalez's thesis is yet to be proved. The end of this infant ethnic group seems to have been around the corner many times (as shown on the previous chapter). Yet, they have survived the sometimes brutal effects of modernization. Still, some continue to live in their villages, singing their songs, reciting their poems, cooking their food and speaking their language[15]. They are still referred to as undeveloped pirates, cannibals and so on. It seems that one of the most prevailing characteristics of the Garífuna has been their capacity to maneuver within the realms of an ever actualizing modernization of the new world order. They've had to accommodate to their

[15] According to Gonzalez(2008) the language had been unwritten until the 1960's.

surroundings and prevailing systems of rule. By interiorizing externalities through assimilating changes that have buried so many other ethnic groups in Honduras, as well as the rest of the world, they have built a capacity of survival that interests the current research.

Chapter 5 Analysis

Introduction to the Analysis Chapters

Introduction

The Garífunas' complex history is directly linked with European colonization and expansion of the Caribbean. They are the product of a series of world system shifts throughout the timeline of their existence. The Garífuna have weathered "various episodes of global political and economic intrusion, uprooting, and subjugation, this is probably more typical of the majority of the world's poor and exploited population groups than that of more traditionally-defined indigenous people" (Matthei and Smith, 2008: 217). The Garífunas have been pressured, if not forced, to create transnational networks. These networks have originated as products of adaptation to (neo) colonialism and (neo) imperialism. During colonial times, as well as Imperialistic domination, the Garífunas feverishly tried to differentiate themselves from the common slaves brought from Africa. "Black Caribs shocked at the thought of resembling men who were degraded by slavery, and fearing that some time or other their color, which betrayed their origin, might be made pretence for enslaving them, took refuge in the thickest parts of the forest. In this situation, in order to imprint an indelible mark of distinction upon their tribe, that might be a perpetual token of their independence, they flattened the foreheads of all their children as soon as they were born" (Winterbotham, C.,1795: 287).

Many years have passed and many have been the struggles of the Garífuna to emplace themselves within world systems. This constant struggle has led the Garífuna to disperse over long distances. From Africa and St. Vincent to the Caribbean Coast of Central America, they have now sojourned their way into the United States and even Europe. There are many differences between the Garífuna of the present and the Garífuna of the past. Even though these differences between old and new exist, the old forms are being evoked to establish a new form. No longer do they practice the art of flattening foreheads to differentiate themselves; they have fallen back on other (more modern) methods; primarily the establishment of a flexible collective identity.

Over time they have learned to adapt and to capitalize on opportunities. The Garífuna are now being recognized as a distinct ethnic identity. Ethnicity, as Schultz puts it, is "*not* something to be preserved or lost but rather a process of identification at a particular moment to cope with historical Realities" (Schultz, 1994: 11). This definition explores an interesting avenue into the use of culture, identity and ethnicity as strategic complements to the struggles, adaptations and resistance of the Garífuna in relation to sustainable tourism development in Tela Bay, Honduras. By falling back on this distinction to cope with contemporary reality, they have managed to capitalize on political opportunities, infiltrate the state apparatus and create grass roots organizations and an NGO that defends and protects their interests. Community councils extend all the way to community members that have migrated to the United States, a community which serves as a very important piece of the puzzle. Through remittances, they offer access to financial aid needed to build infrastructure, improve family economies as well as provide resources for mobilizations if needed.

The idea behind ethnicity and the power it evokes has been used in Tela Bay by what I will call the Garífuna Collective as a resource in itself in order to resist, adapt and struggle for self determination, autonomy and inclusion. In the same way, the power behind the Garífuna Collective has been used to back up the use of sustainable tourism development. I will argue that it is this apparent dichotomous ambivalence towards the development of Tela Bay will offer an entry point into the type of organization to which the Garífuna have adapted the resources (tangible or intangible) they are capable of efficiently mobilizing in order to have a certain level of incidence over their future, no matter how much or how little it is.

My thesis revolves around the idea that the Garífuna Collective of Honduras has acquired the characteristics of social movements as a modern adaptation, a mechanism of defense and resistance against the negative side effects of the current world system, personified in this case as development of sustainable tourism of Tela Bay, Honduras. The present chapter will analyze the data gathered during fieldwork in

Honduras[16] by using the new social movement theories and resource mobilization theory framework as a lens through which to focus the particularities of this case study.

The analysis of the current research will be divided into two sections. The first section begins by explaining the 'whys' of a Garífuna Social movement through NSMT's. This will be followed by an introduction to other important actors and their roles in relation to the case study. The subsection that follows will concentrate on constructing a picture of the 'hows' of Garífuna Organization through RMT's, as well as to elucidate the possibilities of the existence of a Garífuna Social Movement and its structural outcomes.

The second section will present the case study of sustainable development of Tela Bay. I will partition this cases study into three subsections: Miami and the loss of land, Barra Vieja and the Pressures of High Interests, and finally Tornabe as an example of things to come.

As a final statement I will provide a reflection on the use of Social Movement Theories to elucidate the intricacies behind the ways sustainable tourism development in Tela Bay, Honduras have affected the Garífuna and vice versa.

[16] Fieldwork was undertaken between the months of July and December of 2008. The research did his fieldwork research in Tornabe, Miami, Tela, San Juan de Tela, Ensenada and Trifunfo de la Cruz. Tornabe and Miami where used as the social-spatial background for the study. Other Garifuna villages where used as a means to provide points of reference. Tegucigalpa and Tela provided access to governmental and private agencies as well as bibliographical sources.

A Cast of Characters and Their Role in Relationship to Sustainable Tourism Development of Tela Bay, Honduras.

The Garífuna of Tela Bay, Ethnic Identity and their Struggle against the loss of Ancestral Lands

Falling Back on Ethnic Identification as an adaptation that suits resistance: avenues to understanding the '*whys'* of a Garífuna Social Movement through the lens of NSMT's.

In order to begin this section we must revisit the concepts of ethnicity and (collective) identity; which are important foundations of New Social Movement Theories. As stated before in the words of Schultz *ethnicity, is* "not something to be preserved or lost but rather a process of identification at a particular moment to cope with historical realities" (Schultz, 1994: 11). Adams defines ethnicity as "any population whose members define their collective survival in terms of replicating a shared identity, through socially defined cultural and biological reproduction" (Adams, Unpublished: 13).

New Social Movement theories assign great interest to "collective identity and cultural struggles" (Veliz, 2007: 3). We can understand collective identity as "a negotiated process in which the 'we' involved in collective action is elaborated and given meaning" (W.A. Gamson, 1992: 56). After being confronted with these definitions, questions about Garfuna identity as a 'we' arise. What is the definition of Garífuna collective ethnic identity that best serves the current research? I would define Garífuna collective ethnic identity in this specific case as a set of shared socio cultural characteristics that over time(re)define the Garífuna ethnic group with the aim of increasing their power of negotiation with a less differentiated, more generic and dominant population. This definition of collective identity adheres to "Melluci's (1995) process approach to collective identity" (Beckwith, 1998: 149). Melucci's process approach to collective identity sees identity collectively constructed within four important factors: "the continuity of a subject over and beyond variations in time and its adaptations to the environment; the limitation of this subject with respect to others;

the ability to recognize and be recognized; and the defining responses and initiatives of the opponents and observers of the group" (Melluci, 1994: 45).

Garífuna Ethnicity and Identity as a Mechanism of Recognition and Resistance

Identity can be subtle or amplified, depending on the audience and on the context. Identity can also be transmitted by phenotypic traits, but in the case of the Garfiuna this trait of their identity has been under a period of adaptation in response to the pressures of current times. A Garífuna is defined more by his or her culture, food, Cosmo vision and language than by the color of his or her skins and phenotype (Gonzalez, 2008). Many Ladinos have been absorbed by Garífuna communities. It is also not uncommon to find within Garífuna communities Garífuna who present an ancient recessive gene hinting the appearance of Amerindian ancestry. In the section of *Barra Vieja: The Pressure of High Interest*, we will explore further these adaptations of the use of ethnicity as a means of resistance towards the development of sustainable tourism of Tela Bay.

As mentioned before, the identity of an Ethnic group (ethnic identity) can be subtle or overt. Adams reminds us that there are at least two angles to approach the definition of Identity. One is the characteristics the ethnic group uses to define its own identity. And the other angle is the way "outsiders", define the ethnic group's characteristics (Adams, unpublished: 15). The power relation that this term connotes is one that can be used to define the relationship between the Garífuna and the other stakeholders. By selecting differentiating features, the Garífuna have colonized a social space that has afforded them access to great visibility within the Honduran population, as well as a place on the international platform. They have become internationally proclaimed by the UNESCO as of the 18th of May of 2001, as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (UNESCO, 2001). The ILO, through Convention No. 169(ILO, 1989) has given them access to international rights and recognition. The ethnic group status has also provided the Garífuna with the capacity to lobby for protection from human rights violations with the Inter American Commission of Human Rights, an important ally

for some Garífuna organizations who denounce abuse from the state and the general public through these channels.

The Garífuna, throughout their relatively short history have been amplifying and playing down their cultural traits. These cultural traits serve as cues that define ethnicity within a specific historical context. During the English presence in Belize and after slavery had been abolished, Garífuna played down their Amerindian heritage so that they could 'blend in' and maximize on the upward mobility realized by the handpicked Creole population (Adams, Unpublished). The Creole origins have roots in the British employed African forced labor which extracted valuable resources, especially wood. Previously they had used their Amerindian/African heritage to differentiate themselves from the degradation of slavery and all the connotations the power relationship had. After the abolition of slavery, the Garífuna of Belize moved below the previously enslaved Creoles in the social hierarchy, and began changing their French names to English names.

Another relatively recent example is the Garífuna separating themselves from the "Black" Carib prefix. During World War II, the Garífuna started immigrating to the United States; specifically Los Angeles, New Orleans, Houston and especially New York. Since this wave of emigration landed them in predominantly black communities, they differentiated by again falling back on their African heritage as well as their origins as non-slave, non-colonized peoples. This maneuvering has permitted them to distance themselves from the connotations implied by the "black" prefix before Caribbean, as well as the idea of being 'black' (and the negative images it evokes) in the United States of America (Adams, Unpublished).

It was around the time of the 1960's when the Garífuna began another chameleonic (re)differentiation that they borrowed from the North American Civil Rights movements. Many children of that first big wave of migrant workers to the United States had access to education in American universities and applied the acquired philosophies to the furthering of their collective identities. Some of these children returned to their places of origin and established the foundations for current Garífuna organizations. This certainly

made the Garífuna's struggles more visible at national and international levels. This also began their systematic inclusion into the current world system by adapting their ethnic identity to fit the emerging categories and trends of modernity (Protected Areas, NGO's, and Social Movements). In Honduras, their discourse became more and more culturally charged, and by the 1990's the discourse that linked their harmonious coexistence with nature (due to struggles for access to resources in recently established protected areas) had become very well established. A defining characteristic of this period of consolidation for the Honduran Garífuna was their cultural inclusion into the collective identity of Honduras. Their music, dance and food helped them established themselves as symbols of the cultural heritage projected by Honduras. Since the Garífuna are found on basically all the Caribbean Coast of Honduras, the contact with national and foreign tourists only increased their marketing value. Their rich and colorful cultural antics made for great photographs and stories, a perfect attraction that the Honduran Tourism Institute has used as a marketing ploy.

In relationship to the Development of Sustainable Tourism of Tela bay, the Garífuna ethnicity is the key reason why they have been able to introduce themselves into the development process. They were excluded from the planning process (although the IHT/IDB claims that it was a consultative process) but pressured to be included (by using the 'aggrieved ethnic group card') into the development process itself. The Garífuna of Tela have been granted by the Government of Honduras 7% of the shares of the private/public touristic project as well as infrastructural upgrades of two of the Garfiuna communities that neighbor the project area.

The Garífuna and their Struggle against the Loss of Ancestral Lands

The Garífuna state that their ethnic identity is "directly linked to the sea, the beaches, the coconut trees and the land where{they} we have built our {their} communities and cultivate yucca" (Interview with Alfredo Lopez, OFRANEH). The organization that engages with cultural preservation of the Honduran Garífuna Collective (OFRANEH) openly states and affirms that their culture is a direct expression of their surroundings.

-"*Without ancestral lands, we have no place in life for ourselves, our children and our ancestors" (Interview with Alfredo Lopez, Vice President of OFRANEH).*

The interests behind the lands that the Garífuna have been populating for more than 200 years, has for a long time, been the major rallying point for this ethnic group. Fruit companies, local companies, cattle ranchers, municipalities and more recently Tourism enterprises have encroached on these lands. A big problem behind this land situation is that the Garífuna are not predominantly farmers. The type of agriculture they do practice is a rotating style agriculture in which land that has been previously used and harvested is left to rest for a harvest season or two. These 'resting' lands are seen as a waste of potentially productive space and this provides an excuse for their invasion by Ladino farmers or other interested parties.

The characteristics these lands have make them, in most cases, perfect places for tourism related endeavors, yet the Garífuna are not generally engaged with developing their lands in this manner. They see them as fixed points of space that where handed down to them by their ancestors to care for, land that provides the necessary resources to guarantee their biological as well as cultural survival. It is a point of reference from which to reinforce their ancestral claim to the space occupied from within a plural society.

-"The example we have from our ancestors is that of taking care of the land so that we can use it and harvest it in order to feed our children" (Community leader in Garífunas Holding Ground, 2002;19)

-"Tourism wants to take away this beautiful land, these beautiful beaches that our forefathers have taken care of. What will we, the Garífuna, do without access to the sea and the land?" (Garífuna Man in Garífunas Hold Ground, 2002; 1:45).

-"Indigenous groups in Honduras, including the Afro-descendant Garífuna community, have struggled for years to assert their right to the land they have inhabited for generations. National and international companies have been exploiting lands for their natural resources, including timber. The land inhabited by the Garífuna community on the Caribbean coast of Honduras is coveted by companies seeking to build

tourism complexes which would damage or destroy the Garífuna's traditions, culture and way of life, as well as their environment" (Amnesty International Belgium, 2007).

By 1992, all Garífuna communities on Honduran territory had *land occupation* titles. This gives them certain benefits over their lands but is not a status of definitive land tenure. That same year, the government emitted the Law for the Modernization and Development of the Agronomic Sector, under decree number 31-92; with this in motion (set in part by pressure from the IMF and WB), the process of land privatization was legitimized in order to attract foreign investment. Because the land titles that the Garífuna possessed where not definitive land titles, and because the general area of the Caribbean where they normally inhabit was declared a strategic area for Tourism Development; national and foreign investors, politicians and members of the army began hostile maneuvers against the Garífuna in order to displace them and to appropriate their lands.

Between 1993 and 1995, 14 communities got definitive land titles at an immense disadvantage; the land titles did not take into account the complete historical territory of the Garífuna communities, this severely reduced their area. Apart from this, the areas where the Garífunas had built their homes where not considered as part of the Land Title for they had been designated areas that could potentially be used for the development of tourism projects.Not only do the Garífuna have to recur to the Honduran (often corruptible) legal system for their land titles, they also have to fight for the extension of these titles to include the lands they use for subsistence farming. These lands, especially where the communities reside, in their majority (and especially the ones I visited during my travels in Honduras) are in dire need of basic sanitation.

Another detonator for the speculation of land occupied by the Gariuna was the reform ratified to article 107 of the Constitution of the Republic of Honduras in the form of Decree 90-90 on 2004. Decree 90-90 literally states as its objective the regulation of foreign acquisition of any goods (including land) on urban areas referred to by article 107 of the constitution of Honduras.

-"Although we prevented this reform (of article 107) from being ratified, we fear that future administration will try again" (Garífunas Holding Land, 2002; 3:18).

The Constitution of the Republic, stated in Article 107 that the "lands of the State located in the bordering zone to the neighbor states, or at both seas littoral, on a extension of forty square kilometers towards the interior of the country, can only be owned at any title by Hondurans by birth, by societies created by Honduran people and by state institutions, under the pain of the respective act or contract being declared null and void" (Constitucion de la Republica de Honduras, 1982).

The reform to this article by decree 90-90 gave access to these lands to foreign interest. No longer where the Garífunas pressured solely by national land speculators, Honduras had been opened up to speculation from the rest of the world. The Garífuna where right, they had tried to ratify article 90-90 again, in 2004 the government was finally successful.

"I'm very mad at the government, they come begging for votes during campaign time and at the same they are negotiating with our lands" (Garífuna Holding Ground: 2002;3:33).

Other Important Actors

PROLANSATE and the Conservation of Tela Bay's Natural Resources

PROLANSATE is the NGO in charge of the management and protection of the Blanca Jeanett Kawas National Park; it lies to the west of the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort. On Wednesday, December 28th 1994, the Punta Sal nation park was created under decree of law 154-94. This park was later renamed the Blanca Jeanette Kawas National Park(BJKNP), in memory of assassinated environmentalist, Blanca Jeanette Kawas, who was allegedly murdered by people that where interested in exploiting the resources within the protected area. She was gunned down in front of her house the 6th of November 1995 in the city of Tela, Honduras (La Tribuna Saturday 21st of June , 2008:2). No one has been charged for her murder. The government of Honduras has been held internationally responsible for the murder of the felled environmentalist, a murder that

"for at least 13 years has been kept in impunity and with no real intention of reaching closure on behalf of the national government" (La Tribuna Saturday 21st of June, 2008:2). According to La Tribuna, the governmental authorities had identified the responsible party but did not act upon the leads because" they where public servants" (La Tribuna Saturday 21st of June, 2008: 2). Kawas was the president of La Fundacion para la Proteccion de Lancetilla, Punta Sal y Texiguat (PROLANSATE).

PROLANSATE[17] is part of the authorities' commission of the BJKNP and with it lays the responsibility of its protection. [18]

PROLANSATE vs. Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort

The preliminary stages of the development of the Los Micos Golf and Beach resort were definitely marked with great opposition and skepticism by PROLANSATE. PROLANSATE published an Evaluation of the Environmental Impacts Assessment for the project (commissioned by DTBT). In the Conclusions chapter of the evaluation, PROLANSATE states the following:

1) The Environmental Impact Assessment of the Los Micos G& B Resort is incomplete. It lacks depth and the necessary information that could permit a real evaluation of the potential impacts on such dynamic and complicated ecology.
2) The socio-environmental evaluation lacked a coherent national, regional and international point of reference.
3) They state that they are aware that the majority of biophysical and socioeconomic studies where done in under 10 days.
4) They state as NOT ACCEPTABLE, legally or technically, the construction of the Los Micos Golf course within the area of the National park because of the next reasons:

[17] according to article 6, chapter IV of legislative decree 154-94
[18] Article 16, chapter 7 of legislative decree 154-94 also states that PROLANSATE "has permanence over any other territorial ordering, and that anything that has not been properly foreseen by this decree will be left at disposal for the Honduran General Law of the Environment" (La Gaceta, 1994).

a) A Ramsar site would be modified with land fill.
b) The water flux would be altered and therefore the dynamics of the wet lands of the national park.
c) An excessive amount of water will be needed.
d) The habitat will be modified because of impacts on vegetation cover.
e) An excessive amount of chemicals will be used to maintain the golf course.
f) A loss of ecotourism potential due to other impacts
g) Direct and indirect pressure of the associated fauna of the area.

(PROLANSATE, 2005:22).

In this evaluation they also state that the dredging for material off the coast of Tela is "unacceptable" and that "the communities of the underlying area had not been properly consulted" (PROLANSATE, 2005:22). PROLANSATE proposed as a recommendation "a reduction of the amounts of rooms, lots and a redesign of the project so that it can fall under the category of Ecotourism which is contemplated under the Construction Norms of the Parks Management Plan" (PROLANSATE, 2005:23).

OFRANEH[19], one of two major organizations representing the Garífuna Collective's interest (the other one being ODECO) capitalized on this evaluation as a means to substantiate their own claims. OFRANEH (Co/Manager of the BJKNP) opposes the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort primordially on a socio-cultural level, but the degradation of the National Park, an area from which Garífuna benefit directly and indirectly, provided yet another reason why this project should not materialize.

Miriam Miranda, Coordinator of OFRANEH, writes in relation to the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort: "PROLANASTE has warned everyone of the dangers that this project poses to the protected RAMSAR site number 722 (www.turismo-responsable.org). She proceeds to question the "IDB's inability to follow its own internal environmental politics" as well as how the "IDB's incoherence and their take on development contravene the

[19] Please note that OFRANEH is an institution included as part of the Authorities of the BJKNP National Park, stated on Legilsative Decree 154-94, page 5, Article 6.

convention of the ILO 169 and the United Nations proclamation on Human Rights for Indigenous peoples" (www.turismo-responsable.org).

By the time fieldwork for the current research was underway in Tela Bay, a completely different scenario unfolded upon interviewing PROLANSATE's executive director Eduardo Zavala. PROLANSATE's tone in relationship to the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort had dramatically changed. They now considered the project as "a valuable asset for furthering their ability to co/manage the area" (Interview with Eduardo Zavala, Executive Director of PROLANSATE).

> _*"We are not against the Project. We know that it is a matter of national priority. The past Government did not socialize the project in a clear way, but this government has had a* ***360*** *degree turn*[20]*. They have gathered all the information PROLANSATE asked for, not because we asked for it, but because they really want the project to have low impact tourism*[21] *that will sustain benefits for everyone, including the Garífuna and Ladinos that live in the area" (Interview with Eduardo Zavala on la Tribuna, October 14th 2007:2b).*
>
> *-"The Los Micos Projects has brought many benefits for the park. One of them, a very important one, is that fact that we will benefit from infrastructure upgrades and we will become the best national park of Honduras" (Interview with Eduardo Zavala, PROLANSATE).*
>
> *-"They have come to give us that hand that we were missing" " (Interview with Eduardo Zavala, PROLANSATE).*

This 'hand that was missing' (DTBT), has now an agreement with PROLANSATE to intervene (this concept of intervention is clarified on the next two paragraphs) 312 Hectares of the Jeanette Kawas National Park. Fernando Ceballos, General Manager of the mixed company elaborates on this intervention and the rationalization behind it:

[20] 360 degrees is stated in the newspaper article, probably an editing error. The fragment was kept in original form in order to elucidate the fact that the actual government has indeed had a 360 degree turn.
[21] Please refer to http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCE3NcTHz-c for an overview of what low impact tourism means to DTBT.

-"As for the environmental part, what this intervention of 312 Hectares will come to do is to protect the 70, 000 Ha of the national park (Jeanette Kawas National Park). This was the idea since the beginning. When you over fly the national park you can see that it has very large interventions. African palm, deforestation; people say that we are intervening but we have permission to do so and like I said before, this 312 ha will come to protect the 70,000 Ha. We have an agreement with PROLANSATE who is the Co/ manager of the area so that we provide them all resources while the construction stage is going on and then with all the revenue from visits of the tourists that come" (Interview with Fernando Ceballos, General Manager of DTBT).

At this moment it is necessary to draw attention upon the fact that what Fernando Ceballos calls a 312 Hectare intervention that will "protect the 70,000 hectares of the BJKNP" (Interview with Fernando Ceballos, General Manager of DTBT) is the 312 hectare golf course that PROLANSATE was opposing in the evaluation of the Environmental Impact Assessment analyzed before. PROLANSATE is currently part of the commission for monitoring and evaluation of the construction of the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort, alongside the supervisor of the project, EUROESTUDIOS. The funds for this activity are provided for by the IDB, the entity that is providing the soft loan for the basic infrastructure for the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort, the project they were opposing.

Local Government: The Municipality of Tela Prepares for the Future

A brief Introduction

The municipality of Tela has identified in the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort the potential for tax revenue recollection. Having this type of projects within its jurisdiction increases the amount of money going into the treasury in the forms of construction and operation permits and property taxes. Tela Bay, having been identified as an axis of tourism development, has directly increased the financial capacity of the Tela municipal corporation to invest in much needed infrastructure upgrades, specially sanitation and cosmetic redesign of the city. The next section provides a glimpse to certain events, with the intention of contextualizing the sort of political maneuvering the Municipality has to fall back on in order to capitalize from this tourism mega project.

A Faceoff: Tela City's Municipality vs. DTBT

On Friday May 2nd 2008, the Headline over page 18 of El Heraldo read: "Mayor of Tela faces Suspension of his Post" (El Heraldo, Friday May 2nd 2008:18). This was the outcome of a set of interventions by the local government to pressure a number of companies to pay the taxes they owed to the municipality. In this case, the company (M and M Investments) was working for the Bahia de Tela project. The M and M Investment company had won the contract to transport material for land fill and stabilization within the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort project area. In first instance the trucks that where carrying this material where ordered by the municipality to suspend their activities. Apparently the company was told by the National Sustainable Tourism Program (NSTP) to carry on with their activities, the NSTP would apparently try to solve this problem through specific channels. A few days later the Mayor of Tela appeared on Project grounds accompanied by 11 police man with the intention of stopping further activities. They were met by the representatives of the Attorney General's office and as a product, the eleven policeman where arrested. David Zaccaro (Mayor of Tela) was then brought up on charges of abuse of authority and violation of executive obligations. He was also charged of coercion and restriction of free locomotion (El Heraldo, Friday May 2nd 2008:18). Previously, on January 7th of 2008, the Secretary of Tourism of Honduras, Ricardo Alvarez was quoted on La Tribuna saying that the "Municipality of Tela is jeopardizing the whole Tela Bay Project" (La Tribuna, January 7th 2008:95).

"They are exaggerated taxes, according to their municipal budget it is legal, but if you are building a 40 million dollar hotel and you are charging 1% out of that, it makes 4 million dollars!!" (La Tribuna, January 7th 2008:95).

Tela is a city that has been suffering from fruit company withdrawal symptoms for many years. The days of enclave economies are long gone, and Tela was left in animated suspension. The Tela railroad company, for years operated out of Tela providing the local economy with many jobs and many perks (like free education, health and other

needed services) that often came hand in hand with the fruit enclaves. In present day Tela, the local economy is held together by remittances and tourism. As can be imagined, the municipality of Tela is poor. The Mayor of Tela was cited as saying in an interview for La Prensa that "Half of Tela city does not have sewage systems" (La Prensa, Thursday April 3rd 2008). They lack basic infrastructure and "don't want to be caught with their pants down if the Tela Bay Project is a success" (Interview with Rene Cheverria, construction supervisor for HNSTP).

Tela city is oiling its gears towards tourism development. It's been doing this for quite a while now. During the 90's it extended its urban area to include Tornabe, Miami, Triunfo de la Cruz, San Juan de Tela and La Ensenada. These are all Garífuna communities, and all have the basic characteristics of Garífuna villages around the area: they lie relatively close by, they have beautiful natural scenery and lively cultural heritage, they have long sandy beaches and are bathed by the Caribbean Sea; they are also bound to urban municipal law. This means that taxes will be collected by the Municipality whenever infrastructure is erected within this area. Thus the construction of the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort becomes a good omen.

After the Los Micos Golf and Beach resort began construction, so began the municipality of Tela announcing its own infrastructure upgrades. Just in 2008, the municipality announced the paving of roads, new sewage system, a boardwalk, restoration of the old and burned Tela Fruit Company dock and the opening of a chapter of the National Honduran Autonomous University. Taking into account that the only 47% of the population of Tela pay their taxes, this seemed like a pretty difficult task to achieve without the pertinent municipal budget.

-"I'm very ashamed to tell this to the City of Tela, but 53 %(of the residents within the Tela Municipality) does not contribute to its development in the form of payment of municipal taxes" David Zaccaro (El Tiempo, Thursday January 17th 2008).

Almost a month after the incident with the M&M Investment Company, on Wednesday April 23rd 2008, David Zaccaro appears on the photograph of page 8 with a huge check, resembling those used as game show prices. The check is signed by Juan

Canahuati (who poses for the picture), CEO of the FHIT (Honduran Tourism Investment Fund) and it is made out for the Tela City municipality in the name of the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort for an amount of 6, 787, 232.00 Lempiras. The note states in Zacarro's words "Acts like these reflect the good will of the Government and the private investors that are contributing with the development of tourism in our country" (El Tiempo, Wednesday April 23rd 2008:8). As it played out, the private investors did not convince the municipality of Tela (through government officials) that the basic infrastructure that was being built should be exempt from taxation due to the fact that it was an investment on public services for the municipality. Not even the infrastructure upgrades in Miami and Tornabe were viewed as pertaining tax exemption.

-"We (The Honduran Tourism Institute) consider that public services should not be charged because they are part of the urban development of the municipality."Ricardo Martinez (La Tribuna, Monday January 7th 2008:95).

With all the construction permits that are still to come from the construction of Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort, interests and speculation are running high nowadays in Tela City. If the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort is a hit, it will definitely bring great benefits to this sleepy town. Who, knows, it might just bring back the glow of better days left in the past.

DTBT (PNTS/FHIT) When Public Meets Private

Ever since the 1960's, the Government of Honduras has been trying to develop tourism on the coasts of Tela. This has been known for quite a while as the Tela Bay Project. During decades they had been trying to get people interested in investing on the area. The problem behind this investment was the lack of basic services and infrastructure.

-"Why did they (the government) have problem getting people interested in investing on the Tela Project? Because the conditions are very difficult; there is no running water, no electricity and the access is pretty bad. No one is going to invest on a place they can´t get to and were they can't offer these minimum services to the people"(Interview with Alvaro Duron, Specialist of the Honduran National Strategy for Sustainable Tourism).

So the Government had a big problem in its hands. On one hand they had a place that, if developed, could offer the country with a potential axis for tourism development on the north coast of Honduras. On the other hand, they had to get private investors interested in the idea. It wasn't until 2002, that the government finally succeeded in convincing the private sector to invest. But as in many other cases, the Government of Honduras would have to rely on soft loans of the IDB.

The development of the Bay of Tela was to be carried out by a mixed society of investors. 51% of the investment would be owned by the private sector, to be recognized as the Honduran Tourism Investment Fund (FHIT) and 49% would be owned by the State of Honduras and managed through the National Sustainable Tourism Program (a dependency of the Honduran Tourism Secretary and the Honduran Tourism Institute). This mixed association between the private and the public sector became known as the Tela Bay Technical Development (DTBT).

-"…finally they looked for the IADB´s support. The IADB said ¨Ok, you guys have this piece of land of about 300 Ha., we will give you money so that you can construct the basic infrastructure of this terrain, then this upgraded piece of land will represent something of value to an investor, and in this way we can attract them. But because the IADB has that, it wouldn´t just give money to help out the private sector, they asked for investment on protected areas that are near the area and for the communities, offering in this way an opportunity. This initiative took place on Maduro´s government" (Interview with Alvaro Duron, Specialist of the Honduran National Strategy for Sustainable Tourism).

This inclusion of the nearby protected areas and the communities that lie nearby where done in part because of the IDB's adhesion to the Pelosi Amendment which:

" in most cases requires that the United States not vote in favor of -- any Multilateral Development Bank's (like the IADB) action which would have a significant effect on the human environment, unless that (for at least 120 days before the date of the vote)an assessment analyzing the environmental impacts of the proposed action and of alternatives has been completed by the borrowing country or the institution, and made available to the board of directors of the institution" Source: (www.usaid.gov).

Apart from being included into the project (by the provision of Basic infrastructure), the communities of Tela Bay, will benefit from a trust fund that gives them ownership of 7% of the project. This 7% will be given to the Garífuna communities of Tela bay when they form the Federation of Garífuna Community Councils. This is still pending, due to the fact that San Juan de Tela is opposing the signing of this trust fund. San Juan de Tela is being run by a community council which is predominantly representing OFRANEH. If they don't form this federation, they won't have legal access to this trust fund. OFRANEH has repeated in many cases that they 'will not be sold by meager bread crumbs' and that their lands are 'worth much more than money' (Interview with Alfredo Lopez, Vice-President of OFRANEH). This position has created certain friction between community councils in the Tela Bay area and OFRANEH.

Andrea Valerio (President of the Tornabe Community council) deepens a bit on this sentiment:

-"they (Garífuna Organizations) are sometimes negotiating their things ¨over there¨ in our name and they do not consult us first. They want us to do things on their own terms and here in the communities we feel the problems, and I insist that we are all Garífunas and have many things that make us alike, but every community has different problems. Every community has within it an organ that helps solve problems (Referring to Community Councils). When we can´t solve a problem and we need help to solve it on a different level than we can come to them. But they can´t come into our community and try to solve our problems because in that way they will never end because there are always problems"(Interview with Andrea Valerio, President of the Tornabe Community Council).

When the community councils manage to form a federation of Garífuna community councils of Tela Bay, the DTBT will become a mixed society that apart from including the public and the private sectors of society will also include the Garífuna population within the projects area of influence (basically all Garífuna communities near the project area and within the Bay of Tela). This is a very interesting proposition, although the inclusion and effectiveness of 6 Garífuna communities sharing 7% of the stocks of DTBT will have to be evaluated further. The 42% of the shares owned by the State will be sold, reducing

the amount of shares that the government has and opening up the share market to foreign investors.

-"Yes, it will be opened up. There are two big areas: 12% will be kept by the state, 25% will be sold to a strategic partner or the FHIT will have an option to buy it…10% will be opened up to the general public."(Interview with Fernando Ceballos, General Manager of DTBT).

An Interesting (and uncomfortable) Series of Events

During an interview with La Tribuna on Monday September 24th 2007, Juan Canahuati, CEO of the FHIT mentioned the fact that the initial plan for the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort includes an area of 316 hectares. He then stated that they have a compromise with the Government to acquire 500 more. The total area will consist of 816 hectares. I mentioned this moment in the time line of the project to Fernando Ceballos and asked him about the fact that after Juan Canahuati mentioned the plans for expanding the area, almost immediately the land between the BJKNP and the project was invaded.

A.K. "When he (Juan Canahuati) talked about the possibility of acquiring some more hectares of land near the area... almost immediately the park was invaded by land speculators…and also in Barra Vieja, a community council was created by the land invaders"…

F.C:"Behind that, there is a whole organization that is not only the Garífuna or the land speculators and invaders…those 500 Ha where a compromise with the State"

A.K. But isn´t it incredible that the people that are behind this operation are working in the Government and are also part of the FHIT…

F.C: I can´t talk about this because it could become complicated…it is all speculation...And I haven´t seen anything official stating who is invading…

A.K. "But your machinery was stopped not long ago by someone who works for the government and is also part of the FHIT and said that if you trespassed he was going to sue you guys"…

F.C "I will leave that there"… [22]

The DTBT has a very difficult task ahead. It has to prove to the General Public that this approach to tourism development works. They have to fulfill expectations to the donors, the government and the private investors as well as the civil society (which includes the Garífuna). All of this has to be done in a country that is yet to be placed on the world market of exotic destinations, during a period of global economic uncertainty. Indeed, it is a difficult task.

[22] The background information for this line of questioning was provided to me by a party that wished to remain anonymous. The conversation I had with this person yielded a brief glimpse of the politics played behind the scenes. It sometimes takes the form of open aggression towards Garifuna communities, leaders and common community members. This is definitely a part of the picture show. It is the unspoken tension that affects action in Tela bay, the unspoken words that cause reactions; the corruption that is institutionalized within Honduran Government and the society it governs. By including this brief footnote I do not wish to state that there is any connection between corruption and the DTBT. I want to make a statement of the great interests that revolve around the actions of the DTBT. If any information is leaked from within, it may have dire consequences on the project area itself; thus I included the example of Juan Canahuati being interviewed by La Tribuna.

Faces of the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement; Grass Roots, Non Governmental, Community and Cultural Preservation Organizations: The Structural Design of the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement and other *avenues to understanding the "how's" of the Garífuna Collective Social Movement through the lens of RMT.*

-"While NSM theory explains the origins of social movements with reference to macro-processes and identifies the structural potential for social movement activity, RM theory, in contrast, focuses on a set of contextual processes (resource management decisions, organizational dynamics and political changes) that condition the realization of this structural potential¨(Canel, 2004).

-"(In RMT) Movements are also seen as structured and patterned, so that they can be analyzed in terms of organizational dynamics just like other forms of institutionalized action (Oberschall 1973; McCarthy and Zald 1973, 1977; Tilly 1978)" (Buechler, 2003:218).

An Introduction

In Latin America, especially within a post oil crisis (early 1970's) Latin America; where societies have become increasingly complex at an accelerated pace, many social movements have emerged. It is categorically complex to label these (social) movements for they represent such specific reasons of being, yet they all stem out of the same rhizome. Latin America and the Caribbean have come to resemble a mosaic of plurality and ethnic (re)affirmation. From the Caribbean to the Patagonia, social movements have spurted out from the woodworks almost simultaneously; "From Sendero Luminoso in the Andes to the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica" (Calderon, Piscitelli and Reyna, 1992). Their expressions of collective action also vary significantly from case to case but they are most certainly a "response to the postindustrial (or if one wishes, postmodern) capitalist transformation (Calderon, Piscitelli and Reyna, 1992: 21).

Latin American Social Movements convey "the new complexity our region is experiencing" and perhaps "the strength entailed by the fragmentation of collective action" (Calderon, Pisticelli and Reyna, 1992:22) Some of this Social Movements (as in the case of the Garífuna Collective Social Movement) "are synchronic and latent" as well as "a product of the intensification of capitalism, others of exclusion; some are unprecedented, perhaps ambiguous, constantly changing, with polyvalent meanings" (Calderon, Pisticelli and Reyna, 1992:23).

"Social Movements challenge the monopoly of representation, indicating, as much as the obsolence of parties does, the need for new forms of representation". (Calderon, Pisticelli and Reyna, 1992:25) "Social Movements allow us a glimpse of this process; in their newly created spaces, they attempt to nurture the seeds of their own forms of representation" (Calderon, Pisticelli and Reyna, 1992:25). The Garífuna Collective's Social Movement exemplifies this claim by Calderon, Pisticelli and Reyna by falling back on four visible claims to their representation (elucidated later on the present section).

It is in the "tense relationship between state and society that we can find an explanation for the diversity and plurality of the social movements that flourish today in every area of our region (Latin America)" (Calderon, Pisticelli and Reyna, 1992:25). Some movements are closer to the state than others. In the past, "The state's response to the social demand for integration was exclusion" (Calderon, Pisticelli and Reyna, 1992:25). Now it is being affronted by different sets of relationships, although exclusion is still a latent response to social demand. In the case of the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement, it is both close to the state but at the same time it keeps a differentiating distance, and this is clearly reflected by its "Social Movement's Organizations" (McCarthy and De Zald,1977:1218). "A social movement organization (SMO) is a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals (McCarthy and De Zald, 1977:1218).

On one hand, ethnicity and ancestral preservation is represented by OFRANEH. They are the militant arm of the movement and keep a distance from the state or other organizations they confront. They use any medium (especially the internet or clandestine radio shows) possible to divulge and express their resistance towards (and in this special case) the development of Sustainable Tourism in Tela Bay, Honduras. On the other hand we have ODECO, which command the progressive arm of the movement. They maintain very good relations with the government and are representing the Garífuna people by way of the newly appointed Secretary of Ethnic Groups. We also have the community councils which are the representatives of the Garífuna communities. They have access to both of the aforementioned SMO's when

problems have to be solved on 'higher levels'. The community councils represent the Garífuna's front line of resistance and adaptation. It is through them that grievances are pointed out; they are the ones that normally begin the mobilization process, from within the communities. Last but definitely not least we have the Cultural Preservation Organization who has selected the preservation and promotion of Garífuna Culture as their line of resistance. This SMO has served as cultural ambassadors for Honduras as well as the Garífuna people all around the world and have successfully established the Garífuna's colorful culture as a symbol of Honduran ethnic plurality, a trait that enhances its image as an exotic destination.

Together, these SMO's make up the arms, drums and heart of the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement. It is through them (individually or by using a combination of them) that the social movement resists and/or adapts to the challenges that arise from the use of Sustainable Tourism Development as a mechanism for progress.

The Construction of Grievances

"In Linguistic Anthropology, a simple model taken from systems theory elucidates the ways the history of a culture can be cemented in its structures" (Van Assche, 2004:186). This can be appreciated in the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement. As in systems theory, if you takethe Garífuna Collective's Social Movement and compare it with an organism, the 'systems' within the system of the social movement have adapted enough to keep the social movement alive. Every 'adaptation' has materialized "from within the frame of the system and this frame is the result of a history of earlier adaptations "(Van Assche on Maturana, 2004:186).

The Garífuna Collective's Social Movement, through its SMO's is exteriorizing its struggle to be recognized as a distinct ethnic group that makes it part of a pluralistic Honduran civil society, as well as the struggle to preserve their ancestral lands. In order for the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement to procure collective action, the SMO's must establish (from within) their relation with (as well as the role they play in relation to) the environment, culture, ethnic identity, the state (and political opportunities),

development, the globalizing world and the social movement itself. It is in this way that the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement aligns and constructs the grievances that are thought to affect (directly or indirectly) the interests of the majority of the Garífuna population. It is noteworthy to state that the role SMO leaders (as well as popular leaders) play in the social construction of grievances is extremely important. They act as facilitators and generate the discourse necessary to establish the tone in which the problem will be dealt with. It's not grievances themselves that allow for collective mobilization, it is "the social construction of grievances" that can be the "critical step which allows members of socially dispersed groups to begin to mobilize for action" (Buechler, 1993).

An example of the way OFRANEH constructs grievances, is by using the internet (they are hardly visible on the national newspapers or other media) as a medium to reach the Diaspora of Garífuna that live all around the world. There are many internet sites that permit the Garífuna to network and inform themselves on current issues that aggrieve their communities[23]. OFRANEH is constantly pushing the envelope in this area. This is an exchange between a web page called www.Turism-Responable.org:

Turismo-responable.org: *"How does OFRANEH plan to resist this mega tourism projects?"*

Alfredo Lopez: *" Permanent Struggle and denunciation, because even though we are going through a great crisis, we will never leave it. We personally pay for this fight. I was unlawfully put in jail; it was because of our capacity to mobilize international resources at our disposal that I was able to get out of jail".*

Turismo-responable.org: *"In fight against this new Mega Project in Tela Bay there are already cases of repression against the Garífuna that are opposing it?*

Alfredo Lopez: *"Of course there are. Recently in the community of San Juan (bastion of OFRANEH support) two young man where taken forcefully by member of the Naval Force and then proceed to murder them in Triunfo de la Cruz. The case is in a process of investigation. This is the way it has always been, repression, intimidation, threats against the leaders and the organized Garífuna population*

[23] For an example of a Garifuna website, please visit www.garinet.com

(community councils). We have file after file of this types of situations. The authorities never do anything, the even render false reports. Im my case, I am supposedly under a governmental protection program but I don't trust this, I do not trust my countries police. "

In this excerpt you can understand the undertone of being a vanguard organization, resource deprived, which finds its resources within a framework of solidarity, voluntary work and the need to preserve their culture at any cost. They have mobilized against the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort and align the social construction of grievances with their goals.

The OFRANEH are definitely a thorn on DTBT's side. Fernando Ceballos puts in focus the type of relationship they have with OFRANEH. It also hints at the dynamics set in motion (counsciously or unconsciously) by OFRANEH.

Alfredo Kaegi: "what is your relationship with OFRANEH?"

F.C: "None…we relate directly with the community councils… our relationships deteriorated(with OFRANEH), when it was decided who was going to manage the 7%. The community councils said WE are the ones that will manage this FIDEICOMISO. The Community councils said (to OFRANEH) thanks for your intentions... but no thanks, because they wanted to manage it at a different level. After this incident, there have been many accusations without base. We have proved with hard work and responsibility that we are environmentally and socially engaged. They (OFRANEH) said that we didn't have the money to do the things we had promised the communities, and the first things we did was to start the infrastructure in the communities, what better way to show the communities that the ones that are going to benefit more are the communities themselves. ***The reason for these upgrades in the quality of life is the project itself****. We were waiting for this to happen it is normal but we are trying to keep everything within what the law states, keeping with the environmental license, actually we have been adding things to the Environmental Management Plan instead of taking away from it."*

This is an example of the way OFRANEH has pressured and influenced the DTBT into planning the sustainable tourism development of Tela in a certain manner. It would be great, if afforded the gift of foresight, to see the course the project would have taken if OFRANEH did not keep a watchful eye and presence as part of the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement. Questions arise immediately. Would the project had begun the project by building this infrastructure upgrades on the neighboring Garífuna

Communities? The attempt to 'put a sock on OFRANEH's mouth' fostered a response that actually benefited the Garífuna communities. Even though OFRANEH's resources do not rely that heavily on economic power, they have been efficient in mobilizing Garífuna solidarity, labor and time, and this instance is proof of it.

Now, returning to the resource mobilization tasks of SMOS's; "each SMO has a set of target goals, a set of preferred changes toward which it claims to be working. Such goals may be broad or narrow, and they are the characteristics of SMOs which link them conceptually with particular SMs and SMIs (Social Movement Industries). The SMOs must possess resources, however few and of whatever type, in order to work toward goal achievement. Individuals and other organizations control resources, which can include legitimacy, money, facilities, and labor (McCarthy and De Zald, 1977: 1220).

-*"Although similar organizations vary tremendously in the efficiency with which they translate resources into action (see Katz 1974), the amount of activity directed toward goal accomplishment is crudely a function of the resources controlled by an organization. Some organizations may depend heavily upon volunteer labor, while others may depend upon purchased labor. In any case, resources must be controlled or mobilized before action is possible" (McCarthy and De Zald,1977:1221).*

Here lies the greatest constituent difference between OFRANEH and ODECO. OFRANEH has organized around a grass-roots following and is recognized by the majority of the Garífuna as the Garífuna grass-roots organization. ODECO is organized as an NGO and is recognized as such. OFRANEH has little access to financial resources and has to mobilize resources based on volunteers, solidarity, labor, time and facilities. ODECO has much more access to financial resources and thus, are afforded more space of negotiation.

This excerpt was obtained from the internet; it is an interview by Meldy Escobar on behalf of the internet page garinet.com:

Meldy Escobar: How can I, and anyone that is interested in contributing with ODECO's struggle contribute?

*It's very easy; there **are a lot of people** that are already part of the organization. They fill out a form of affiliation; they give two photographs for their file and their affiliation carnet. They pay 25 Lempira to join and 20 as a monthly fee. The people that reside in the U.S. pay a yearly fee of 20$. We believe that the process of economic institutional strengthening has to go hand in hand with reinvindicative political action in favor of the Garífuna people. (Interview with* Celeo Alvarez Casildo. 12/07/99).

Often, SMO's find themselves on opposing ends of the conflict, as is the case with the Development of Sutainable Tourism in Tela Bay. OFRANEH and ODECO have butted heads on many occasions and harsh words have been exchanged between them. This confrontation reorganizes the role these organizations are playing within the movement, the way they construct grievances and also the access to resources offered by the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement itself, in the form of economic, material and numeral support. As long as the SMO's advance the goals of the Garífuna Collectives's Social Movement, the dynamic that allows these goals to be reached acquires a secondary role. This also means that if the dynamics between SMO's and the different actors (and even between themselves) yield negative results for one SMO (let's say OFRANEH for example) but furthers the goals of the other (let's say ODECOfor example), then the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement has benefitted from the interaction. Thus, the dynamics, settle down to a secondary position and the SMO's continue to resist and adapt form within the system to further their *raison d' etre* and in this way they remain, in a perpetual stand-off to capture the support of the people. This does not mean that the SMO's do not find alternate routes to resource access. The access to external sources of resources complements and affirms (at national and international levels) their presence as representatives for the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement.

The Garífuna Collective's Social Movement. A system in Transition?

The ONECA (Central American Black Organization) has been a recent attempt form Celeo Casildo Alvarez, current leader of ODECO to establish an umbrella organization that can represent the Central American Garífuna community as a whole. As of yet, it has not really picked up definitive representational recognition, only time will tell if the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement will permit more space for representation at a regional level. Can this be a sign for further adaptation from within the system? Has space been created within the frame of the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement to include this type of representation? Has this space been created by subtracting space and resources from other SMO's? Is the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement in a phase of transition?

The role of the Internet as the spawning grounds for Hidden Transcripts.

An extensive archival research(2005/2008) yielded newspaper articles that centered around the development of sustainable tourism in Tela bay and the role the Garífuna and other actors had in it. These articles yielded information on many angles of the case study, but the voices of the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement where always under represented. The majority of mentions revolve around the fact that they would benefit from infrastructure upgrades, provided by the Government (through HNSTP) and by the private sector (through the FHIT).

In the case of OFRANEH, apart from sporadic mentions in relation to other actors, was generally excluded from what Scott (1990) refers to as the public transcripts. According to Scott (1990) the public transcripts "represent the open interaction between subordinate and dominant groups" (on Oselander, 1108).The hidden transcripts on the other hand convey a ``privileged site for non hegemonic, contrapuntal, dissident, subversive discourse" (Scott, 1992:25 and 60). "It is within the space of the hidden transcript, then, that acts of resistance are imagined, planned, and take on shape" (Oslender, 2005:1108).

The internet in this way has provided a platform from which the Garífuna Collective's SMO's can establish direct contact with anyone with access to the internet. OFRANEH has been very active in using the internet to disseminate their struggle. A simple gauging test (by introducing Organizacion Fraternal Negra de Honduras into Google's search engine) yielded 7,350 hits (occasions OFRANEH is mentioned). My archival research yielded fewer than 10. ODECO on the other hand had 7,830 hits. In the archival research, ODECO was mentioned significantly more than OFRANEH, mainly because ODECO works in close proximity with the Government and is not excluded as much as OFRANEH is. The reason behind the fact that OFRANEH are excluded from the public transcripts is because they have mobilized many times in the name of the Garífuna Collective.

An example of this 'mobilization' was when the OFRANEH organized a protest march that ended with the Garífuna bringing down an important statue of Christopher Columbus on a public square in Tegucigalpa, the political capital of Honduras. This statue was given by the Government of Spain as a token of appreciation to Honduras. The Garífunas, along with other indigenous groups, tore it down, poured blood over it and basically destroyed it. It was sculpted out of pure marble, now it lies on a warehouse property of the Institute of History and Anthropology of Honduras. According to Andrea Valerio, they wanted to highlight the fact that since Colombus "invaded our lands, we have been excluded, abused and threatened" (Interview with Andea Valerio).

Another reason for the exclusion of OFRANEH from the public transcripts is the way that OFRANEH and ODECO have approached the loss of land issue. OFRANEH is against dividing up the land into lots under typical land tenure modes. They see this as a divide and conquer ploy used by the dominant classes and the government. ODECO has achieved securing land rights for some Garífuna communities, under this modality of land tenure. ODECO worked closely with the PATH (Honduran Land Management

Program)[24]. The aim of the PATH was to increase land tenure security, facilitate land market transactions, develop national and municipal territorial plans, and develop management plans for protected areas, forests, and lands of indigenous peoples" (www.bentley.com). OFRANEH responded with a series of denunciation against the PATH, as well as international financial organizations, the government and the private sector of Honduras:

"Perhaps the most recent threat to the Garífuna and their land has been the Proyecto de Administración de Tierras de Honduras, or "PATH." This project was approved in 2004 by the World Bank, and the Government of Honduras claims PATH will expand access to formal land titling, surveying, registration, and conflict resolution mechanisms. However, there has been no assurance that Garífuna land titles, some of which have been accepted since the 1900s, will be recognized. PATH also does not properly address the many conflicts that have sprung up due to the illegal attempts of industrialists, politicians, businessmen, and the military to acquire large portions of land that belongs to the Garífuna" (www.greengrants.org*)*

"Organized in a Permanent Assembly to strengthen themselves against the constant violations of their rights as peoples, OFRANEH and organizations representing the other indigenous and black peoples of Honduras continue to strongly denounce these elements of the Property Law. Accompanying the law – or, more precisely, in order to implement it – is the Honduran Land Administration Program (PATH), financed by the World Bank. Also a target of community resistance, PATH aims to "legalize" ancestral Garífuna lands to the invaders who have taken them over and, based on the Property Law, seeks to individualize existing communal land titles" (upsidedownworld.org).

"International financial organizations are also playing a role in this conflict. The World Bank funds a land administration program known as the Program for the Administration of Lands in Honduras (PATH). Local organizations are afraid that this program is encouraging individual ownership of land at the expense of traditional communal land ownership practiced by groups such as the Garífuna. In the Tela Bay region in northern Honduras, this systemic problem is compounded by the Los Micos Beach & Golf Resort, a massive planned hotel complex funded in part by the Inter-American Development Bank." (www.cetri.be).

[24] The PATH was funded by the World Bank.

Apart from the fact that ODECO has access to a different array of resources, it has also access to both public and hidden transcripts. OFRANEH on the other hand in severely limited on the public transcripts arena. This poses no real surprise given the fact of the relationship that exists between ODECO and the government and that of the government and OFRANEH. OFRANEH has been left out of the public transcripts, while ODECO's struggle is legitimized and even rewarded with recognition.[25]

[25] Celeo Alvarez was proposed as a nominee for the Nobel award for peace for his "defense of marginated peoples against exclusion, racism and poverty. (La Tribuna, Tuesday 9th, 2008:18)

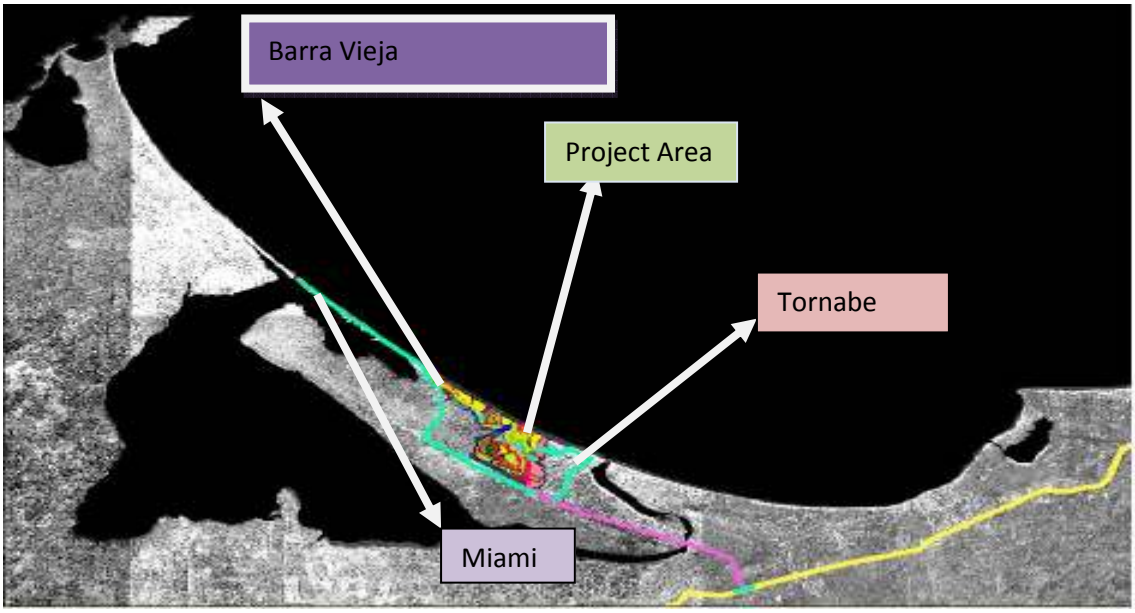


figure 8 Satellite Picture of Tela Bay Source: DTBT

The Case Study of Tela Bay: Miami, Barra Vieja and Tornabe

Pressure, opportunities, adaptation and resistance in relation to the sustainable tourism development in the Bay of Tela, Honduras.

Throughout this chapter, details are revealed which bring into focus a clearer picture of the current situation in Tela Bay in relation to sustainable tourism development. The socio spatial reorganization of Tela Bay (set in motion partially by the use of sustainable tourism as a mechanism to achieve progress), is a product of the relation and tension between the contending actors who each stake claims on this particular geographical point. In the next section, three interconnected cases will finely sharpen the image of the product of this tug of war game being constantly played out by the actors. We will visit the Garífuna communities of Miami, Barra Vieja and Tornabe; each one presents different tangible scenarios of things to come.

Miami and the Loss of Land

figure 9 Images of Miami, Tela. Source: www.mimundo.org

These pictures show why the beaches of Miami are sought after by the great interests that arise from sustainable tourism development. The bottom right hand image depicts Miami Beach, as it is locally known, and nothing else, only sand, sea and sky. For many years Garífunas have lived on its shores and fishermen from neighboring communities have used it as a fishing outpost when the weather prevents them from sailing back to their homes. It still has an untouched feeling to it, a sort of innocence. It's incredible to think that less than a kilometer away lays the ambitious Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort project area.

figure 10 Rendering of the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort Source:DTBT

Please watch http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCE3NcTHz-c to get a rendering of the project in 3D imaging.

Last year, Miami ceased to be a Garífuna community. In the recent past, the inhabitants of Miami obtained land titles for their lands under the private ownership modality. This meant that every person considered to be part of the community was given legal rights to a lot of land. Soon afterwards, many of the inhabitants started selling their lands to private owners. Bit by bit the community disappeared; nowadays, only a few Garífuna remain on the lot that was once a typical (as in architecture and location) Garífuna community.

figure 11 Source: www.mimunod.org

Land speculation in and around the area (which includes three communities, a national park, a botanical park, and a Ramsar Site) has created very strong interests regarding ownership of these lands. It puts enormous pressure on the Garífuna communities of the surrounding area and their status on the mode of land tenancy practiced within it.

Alvaro Duron speaks about Miami:

-"THEY (referring to the Garífuna Collective) talk about two communities, which are Tornabé and Miami. It is really one community with a fishing outpost. When the weather is bad… these people stay in Miami which is basically a sand bar. Tornabe on the other hand was a real Garífuna village but with all the emigration that has been going on the past few years there is really only a little bit of people, lots of old people and children. There is not really anything Garífuna going on apart from the fact that they call themselves Garífuna, the gloat about that, but there is nothing much going on. It is not really a Garífuna village anymore. They do have the advantage that they own land titles that gives them certain privilege…"(Interview with Alvaro Duron, National Strategy for Sustainable Tourism).

Alfredo Lopez, Vice President of OFRANEH speaks about the problem of Miami:

"They (referring to ODECO) are talking about unity and at the same time they are making business. Bahia de Tela… you know what… the guy that gave a green light for Bahia de Tela was Casildo (referring to President of ODECO). He had a building there (near Tornabe and Miami) that wasn´t finished and now they have finished it for him… even with air conditioning, and this because he played the role of convincing the sellout community council leader so that they would let the project proceed. So, this also made Miami disappear…and he lives very comfortably in La Ceiba. They gave them a title (private

ownership) to the community so they could sell it off; sell it to the same people who own the Bahia de Tela Project" (Interview with Alfredo Lopez, Vice President of OFRANEH).

This is an excerpt of the conversation I had with Andrea Valerio, President of Tornabe's Community Council:

Alfredo: What are the risks that you perceive or that you can already feel from the Sustainable Tourism Project of the Los Micos Beach and Golf Resort?

Andrea Valerio: "Look, in our point of view, what we can observe and is our biggest fear has to do with land tenancy. It's true we have a communal land title, but with this entire infrastructure being built around us and within the community, makes this area a place where people want to buy land and develop the area. We are afraid that even though we have the communal land titles, people will want to sell their land and that the community itself will want to individualize their land. The communal land tenancy gives the faculty of getting out of the land tenancy regime and selling the land if the people decide to do so".

Alfredo: Is this what happened in Miami?

Andrea Valerio: Exactly!

(Interview with Andrea Valerio, President of Tornabe's Community Council)

The replication of this situation is a tangible possibility for other Garífuna communities that lie scattered along the Carribean Sea. The problem regarding land tenancy is well known in other communities too. Miami has been transformed into another example of the impacts international organizations (and their structural adjustment plans) can have on indigenous communities. In this case "the World Bank and the WTO/OMC" were "seeking to shift communal forms of land rights, as practiced by many indigenous peoples in Central America, to systems of individual rights which are easier for international economic actors to deal with". "Communal land rights have been key to many examples of indigenous resistance to developments such as mining, tourism and bioprospecting in Mexico and Central American Countries" (Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

Are casualties in the battle to facilitate sustainable tourism development necessary? What can be done to resist this erasure? The following section aims at elucidating one way the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement is resisting; in this case: the strategy of emplacement, ethnic flexibility and 'ancestral discourse'.

Barra Vieja and the Pressures of High Interests

Barra Vieja has become a thorn in the side of sustainable tourism development in Tela Bay. It is a bastion for the Garífuna struggle for self determination and the rights to land they have had access to for hundreds of years. Barra vieja also serves as a message. Within this space lays an expression of the capacity Garífunas have to resist through emplacement. For some it is an invasion of Garífunas and Ladinos who want to cash in (as figureheads) on the impetus of the strong interests generated over the coveted lands. Others perceive they are the front of the battle in a place where "there is war in this moment" (Interview with Alfredo Lopez, Vice President of OFRANEH).

figure 12 Source: www.mimundo.org

***Alfredo K**: "What about the community of Barra Vieja?"*

***Alfredo L**: "Barra vieja is a community in resistance. That in some way…we don´t know what is going to happen but it has become the obstacle community so that the project doesn´t advance. And this is a problem to them and to us it's a matter of high anxiety since there could be a forceful expropriation in any moment. Like I said the consequences are terrible, it puts us …like a cat belly up, looking for ways to save the things we can save. Fundamentally we want to save and promote the survival of the communities because these projects are projects thought and conceived as massive exploitation of resources, and without our participation. It's tragic because this means the loss of our territory, the loss of our Identity, the loss of our culture, the loss of a whole human species that is us (Garífunas)" (interview with Alfredo Lopez, Vice President of OFRANEH).*

The road that is being constructed to the area of Miami was halted by the people that live on Barra Vieja. They have dug deep into the ground and have not let the project

finish this road. If (and when) this road reaches Miami, the entire beach front between Tornabe and Miami will be accessible. This will raise speculation over these lands to higher levels. To the DTBT, Barra Vieja means a road block. This is an excerpt extracted from my interview with Yara Zuniga (Environmental Specialist of the HSTNP):

***Alfredo Kaegi**: So it was interesting to find out (after field research) that there is a new community asking for ancestral right in Barra Vieja and that they are now starting to invade[26] the land on the park.*

***Yara Zuniga**: I know its fetid. Lots of places…Its incredible..*

***Alfredo Kaegi**: They also gave legal rights to have a community council and everything…*
***Yara Zuniga**: This community is right by the projects area.*

***Alfredo Kaegi**: So you won't be able to finish the road to Miami because of this new community..?*

***Yara Zuniga**: Nope and also we won't be able to finish a drainage channel to the Quemada Lagoon. And those (for the record) are not Garífunas.. they are mostly ladinos.*

***Alfredo Kaegi**: I went to speak with OFRANEH and they talk about them having ancestral lands…*

***Yara Zuniga**: The only other community that has joined this people are those of the Community of San Juan…*

***Alfredo Kaegi**: But this is because they are sided with OFRANEH…??*

***Yara Zuniga**: Depending on who is directing the community council they choose with whom to side with.*

***Alfredo Kaegi**: and OFRANEH is completely against the project, right?. They are talking about 'the brothers of Barra Vieja' being a front of resistance against the expansion or spread of Sustainable Tourism…What do you believe are the benefits that this project will have?*

***Yara Zuniga**: The benefits that have been demonstrated…the intentions of the government to support these people are directed to giving this people opportunities so they can progress, for they are very limited.. they live out of remittances. They have shown interest in the project.*

While doing field work in Barra Vieja, I noticed what Yara Zuniga was saying about the presence of Ladinos (or at least people with landino features) in the area. Falling back

[26] Invasion was used to foster rapport.

on Gonzalez (2008), who states that Garífuna culture is based on common language, cosmo vision and other characteristics like music, dance and gastronomy (not only phenotypic characteristics), it appears that the 'Ladinos'[27] are also passing as Garífuna. The pictures below show 'modern' Garífunas. This research is limited in making legitimizations of whether or not the 'Ladinos' are in fact Garífuna. It is certainly a recent mechanism that expands the grass roots base and adherence to the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement. Another interesting point was the fact that the settlers of Barra Vieja have the legal constitution of a community council. This was passed in a very prompt way by the municipality. The expedite procedure raised eyebrows, but the council withdrew from answering ensuing questions. Question like: "If Barra Vieja is a new community and we are supposedly invading this lands that are property of the state, how could the municipality extend a legitimization of their 'community'? Does the Major of Tela have any vested interest over these lands, maybe confabulating with the 'squatters' of Barra Vieja"? [28]

figure 13 www.mimunod.org

[27] *often capitalized* [American Spanish] **:** a westernized Spanish-speaking Latin American ; *especially*:Mestizo (Merriam-Webster Dictionary).
[28] These where questions I asked some of the interviewees and no one knew a certain answer to this.

"Andrea: Over here, there is no distinction between both of them (Ladino and Garífuna). What has really come to perturb us is the invasion in Barra Vieja. Some of those people are from Tornabe. So…OFRANEH is supporting them over there. They are helping them so they can get documents on that land. And with that help they are supposing that it is us that are in the middle and thus they can't get their papers. The majority of people who live there are ladinos and they are more interested in staying there so that they can then sell this land. FIGUREHEADS! If they get those papers they already have the client they will sell to. They are already in business with someone that has power, because if not they would not be there" Andrea Valerio, President of the Tornabe Community Council).

figure 14 Source: www.mimundo.org

This interview with Yara Zuniga also opens another important characteristic of this community. It seems s that people from San Juan (where the community council is lead by OFRANEH), have mobilized into the area of Barra Vieja. If this is true, it would be a direct expression of the capacity of OFRANEH to mobilize on a grass roots level its adherents. Not only the mobilization of resources (in the form of volunteers, time and support) is in focus here, but the impacts these resources (considered meager and diluted by some) can have if efficiently managed.

Barra Vieja is also a space where the redefining dynamics between OFRANEH/resistance and ODECO/development are continually being performed. This is a physical manifestation of the redefinition between Garífuna Collective's Social Moment's SMO's.

Barra Vieja is as much an example of resistance as of development. Resistance here takes the form of a stance, marking a physical rallying point for the Garífuna, regardless of their African or Ladino phenotypic characteristics. This is a place where development has abruptly been stopped, its machines and gears silenced for a (brief?) moment. Alfredo Lopez's fears are well founded when he talks about a forceful expulsion of the Barra Vieja Settlers. It has happened all over Honduras, yet in Barra Vieja they are lingering. I believe that if they do expel them forcefully, this may become a defining moment in which the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement can align grievances and provide resources to establish an all-out, open and constant protest against the project.

Alfredo Kaegi: *"How do you see their capacity (Garífunas) to mobilize, I mean when (and if) this people get pissed and demonstrate against the project?"*

Yara Zuniga: *Forget it… they are a force to reckon with…They can stop it with no problem. They seem to be waiting to see how this whole thing plays out.*

And so, Barra Vieja lays near the beach, by the sea and the sky. Garífuna fisherman are still setting out to fish, women tend the Yucca parcels and the myriad of children, and the people perform their Garífuna lifestyles with one eye towards the horizon and the other towards the bulldozers that lay in wait within the project area. Barra Vieja, whether or not it is a proper Garífuna community, functions as one in the eyes of the movement and the developers. This in itself is an exercise of power, regardless of its durability. .

figure 15 Source: www.mimundo.org

Tornabe as an Example of Things to Come: What about the Children?

"Tornabe as a Garífuna village is going to disappear. We have to accept it. The project will have an impact in this way. They always want to be treated different. They don't want to pay taxes or for services but they do want to be given everything" (Interview with Alvaro Duron, Specialist for the National Strategy for Sustainble Toursim).

figure 16 Photography: Jaime Rojas

figure 17 Source: www.mimunod.org

Tornabe is the Garífuna community that lies nearest to the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort Project area. It is also the biggest of the three aforementioned communities, as well as the most organized. Tornabe seems to have the greatest expectations from the project; they have an ambivalent attitude towards the benefits this project might bring

to them. To some it means progress in the form of jobs in the resort; to others an opportunity to have access to tourist expenditure.

Another sector of the population of Tornabe is afraid. They are afraid of losing their lands, of losing their culture and their connection with their ancestors, of not having the necessary education to get good salaries, of becoming something else.

"We are part of a space. We are part of the environment; if a family from Tornabe moves to San Pedro Sula (the industrial capital of Honduras), the family will transform into something else. After 211 years in this country we have maintained this culture (not all); it has been very hard. This is due to the fact that we have been in this space looking and listening at our grandparents and our parents. This is how we have earned the legacy of our historical patrimony" (Interview with Andrea Valerio, President of the Tornabe Community Council).

As in the internal structure of the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement, OFRANEH and ODECO have come to represent the arms that deal with the potential progress and development of the community, as well as the ever watchful eye for those afraid of losing everything. The opinions of the inhabitants of Tornabe are divided. This ambivalence is palpable not only within the community (as the people choose sides), but also from individual to individual. it While interviewing in Tornabe, it was evident that the decision on whether or not development of sustainable tourism was beneficial had not been fully decided. Most of the people are in favor and against it (the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort), in varying degrees of acceptance or refusal.

When affronted with the scale of this intervention, it is hard to comprehend how Tornabe will fit within it. It will be engulfed and surrounded by the whole infrastructure. They have almost finished building a paved road that runs through it, and the water treatment plant and distribution is well underway. It is arduous to grasp the magnitude of this project, even after having been on the project site, and having seen the 3D modeling, the blueprints themselves. I asked Andrea Valerio, during our interview, "Why use hydraulic pavement? Your children run barefoot all the time. Won't they burn their feet on summer days?" She stared at me blankly, it hadn't dawned on her that even the material they are using to pave the roads of their community has the potential to change their customs.


figure 18 Photography: Jaime Rojas

"I would love to see my people fighting for their youth… so that they are prepared and educated… get to university level so that they can insert themselves into these processes… I tell my people in the council… we can´t say no to everything…because we have to see that not all is bad… there are good and bad things… the world won't stop for us to become ready… I have to see the way I walk without lagging behind… We have to fight for this…" (Interview with Andrea Valerio, President of the Community council of Tornabe).

Tornabe has almost gotten what they bargained for. As mentioned before, they have a paved road going through their village, new water sanitation system and electricity. This is development's positive face, palpable development. What happens next is yet to be written. Will the Garífuna of Tela Bay keep resisting? Will they finally be displaced? Will they become part of the more homogenized, generic, general Honduran population?

As in much research, the answers to some questions only lead to more questions. Tornabe will be the decisive place where the effects of sustainable tourism development of Tela Bay will be played out. It has the potential of becoming both an example of successful sustainable tourism development as well as an example of outright resistance against sustainable tourism development. Gonzalez's (2008) thesis is yet to be proven; will they go into the night as a memory of a neoteric culture? Will sustainable tourism development provide the last blow?

It certainly has the potential to do so, especially when these peregrines of the Caribbean hold claims to the land that the goose that lays the golden eggs wants. Chapter 7 contains a more detailed discussion and extends these notions further.



figure 19 Photography: Jaime Rojas

Alfredo Kaegi: This is probably a difficult question to answer; what are the Garífunas trying to protect?

Andrea: "Look, you know what; I want to be sure that my children and grandchildren will have a safe space where they are able to develop themselves. It is not a difficult questionto answer, it is the easiest question" (Interview with Andrea Valerio, President of Tornabe's Community Council).

A Brief Reflection on Social Movement Theories

On the initial stages of the research design I came upon a theoretical crossroad. I had begun my theoretical approach based on Actor Network Theory and political ecology. Parallel to this, I was conducting archival research on everything that had to do with the case study created around sustainable development in Tela bay. The more I read about the Garífuna and the more I learned about the socio historical context around the intentions of developing Tela Bay into a mass tourism axel of development, the more I could place the Garífuna collective action hinting a manifestation of a social movement. This is when I began reading into Buechler, Tilly, Melluci, Escobar, Canel, Scott, Oselander and many others that had conducted research on this type of organizations. Escobar had a special impact on my research for he had also studied the organization and mobilization of Afro descendants on the Pacific coast of Colombia. Not a parallel study per se, but it did yield important similarities in the type of organization and the importance ethnicity plays as a negotiating tool. Escobar had also edited a collection of articles that revolved around the emergence of social movements in Latin America.

By the time I had gathered a robust amount of information around Social Movement Theory, the necessity for a multilevel assessment of this case drew me into the use of NSMT's and RMT's. By establishing the aperture of my theoretical lens, I began to notice the interesting nuances that have become the body of this thesis. The biggest downfall of this approach is that there are no fixed criteria. Each social movement acquires structures that are dictated by their context. Each social movement is a world in its own right, an organism. There are so many things going on at the same time that it was virtually impossible to explain them all through this paradigm.

If I were afforded the ability to turn back time, I would have included certain aspects of systems theory to improve the description of the way that social movements are organized, especially the use of organizational theory. Even so, I believe I have presented a clear picture of the intricate anatomy of a social movement, captured within a specific time frame and in relation to palpable outcomes.

As for further research on the Garífuna Social Movement of Honduras, I would recommend continued assessment in the case of Barra Vieja and the way Ladinos have been absorbed and are posing as Garífuna to extend the base of resistance. Another interesting subject is the fact that the Garífuna are approaching development through sustainable tourism. This is a clear manifestation of the way Garífunas internalize modernity and transform it in order to determine their own future.

There are great short comings to analyzing new social movements, and by 'new', I mean historically new. Society in Latin America has been changing at such a pace in order to re actualize itself in the ever globalizing world, that existing social movement theories might not present the necessary tools to explain this social phenomenon (I will revisit this point on the Reflection Section). As Calderon, Pisticelli and Reyna have exemplified with the notion of reality being always richer than theory, we can only hope to slice a representative piece of the moment in order to interpret the current situation without being over ideological and under structured.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

A Garífuna Social Movement (?)

Introduction

Tela Bay is a pregnant place, a fertile place for collective action and social movement. The Garífuna are the most organized of the ethnic groups of Honduras. They are certainly the most notable. They are part of the Honduran popular culture as well as one of the seven ethnic groups that speak their own language. Their music, food, dance, and athletes have permeated everyday life. Their struggle is constantly reproduced through various means of communication, being it the news, television, newspaper, books, music, cultural groups and through the internet.

There are two main organizations that represent Garífuna interests. These are OFRANEH and ODECO. OFRANEH has been actively opposing the Tela Bay project and claims that the impact of this project will be detrimental for the communities that lie near the project. They also claim that a campaign of violence and repression is affecting the community council members that defend the collective interests of community members. They are fighting against the expropriation of 'Garífuna ancestral lands' due to tourism expansion into these lands. This organization maintains a defensive stance toward government toward government intervention near Garífuna communities along the Caribbean coast. ODECO on the other hand seems to have a more 'progressive' view of Garífuna development. They are represented by the Secretary of Ethnic Groups (A Garífuna) and have the support of the present President of Honduras, Manuel Zelaya Rosales. This supposed confabulation with the government and their role in the development of the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort has created a confrontation between these two social movement organizations. Then, there are the community councils, which are the first line of representation of the Garífuna communities. They

claim that these organizations are polluted and that they are going over their heads by representing communities with ideas and ideologies they do not overtly embrace.

Tactics through Modes of Organization and Ethnic Identity

The Garífuna Social Movement? Adaptation and Resistance to Sustainable Tourism Development

It is difficult to speak of a Garífuna Social Movement for they are a transnational community. They are dispersed over four countries (Belize, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua), yet these communities share the same claims to identity, ethnicity and culture. There also seems to be a void of leaders or a unifying organization for these peoples as a whole. This does not mean that a social movement does not exist or that is not in the makings; this could mean that the configuration of the social movement itself permits the flexibility to establish (a fragmented) collective action wherever needed. They sometimes rely on "symbolic practices that reflect social exclusion" (Calderon, Piscitelli and Reyna, 1992:22), as well as the "exaltation of their ancestral identity and lineage" (Calderon, Piscitelli and Reyna, 1992:22) as a way of ethnic self-affirmation. Garífuna collective actions seem to call for "important institutional transformations", institutions that are more "substantive and pluralist, rather than formal or instrumental" (Calderon, Piscitelli and Reyna, 1992:22).

The Garífuna Social Movement seems to be pressuring in both fronts equally (Cultural Preservation/Resistance and Development/Adaptation). They have successfully been included as shareholders of the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort; which might be "bread crumbs" to some of the Garífuna, but this represents a historical inflection from exclusion to inclusion on behalf of the Government. These maneuvers and adaptations to the ever changing social realities that make up the socio historical context (from which the Garífuna have been successful at surviving) seem to be opening up avenues for further inclusion. The Garífuna Collective's Social Movement and their mobilization

around tourism development reveal its face in the light of a force that might make or break them.

As much of the social movement literature suggests, displacement from place is one of the rallying points of collective action and may lead to full blown and constant protest and mobilization. The Development of Sustainable Tourism in Tela Bay has become such a rallying point for the Garífuna Social Movement because it personifies many characteristics that have aggrieved this community for many decades. It sees in the Government an institution that has tried to homogenize its subjects and its resources by using the discourse of progress and development; an institution that has been used by the elite and international organizations to legitimize their neoliberal contention to open up markets and develop new strategies for national growth and the insertion of Honduras within global economies. Yet, the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement[29] has been successful in infiltrating it and capitalizing on political opportunities. They have representatives in congress, head of ministries, the educational system and many other positions that permit them to exert certain weight during negotiations with the government. An example of political opportunities (taken by the Garífuna) was during the signing of the Bolivarian Alternative to the Americas treaty between Honduras and several other South American countries (promoted by the President of Venezuela, Hugo Chavez). During his speech, President Hugo Chavez mentioned the Garífuna in his discourse, and how this treaty will include them into an alternative road to development. This is an example of maximizing on opportunities. By acting upon political opportunities they have successfully placed themselves in the developmental agenda of the ALBA.

The opinion of the Garífuna in relation to the Development of Tela Bay is divided. Some seem to be pro development; other cynical opinions state that it is a clear process of neo colonialism set in motion by the Honduran Government and the powerful

[29] The Garifuna Collective's Social Movement is the term used in this research to refer to the Garifuna movement that has undertaken collective action towards the Development of Tourism in Tela Bay. Membership to this movement does not rest on the nationality of the Garifuna members, but the relationship they have with resisting or adapting against the Development of Sustainable Tourism in Tela Bay, Honduras.

Honduran Elite. The point I want to state with this ambiguity is that by falling back on their ethnicity they are very well suited to lobby in both fronts. At the time they use their ethnicity as a marketing strategy to potentiate the coming of tourists (thus tourism development) to their communities and generate an alternate source of income; at the same time they are using ethnicity as something to defend to "the last drop of blood" (Interview with Garífuna Fishermen, Tornabe) and thus influence to a certain point the direction of development of sustainable tourism.

The Development of Sustainable Tourism in Tela Bay is a fact; there is no turning back the hands on the watch. The Garífuna of Tela bay lay in wait, expectations run high. Should the resort place Tela Bay as an attractive tourist destination and the expectations of both the public and private sector are met, this will mean that the Garífuna of Tela Bay will be instantly faced with a myriad of tourists and their tourist needs. In this way the Development of Sustainable Tourism has and will influence the Garífuna.

If the resort yields the promised fruits, it will establish an antecedent of things to come, not only for the Tela bay area but for the Caribbean Coast of Honduras; a space that will undoubtedly be reorganized into new forms. Will this potential reorganization of space in the North Coast of Honduras include the Garífuna? Will the Garífuna stand the next trial of (neo) colonization and (neo) imperialism? How will they react/resist/adapt to the inevitability of progress and the development of the areas they have inhabited for ages if the "sustainable tourism development" formula works? This and other question will be offered possible scenarios on the discussion section.

The Garífuna of Tela Bay have had to fight for access to resources, their land, their culture, to be recognized in political processes and now to be included in the development of sustainable tourism in their backyards. It is no wonder that they have survived as much as they have; their ability to negotiate, resist and pressure oppositional forces and their innate pragmatism have enabled the Garífuna to find an ecological niche within Central America.

The Garífuna Social Movement's Source of Power and Resources: Avenues to the future through solidarity, protection and cultural propagation.

The Garífuna rely on their ethnicity and cultural background as an important source of power. It is a resource to be mobilized when affronted with a common contender. Adhesion to this social movement is based on solidarity, on people with a unique sameness coming together to reach common goals. In the case of the Garífuna, the goal is to create space within development for self determination. They are fighting for a say on the way they wish to develop. By using ethnicity they have extended their networks to reach international levels. In many cases the organizations that support them seem to rely on soft laws, but it is without a doubt a great leverage strategy and has forced the Government of Honduras to acknowledge their inclusion into certain processes of development.

Another source of their power is the land they have come to populate since their arrival on Central American soil. This is the resource they value the most. It is their mother; land given to them by their ancestors whom they still worship and ask for guidance. In their land lies the source of their biological, cultural and spiritual reproduction. The Garífuna state that without their land, the beach and the sea they will no longer feel Garífuna. The land holds in their discourse the ultimate connection to their survival as a distinct ethnic group. And it is these lands that are being sought after by the tourism industry.

The biggest source of power and the greatest resource the Garífuna have are the Garífuna themselves. They have great potential in their numbers, their horizontal affinity and their strong solidarity. Even though the Garífuna villages seem to be disconnected, they are definitely not. Where there are no roads, they have the sea and the beaches that connect them together. They have access to the internet and cellular phone service. These help their networks become more efficient when mobilizing around some external threat.

In conclusion, the Garífuna are struggling to protect their culture, that which makes them different, that which affords them distinction. The more they become like the rest

of the population the less power they will have. Falling back on their heritage will no longer hold water, the loss of that which makes them special will cause their culture to become just another fact recorded on history's cloudy memory. This is why in every song, in every dance there is a struggle for preservation; there is resistance, there is a battle of survival. This is one of the frontlines to their preservation. They are performing their resistance and their struggle.[30]To protect their culture they must hold claim to the land, the very land that has shaped their culture. The Garífuna culture is based on their idea of land and the resources that are found within it. They see the sea as an extension of the land, and this as well has also come into regimes of management. If the Garífuna lose or sell their lands there is the probability that they might disappear as a distinct ethnic group. The contention to their ancestry is mainly implied when they speak about their ancestral lands.

And so this is the Development of Sustainable Tourism in Tela bay; an idea around which perceptions of risks and benefits are generated. The Garífuna, believe they risk losing their culture, identity and any claim they have over their own history and self determination. They fear the loss of land, the exclusion, the persecution, murders, the burning of houses. They fear the prospect of an uncertain future. At the same time they are aware that this might provide some benefits, commonly translated to economic benefits. The Garífuna want development, they want to become inserted into the new world system. It would be obvious to state that the new world system and its globalizing, homogenizing effects will end up destroying their culture. But what if the Garífuna adapt again, their trend seems to strain the fact that they are pragmatic and chameleonic survivors. If tourism takes a strong hold around Garífuna communities along Central America, it is this form of neo colonialism they will have to adapt to. For more than 200 years they have demonstrated that if there is something the Garífuna are capable of, is to adapt, resist and continue. Will this continue to be the dominant trend? Only time will tell.

[30] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AsaRDgAG7A8

Chapter 7

Discussion

Throughout the process of building up this thesis I was affronted with a recurrent question; what kind of a world are we developing into? I had to restrain myself from introducing too much emotion into my research, although I am aware that this is virtually impossible. When the subjects of your research are human beings and not the translation of statistical output from packages like SPSS, it is difficult to not create premature normative stances; it is contained within our bio cultural hardwiring as social creatures.

Referring back to the question, it is hard to assimilate the fact that in many cases development fails to reach pre established goals and targets. In the specific case of the Development of Sustainable Tourism in Tela Bay, development for the Garífuna seems to come as a byproduct of the construction of the Los Micos Golf and Beach Resort. Why not offer this communities water, sanitation, electricity and other amenities that the project will need in case the communities are absorbed or decide to sell. In the case of Miami this is already a reality; the community can no longer be considered a Garífuna community. At least Garífunas from Tornabe and San Juan no longer consider it a Garífuna community. Offered 20/20 hindsight, Miami stood no chance the moment they decided to individualize their land claim. Barra Vieja on the other hand becomes both a site of resistance and site of where land speculators are availed by powerful people (In this case the Garífuna play both parts). This ambiguity is notorious in the subject at hand. It is reflected in the Garífunas Social Movement, within the SMO's, within the Garífuna themselves. This might be an adaptation, a tactic for survival from development.

What about the rest of the Garífuna communities? I foresee these two types of outcomes in relation to tourism development on the north coast of Honduras. Some communities will be absorbed and thus disappear because of the pressures of high interests. The other outcome is that they will resist, adapt and transform. Like the ones

they represent, The Garífuna Collective's Social Movement will also have to adapt and new discourses will have to be established in order to rally more support from the adherent's base. This base will have to expand as well as their strategic allegiances with other social movements and international sources of support. This will amplify the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement's access to resources. If the Garífuna are successful in fostering solidarity between them, as well as other adherents their power will be more contending.

The Garífuna until now have remained relatively calm in relationship to the project. No real demonstration has been performed against the project as of yet. If the Garífuna Collective's Social Movement decide to protest against this project (which I believe they will when their expectations are not met), tourism in this area could be grinding to an abrupt halt, but this will already be too late. The infrastructure will already be built and with it a total reorganization of the area. Economies of scales generated around this project will compete with those created by the relatively uneducated and inexperienced Garífuna. The acculturation of these peoples is inevitable. I believe their culture will serve as an interesting spectacle and their cuisine will satisfy western tastes, but like everything else that is tele transported within the globalizing machine, this too will change and take on new forms; mutant bastards of what they once were.

Is this the development we forsee for the rest of the Carribean Coast of Honduras? I hope not. This would have negative effect on this people and their way of life. They will be expropriated, bought off and simply displaced from their ancestral lands.

There is another option; what if the Garífuna join the private sector in creating tourism projects of the same scale. This would mean development on their terms. Instead of the Government offering the land, the Garífuna could offer the land as collateral for the investment. This is exactly what is happening on the opposing end of Tela Bay. The Garífuna have created a Garífuna Tourism Chamber. This project will be called Laguna Negra, and it will have paved access roads to the community of Triunfo de la Cruz and the resort site, 20 villas and 20 condos. This project will be funded by the Garífuna Chamber of Tourims and Nuevos Horizontes, an investment firm created in New York.

10% of the utilities will be channeled into the community of Triunfo de la Cruz. These funds will be used for infrastructure and social projects (El Heraldo, Monday April 7, 2008).

"I'm incredibly satisfied to be witness of what will become the Laguna Negra Tourism Project, but I am even more satisfied that this is a project created by this ethnic group who has maintained their customs alive through great odds as well as their traditions. Now they will benefit directly from including themselves within the tourism sector "(Interview with Margie Dip, Governor of the Department of Tela; El Heraldo, Monday, April 7, 2008).

This is yet another example of Garífuna pragmatism, resource mobilization, organization, supranational networking and capacity to resist, adapt and transform. Maybe this new transition will afford the Garífuna space for their cultural identity, for their ancestors and for their children to grow up as Garífuna and not something else.

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Table of Figures

List of Contacts and Organizations

Name of Interviewees	Organization
Leonel Lopez	Communication Specialist of PNTS
Alfredo Lopez	Vice President of OFRANEH
Fernando Ceballos	General Manager of DTBT.
Yara Zuñiga	Environmental Sepcialist for the IHT
Juan Ambrosio Sabio.	National Coordinator of the Multilingual Intercultural Education Program/Honduran Component
Andrea Valerio,	President of Tornabe Community Council.
Rene Chavarria	PNTS Construction Site Inspector PNTS.
Kenia Ramos	Liasion between IHT and Afro Descendant communities of the Bay of Tela.
Eduardo Zavala	Executive Director of PROLANSATE
Braulio Martinez	President of Triunfo de la Cruz Community Council.

Alvaro Duron	Technical Specialist of the National Strategy for Sustainable Tourism.
Jose Medina Ruiz,	Secretary of Ethnic Groups of the Honduran Government.
Don Julian	Vice President of Tornabe´s Elders Council.
Rene	Tornabe, Local Fisherman
Wilson	Tornabe, Local Fisherman
Carlos	Tornabe, Local Fisherman
Jose	Tornabe, Local Fisherman