



**Examining the impact of changing livelihood strategies upon  
Garifuna Cultural Identity  
a case study of Cayos Cochinos**

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Dissertation presented for Honours Degree of BA  
School of Geography  
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2005



## **Abstract**

The Garifuna livelihoods on Cayos Cochinos are changing in response to increased environmental regulation. The communities of Chachahuate and East End are eager to move away from their traditional livelihood of fishing, as it no longer provides an adequate income. The Garifuna have highlighted that changing livelihoods do not necessarily result in cultural loss, as long as there is a sustainable livelihood strategy to diversify into within the community. Despite evidence of tourism on Cayos Cochinos, fishing remains the primary livelihood. With the absence therefore of a sustainable livelihood to diversify into, the Garifuna cultural identity of Cayos Cochinos is under threat. Set in a post-development context, this study proposes a bottom-up development plan, which promotes a new sustainable livelihood strategy for the Garifuna of Cayos Cochinos.



## Acknowledgements

This dissertation would have not been possible had it not been for the participation, support and guidance from a number of people. I am deeply indebted and extremely grateful to the Garifuna of Cayos Cochinos, for their kind hospitality and enthusiastic participation in my research. In particular I would like to thank my good friend Lionel Martinez for all his translations. I am also very grateful to the Honduran Coral Reef Foundation for providing boats to access the communities of Cayos Cochinos. I would also like to thank Carlson, for his wise words and access to his archive in Barronco, Belize, C.A. Many thanks also go to the Lenton and Wortley Trust Fund, for their generous grant.

My biggest debt however is to Dr. Kristine Gentry (The University of Auburn; US) and Dr. Sarah Jewitt (The University of Nottingham), for their continued guidance and support.



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## 1. Introduction

Post colonial critiques argue that legacies of colonialism have enabled the West to ‘make’ knowledge about the rest of the world. Through a series of discourses, in particular development, the West have sponsored their own version of ‘truth’. Setting up a dichotomy between the ‘developed’ North and ‘underdeveloped’ South. The success of the developing world is dependent on the uptake of western ideology of modernisation. This ‘top down’ approach is not only limited to discourses in development. The environmental movement in the west has manipulated this dichotomy, through a Green Orientalists approach, imposing post-materialistic ‘values’ and ‘beliefs’ through ‘grand theories’ on the developing world (Lohmann: 1993). Belize in particular has fallen victim to Green Orientalism, with over a third of the country devoted to nature reserves (Sutherland: 1998). The ‘don’t touch’ approach of postmaterial environmentalism, has removed many local people from their land, denied them access to resources and criminalised their traditional livelihoods.

Since the 1970s, there has been increasing recognition of the detrimental socio-economic, political and environmental impacts with many externally imposed ‘top down’ and locally insensitive conservation programs (Escobar: 1995 in Jewitt: 2002). In response, post-development discourses have emerged, which argue for ‘not so much a development alternative, as an alternative to development’ (Watts, 1993, 253). From the 1980s a number of ‘farmer first’ (Rhoades and Booth, 1982; Chambers and Ghildyal, 1985; Chambers, Pacey and Thrupp, 1989), ‘farmer participatory research’ and ‘participatory rural appraisal’ (PRA) models were developed (Farrington, 1988; Chambers, 1992; 1994). These emphasised a need to enable and encourage local people to help define development projects, evaluate their results and disseminate their findings (Jewitt, 2002; 13). In essence, we participate in ‘their’ project, not ‘they’ in ‘ours’ (Chambers: 1995; 30). By taking a



bottom-up approach to development, and focusing on rural livelihoods, it has been shown by Escobar (1992, 1995), Esteva (1987, 1992) and Parajuli (1996, 1998) there can be considerable environmental benefits.

Recognising the benefits of farmer first and PRA techniques, this study takes a bottom-up approach towards its methodology. In support of Thompson (1993) and The International Institute of Environment and Development (IIED), the study also acknowledges that there is a level of 'naïve populism' within participatory techniques, and that social scientists in particular, can make a valuable contribution towards constructing a sustainable development proposal. In the case of Cayos Cochinos, Honduras, this study will argue that the current top-down approach adopted by a local environmental organisation towards development and conservation, is causing detrimental affects on local livelihoods and cultures. Drawing on participatory methods and social science literature, a bottom-up development plan is proposed for Cayos Cochinos, which meets a number of conflicting demands, resulting in both an enhancement of local livelihoods and cultures, as well as the local environment.



## 1.2 Literature Review

Since the Second World War there has been a number of changes taken place within development thinking; most notably the shift away from ‘grand theories’ towards more locally-oriented initiatives that highlight the importance of indigenous knowledge systems and local development priorities. In order to explain this shift in ideology we refer to development as a series of ‘discourses’ which have over time been influenced by wider political ecology. The chapter begins with an assessment of how development as a discourse, which primarily promotes industrialisation, has been manipulated by the environmental movement, to preserve vast areas of the Third World. Following this, an evaluation of the impact of environmental discourse on livelihoods in the developing world is conducted, with particular reference to tourism as a sustainable top down development tool. The chapter concludes with a critical evaluation of post-development literature, and its practical implications for rural livelihoods and cultural identity.

From *The Dictionary of Human Geography* a discourse is a ‘series of representations, practices and performances through which meanings are produced and legitimized’ (2000: 180). In other words, a discourse represents institutionalised knowledge which constitutes ways of specifying what is truth (Foucault: 1990 and Williams, 1998). The rules and practices surrounding discourse delimit and define the a mode of thought and perception of the thinker; one therefore cannot think outside a limited field of knowledge. In short, discourse determines ways of doing things, where the real is given shape by those who have the power to conceptualise and manage it (Hobart, 1993: 9 in Williams: 1998: 2).

Post-colonial critiques argue that legacies of colonialism have enabled the West to ‘make’ knowledge (discourse) about the rest of the world. Through an oriental approach the West have sponsored their own versions of ‘truth’, with a series of discourses, including development;





dictating the 'correct' norm. Development discourse sets up, a dichotomy between hungry, tradition-shackled southern peoples and a modern, scientific, democratic north under whose progressive leadership they will gradually be freed for better things (Lohmann: 1993) and become part of the 'temple of progress' (Escobar: 1995, 158). Success of the developing world is dependent upon western ideology of modernisation and the uptake of the industrial values. With the absorption of third world governments into the development 'dream', transfer of technology from the West became evident during the 1950s and 1960s, with the Green Revolution across Asia, signifying 'grand theories' of development. By conceptualising the West as the role model for the rest of the world, development discourse 'became a powerful instrument for normalising the world' (Escobar: 1995, 26).

This neo-colonialist approach is not only limited to discourses in development. Governments, Corporations and Organisations everywhere like to cast local minority groups into the role of people requiring their administration (Lohmann: 1993). As Maslow (1954) and Inglehart (1977) explain, with the basic needs for survival met in the developed world, postmaterialist demands become evident, with the rise of environmentalism in the 1960s. Lohmann (1993) highlights that 'environmentalists are just as capable of employing neo-colonialist methods to recast other peoples movements and practices to suit their own purposes'. From the 1960s, a new environmental discourse emerged, promoting environmental preservation, but continuing the theme of grand theories; forming what Lohmann calls 'Green Orientalism'. For Green Orientalists, all knowledge consciousness and power rest with the north. In environmental matters, as in others, they assume it is up to the North not only to explain, inspire and lead the South, but also to empower it and teach it about itself (Lohmann: 1993).

As Luke's (1997) paper on *'Ecocolonialism as Funding the Worldwide 'Wise Use' of Nature'* argues, The World Wildlife Fund (WWF) is one of the world's most systematic parishioners of



ecocolonialism [Green Orientalism]. By implementing ‘third wave’<sup>1</sup> environmental techniques the WWF who consist mostly of ‘white, western scientists that were paid for by affluent, white, western suburbanites’ (Luke, 1997: 8) have achieved green governmentality of over 250 million acres of land worldwide, of which the vast majority is located within the developing world. With a ‘zoocentric’ approach, the WWF defensively bar the ordinary economic exploitation of land, life and resources, enabling them to preserve prestige species and arrest human development for our (western) pleasure. Belize in particular has fallen victim to Green Orientalism, with over a third of the country devoted to nature reserves (Sutherland: 1998). The ‘don’t touch’ approach of postmaterial environmentalism, has removed many local people from their land, denied them access to resources and made their traditional livelihoods a criminal activity. Yet the Belizean people and other local communities affected by environmentalism are expected to continue their everyday life. When areas are under strict restriction, they are told to become tour guides. Ecotourism is touted as the solution; living off the resources of the land is labelled the problem (Sutherland: 1998).

Environmental organisations have exploited the growing tourism economy by pioneering the concept of using tourism to support conservation. Based on Ecological Marxism, ecotourism provides a production force to conserve natural resources and cultural values (Leff: 1989). As WWF declares, the deal is dangerous, but potentially very rewarding, providing employment opportunities for the local people as tour guides, lodge owners, handicraft makers, maintenance personnel and vendors (WWF, 1995: 4). Luke (1997) however comments, that these employment opportunities are usually limited and pay less than the primary sector. Despite criticisms, Train highlights that ecotourism signifies a shift in conversational thought, one whereby, ‘unless local communities can

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<sup>1</sup> More recently environmentalists have purposely constructed collaborative links with capital and the state rather than fomenting confrontations with them; forming the ‘third wave’ approach to environmentalism (Dowie: 1995 in Luke).



derive economic benefit from conservation projects, to protect ecosystems or particular species of wildlife, those projects will have little long term viability' (Train in Luke: 1997; 12).

Since the 1970s, there has been increasing recognition of the detrimental socio-economic, political and environmental impacts associated with many externally imposed 'top down' and locally insensitive development programs (Escobar: 1995 in Jewitt: 2002). Reflecting this shift, post-colonial critiques challenge the single site representation of Orientalism in development and environmental discourse. In response, development alternatives have been proposed, forming a 'paradigm shift' (Scoones and Thompson, 1994a), calling for the celebration of the 'poetics of difference' (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). These ideas have been articulated as post-development discourse which 'is not so much a development alternative, as an alternative to development' (Watts, 1993: 258).

Radical post-development theorists propose a romanticised populist alternative for Third World, based on small scale enterprise, labour intensive technology, environmental knowledge and community organisation (Esteva, 1987; Marglin, 1990a; Alvarez, 1994; Escobar, 1992;1995 in Jewitt, 2002: 2). However, as Chambers (1983) highlights, it is important to resist the temptation to revive the 'Noble Savage' (1983; 85) and romanticise the so-called pre-development 'golden age' where adaptive peasants lived in harmony with their environments (Jewitt: 2005). In more mainstream post-development circles, concern about development failure has helped to stimulate a shift in emphasis away from top down approach towards rural development and the desirability of using grassroots bottom up approach's (Jewitt: 2002, 2).

From the 1980s a number of 'farmer first' (Rhoades and Booth, 1982; Chambers and Ghildyal, 1985; Chambers, Pacey and Thrupp, 1989), 'farmer participatory research' and 'participatory rural appraisal' (PRA) models were developed (Farrington, 1988; Chambers, 1992; 1994). These



emphased the need to enable and encourage local people to help define development projects research agendas, evaluate their results and disseminate their findings (Jewitt, 2002; 13). In essence, we participate in 'their' project, not 'they' in 'ours' (Chambers: 1995; 30). PRA's in particular have spread exponentially, to over one hundred countries, forming a new orthodoxy in World Bank policy. Alongside global growth of PRA's, Blackburn and Holland (1998) highlight the 'scaling up' from local development initiatives to regional and national policy.

'The essence of PRA is changes and reversals of role, behaviour, relationship and learning. Outsiders do not dominate and lecture; they facilitate, sit down, listen, watch and learn. Outsiders do not transfer technology; instead they share methods which local people can use for their own appraisal, analysis, planning action, monitoring and evaluation. Outsiders hand over the stick, trusting the capabilities of local people'.

(Chambers, 1998; 2)

Importantly participatory approaches emphasise the need to listen and learn and to make local people active partners in the research and development agendas. Setting in motion a 'paradigm shift' from top down to bottom up forms of development discourse (Scoones and Thompson, 1993, 1994a). However despite this, there is criticism of 'naive populism' whereby it fails to consider the socio-cultural and political economic dimensions of knowledge creation, innovation, transmission and use within rural societies and scientific organisations. (Thompson: 1993). In particular Thompson (1993) highlights how 'farmer first' approach's attempt to 'blend' or 'integrate' local knowledge into existing scientific procedures assuming that rural people's knowledge represents an easily definable 'body'. The critics point out, however, that rural people's knowledge, like scientific knowledge, is always fragmentary and rarely unified. In response to the criticisms, Thompson and Scoones (1994a) formulate 'beyond farmers first' participatory model, whereby they attempt to move the indigenous knowledge debate beyond its current populist focus and examine critical issues of power and need. In liking with Corbridge's (1999) criticisms to recognise the benefits of western



science and experience, instead of inhibiting outside knowledge it will create practical strategies for developing effective and equitable partnerships between indigenous knowledge and formal knowledge systems (Thompson 1993).

Outside assistance from Social Scientists in particular, can contribute significantly to formulating successful bottom-up development strategies. Using an inter-disciplinary approach, social scientists can listen, learn, and advise, facilitating communications between opposing sides, formulating a practical strategy which meets the needs of conflicting demands. Through social science literature, the voice of the developing world can be heard, promoting a shift in development discourse, from top down to bottom up approaches, enabling us to participate in 'their' project, not 'they' in 'ours' (Chambers: 1995; 30).



## **1.3 Setting the Scene**

### **1.3.1 Location**

This geographical study is focused on the region of Cayos Cochinos (Map One); an archipelago of islands, situated on the Mesoamerican Coral Reef, located twenty kilometres off the Caribbean Coast of Honduras. Cayos Cochinos is primarily inhabited by two Garifuna communities, located on the island of Chachahuate (community named Chachahuate) and Cayo Menor (community named East End). Chachahuate and East End are closely associated with two mainland communities; Nuevo Armenia and Rio Estevan respectively (Map Two). The Garifuna of Cayos Cochinos travel to and from the mainland regularly, to sell their fish at market and to visit friends and family.

### **1.3.2 About the Garifuna**

The Garifuna are a trans-migrational, modern ethnic group whose members live under a variety of circumstances in Central American, United States and European Countries. Some are highly educated, sophisticated citizens of the world, while others are illiterate migrant labourers, farmers and fishermen (Gonzalez: 1988). They are the quintessential postmodern; with a history of hybridity and migration, forming integral components of their culture (England: 2004: 93). Despite continuing adaptation to new environments (colonialism, capitalism and modernity), Garifuna social and cultural characteristics, which are manifest in their archaic family and social structures, are still evident in today's Garifuna communities. They still maintain their own dialect, circular dances, religious ceremonies, Punta dance and tales.

The Garifuna people originate from Central America. Honduras alone is home to over 98,000 Garifuna people. While there are significant Garifuna populations in the country's capital,



Tegucigalpa, and in the northern cities of San Pedro Sula and La Ceiba, most Garifuna are located on the Atlantic Coast, distributed among some forty-three towns and villages. Garifuna populations also live on the Belizean Coast, in the coastal town of Livingstone in Guatemala and the Atlantic region of Nicaragua. Beyond Central America, there are sizable Garifuna populations in the US (Sieder: 1995; 235). The position of the Garifuna in Honduras is very different from that in Guatemala, and both are different from the situation in either Belize or Nicaragua, forming what Gonzalez states as 'part societies' (1988).

### **1.3.3 Cayos Cochinos: The Conflict**

Situated upon the world's second largest coral reef system, the Garifuna communities of Chachahuat and East End, have developed through the existence of fishing as their primary livelihood (Plate One). In recent years however, the marine ecology of Cayos Cochinos has fallen victim to severe environmental degradation. With the El Nino event of 1998 and Hurricane Mitch later that year, much of the coral reefs and fisheries along the Honduran coastline were destroyed, including Cayos Cochinos. Human activities in the area have also contributed significant threats to fish stocks and local marine ecology, with high levels of industrial fishing inundating the waters of Cayos Cochinos, abstracting far greater number of fish, lobster and conch than the marine environment could sustain.

In response to increased environmental degradation, the Honduran Government established Cayos Cochinos and the surrounding marine ecology, as a protected area in 1993 (Map Two). The Honduran Coral Reef Foundation (HCRF) was formed in the same year, with remit to protect and establish conservational strategies for the area. With the support from The World Wildlife Fund (WWF), the first management plan for Cayos Cochinos was implemented in February 2004. Principally, the management plan is designed to preserve and enhance the marine environment of



Cayos Cochinos (Map Three), and promote the diversification of Garifuna livelihoods of fishing into new livelihood strategies. This dissertation will examine the impact of environmentalism upon Garifuna livelihoods and cultural identity of Cayos Cochinos, and propose how conflicting demands from both sides can be met through bottom-up development approaches.

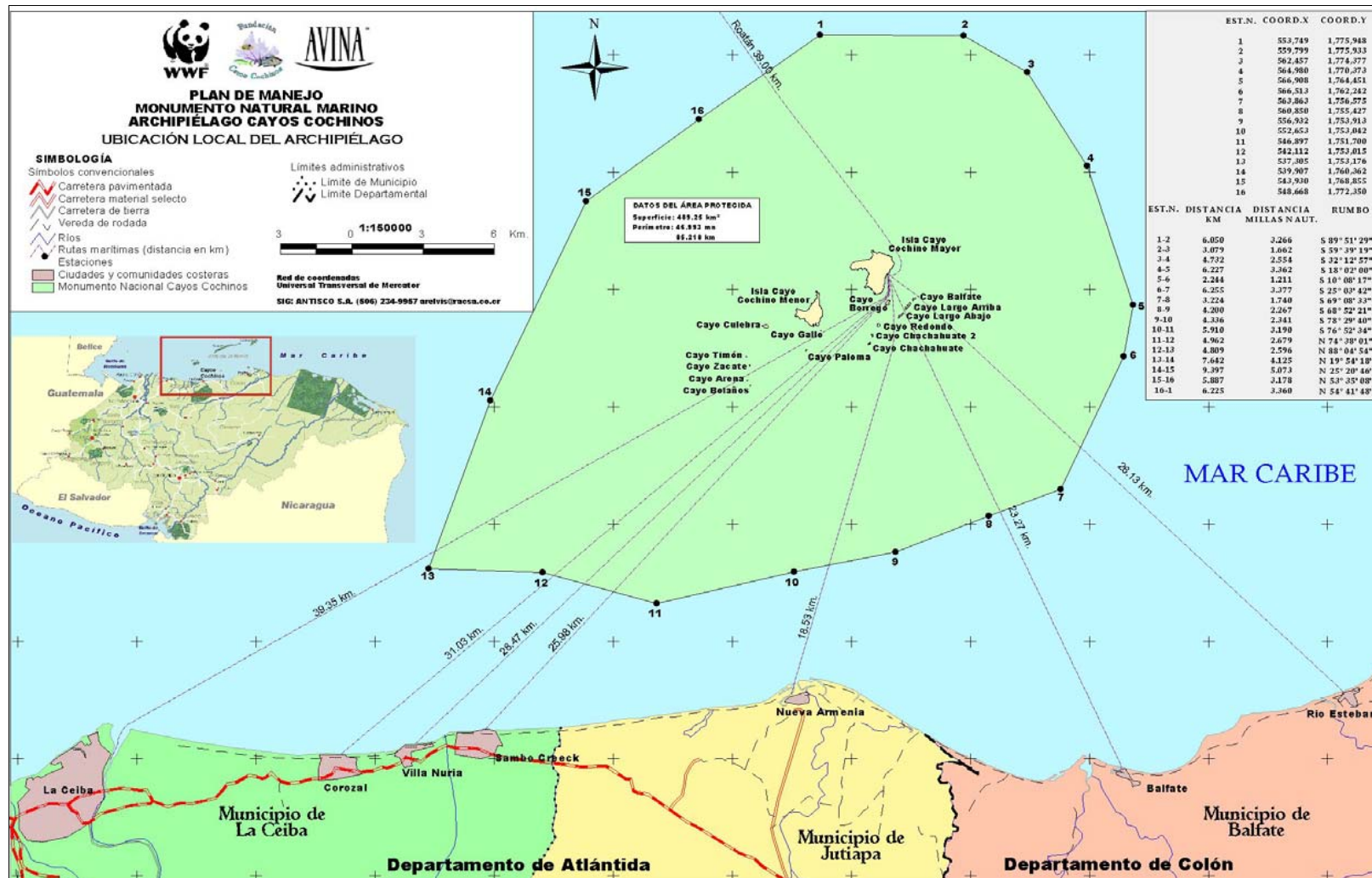
### **1.3.4 Aims and Objectives**

- What are the impacts of changing livelihoods upon Garifuna Cultural Identity?
  - What is the Garifuna Livelihood and Cultural Identity on Cayos Cochinos?
  - What is the relationship between Garifuna Livelihood and Cultural Identity?
  - Why are Garifuna Livelihoods changing?
  - How are the Garifuna Livelihoods changing?
- What are the impacts of new livelihood strategy for Garifuna cultural identity?
  - What is the new livelihood strategy for the Garifuna of Cayos Cochinos?
  - What is the current impact of the new livelihood strategy on the Garifuna?
  - What is the future impact of new livelihood strategies on the Garifuna culture?
- How can bottom-up development maintain Garifuna Cultural Identity and preserve the natural environment of Cayos Cochinos



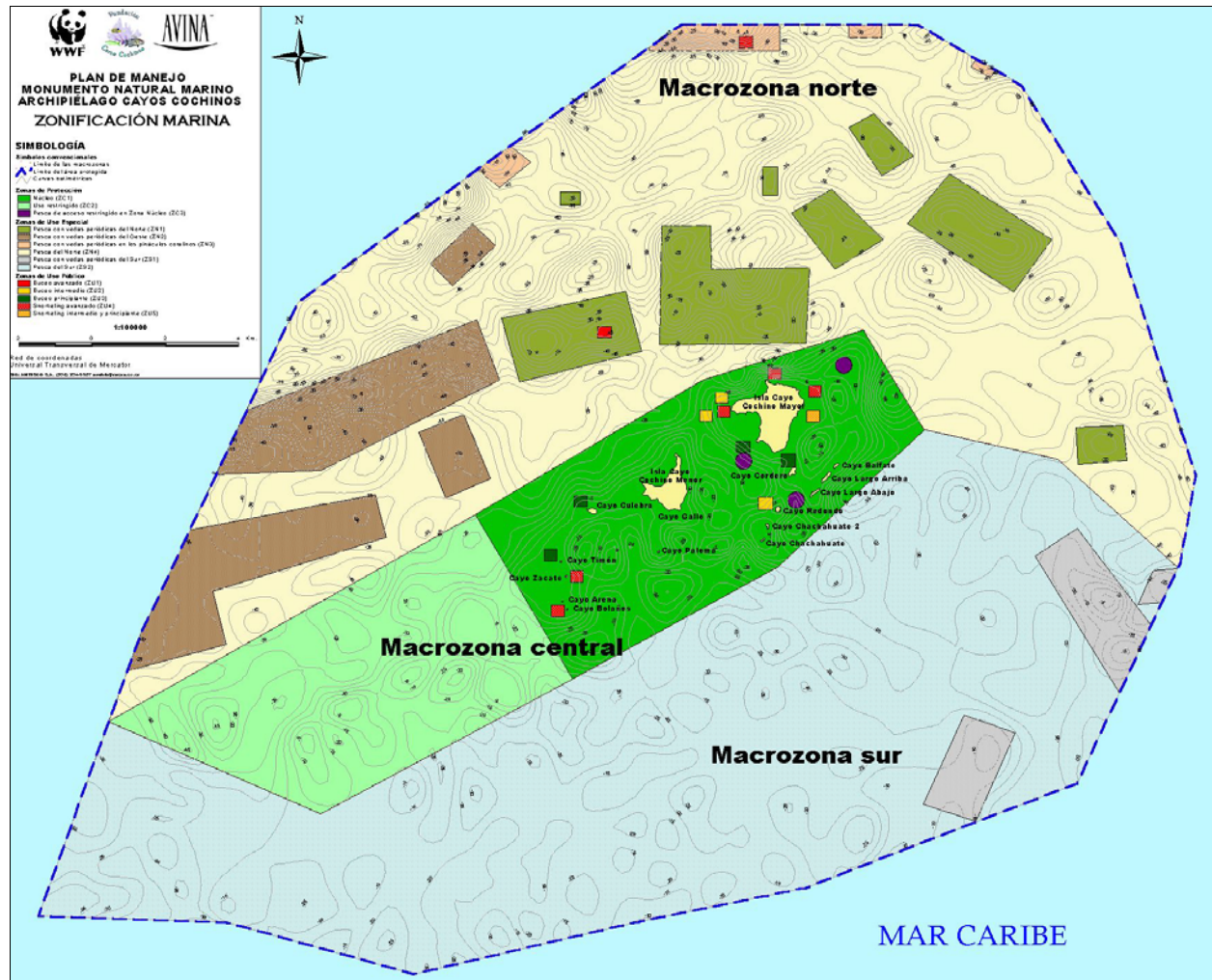


Map 1: Cayos Cochinos in relationship with Honduras, Central America



Map 2: Cayos Cochinos Nature Reserve and Relationship with Mainland Garifuna Communities





### Map 3: Fishing Zones around Cayos Cochinos



**Plate 1: Fishing is the primary livelihood of the Garifuna on Cayos Cochinos**



**Plate 2: Garifuna Family from East End**



## 2. Methodology

Impact studies have become increasingly site specific (Patton: 2002), reflecting on a paradigm shift towards participatory development discourse (e.g. Chambers: 1992). As Cornwall and Jewkes (1995) highlight however, ‘participation’ is rapidly becoming a catch-all concept, even cliché (1995; 1668). Participatory research methods are used to enable local people to seek out their own solutions according to their priorities. In this study, a bottom-up grassroots approach is taken, whereby research methodology promotes an exploration of local knowledge and perceptions, drawing on aspects of participatory development, but at the same time allowing for an appreciation of ‘outside’ knowledge (e.g. Thomson and Scoones: 1994a in Jewitt: 2002).

In addition to wider post-development literature, this study takes an approach of ‘methodological triangulation’ (Denzin, 1978, in Patton, 2002: 247), using multiple, predominantly qualitative methods to explore the socio-cultural impacts of environmentalism upon indigenous livelihoods and cultural identity. Triangulation strengthens the study by combining methods, because every method has its limitations (Campbell in Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998: 22). Triangulation is particularly useful in this anthropological study to allow respondents to gain a clearer understanding of the issues in question and combat against errors in translation. The methods used, described briefly in the following sections, explore the feelings and knowledge’s of others (Limb and Dwyer, 2001: 1), and explore the complexities of socio-cultural change.



## **2.1 Primary Project Sites**

### **2.1.1 Chachahuate**

Chachahuate is the largest Garifuna community within Cayos Cochinos (Plate Three). The island of Chachahuate shrunk considerably as a result of hurricane Mitch in 1998 to around 150m by 50m depending on the tide. The sporadic layout of huts remarkably manages to fit forty houses into the crescent shaped island. There are at peak around two hundred people living on Chachahuate, but during the time of research (July 7th-August 20<sup>th</sup> 2004), the average sample population fluctuated around ninety three people. The village seems overcrowded yet cosy with the vast expanse of open water all around. The beach is covered with Cayucos (small boats), signifying fishing as the primary livelihood of the Garifuna of Cayos Cochinos. Chachahuate is far from sustainable. Their water supply is from a well, which is limited, and all the food and merchandise is bought in from the mainland. The island of Chachahuate is in every sense of the word, a desert island.

### **2.1.2 Cayo Menor (East End)**

Cayo Menor is the largest of the islands of Cayos Cochinos, measuring 1.2km at its widest parts. Principally the island is inhabited by the Garifuna, however there is also a small American owned hotel (Plantation Hotel), a number of privately owned holiday homes sparsely situated around the island and a small Honduran Naval base. The Garifuna community of Cayo Menor is named East End (Plate Four). Although named 'Big Island' it remarkably has the smallest community of Garifuna people totalling about fifty at peak fishing season. At the time of research the community of East End comprised of nineteen houses in total, with on average twenty one people, all within a two hundred metre stretch of palm dappled beach crouched nicely behind a shallow reef protecting the huts from



the usually quite rough (for the Caribbean) seas. In keeping with Chachahuate, the beach of East End is covered with Cayucos. East End is home also to the local primary school for Cayos Cochinos. East End is a sustainable community, with a population much lower than the island carry capacity, with an adequate water supply and sewage system.

### **2.1.3 Secondary Project Sites**

There is a high level of integration between the islands of Cayos Cochinos and the mainland. In order to address the aims and objectives of this study, wider research was completed within the Garifuna town of Nuevo Armenia, which is closely associated with the community of Chachahuate on Cayos Cochinos, and La Ceiba, a major city situated on the north eastern coast of Honduras (Map Two). Visits to Nuevo Armenia promoted a better understanding of the Garifuna culture (with artefacts and libraries available there). Whilst visits to the city of La Ceiba, enabled access to both the headquarters of HCRF, where many interviews were conducted, and too Garifuna non-government organisations, where secondary data was collected.

## **2.2 Primary Data Collection Methods**

Six weeks were spent collecting primary data. In this time, interviews were conducted with HCRF and other organisations working in the area, however the majority of time was spent within the Garifuna communities of Chachahuate and East End. Based on the research criteria and post-development context in which this study is set, this methodology focuses on the data collection methods used to obtain information from the local Garifuna population.

Primary data collection was focused towards qualitative methodology including interviews and participant observations. Sharan Merriam, in her book; *Case Study Research in Education; A*



*Qualitative Approach* explains that the quantitative researcher assesses a limited number of variables by examining a number of research controlled answers, trying to find out if a pre-conceived hypothesis is operating (Merriam; 1998, 6 in Yow, 1994). In accordance with Merriam's (1998) account, the very nature of quantitative research opposes the central ethos of participatory research, in that there are preconceptions by 'outsiders'. Qualitative research however does not involve manipulation of a few variables (Yow, 1994: 5). Rather Merriam (1988) argues that this kind of research is inductive, and is a multiplicity of variables and their relationships are considered not in isolation but are interrelated within a life context (1998; 6 in Yow: 1994).

Like many other qualitative studies, there was no preconceived hypothesis set out at the beginning of research. The first objective was to gain confidence and an understanding of the research environment as well as to build a rapport, both with the Garifuna and HCRF. Little previous research has been completed on Cayos Cochinos, which meant the first four weeks of research was devoted to creating a 'foundation study'. The foundation study researched the overall geography of Cayos Cochinos, with particular reference to Garifuna Livelihoods and Culture. By implementing the sociologists Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser (1965) approach of 'grounded analysis', a number of hypotheses emerged. In particular, the conflict between livelihoods and cultural identity surfaced, which became the primary research objective for the remaining two weeks. The generation of hypotheses through grounded analysis continued throughout all stages of study, and played a significant role in developing bottom-up as opposed to top-down environmentalism approaches currently in place.





### **2.2.1 Population Sample**

Due to the nature of Garifuna livelihoods and the high level of migration back and forth from the mainland, the populations of Chachahuate and East End fluctuated throughout the research period. Regular populations counts were completed during this period, which concluded there was on average ninety three people on Chachahuate and twenty two within East End. Based on the number of respondent questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups (ref. Appendix Two and Five), 52% of Chachahuate, and 100% of East End's Population was sampled within the research of this study. Collectively, 61% of the Garifuna population on Cayos Cochinos was sampled.

### **2.2.2 Interviews**

With structured interviews, the relationship of researcher (who plays the role of authoritative scholar) to respondent (who is the passive yielder of data) is one of subject to object (Yow: 1994). From Yow (1994) we learn therefore that, structured interview techniques hold little significance for participatory approaches, and that unstructured interviews allow the respondent to have greater control over the discussion, promoting objectivity by formulating a relationship of subject to subject. Furthermore with unstructured interviews, what Geertz (1973) terms 'thick description' increases, whereby the aim is not one single experience, but a larger number of testimonies that give great variety in detail, contributing towards a greater grounded analysis.

Semi-structured interviews, in the format of questionnaires, initiated research on Cayos Cochinos. As part of the foundation study, questionnaires were implemented to collect general information on family histories, education, incomes, social issues, impacts of tourism and environmental legislation. Because of high levels of illiteracy, questionnaires were read out to the translator who then conversed



in native dialect directly to the respondent, who replied with an answer which was translated back and written down (Plate Five). This method also allowed the respondent to develop answers, producing valuable dialogue alongside general facts and figures. Likert scales were used in particular, to obtain information on perceptions of tourism and environmental legislations. As rapport grew informal discussions soon developed, which uncovered a number of important findings. From grounded analysis, hypothesis began to emerge from the foundation study, which led to in-depth oral history interviews and focus groups. Oral histories in particular allowed for a much greater understanding of Garifuna culture and its connection with local livelihoods. Focus groups often developed naturally as rapport grew, with Garifuna feeling obliged to share their views as others were interviewed. When interviewing children, focus groups helped considerably towards stimulating the younger generation to state their 'real' ambitions, and to put aside concerns of finance (Plate Six and Seven).

### **2.2.3 Participant Observations**

Participatory Observations fieldwork forms the foundation of cultural anthropology. By eating, playing and participating in local peoples livelihoods, the researcher becomes closer to the local population, making them feel more comfortable, so that outsiders can observe and record information about their lives. Bernard (2002, 322) highlights four reasons for participatory observations, which reflects Denzin's (1978) 'methodological triangulation'. Firstly, participant observation allowed this study to gain access to information on illegal fishing in Cayos Cochinos, which otherwise would have not been considered. Secondly, it reduced the level re-activity, whereby people change their mind when they know they are being studied. Thirdly, it allowed the researcher to answer the many simpler questions concerning the human environment of Cayos Cochinos, preventing local people from becoming insulted by trivial questioning. Fourthly, it provided 'meaning' (context) behind the data collected.



A critique of observation, discussed by Merriam (1998, in Patton, 2002), is that the inherent deception in participant observation leads to a pervasive feeling of guilt, and a tendency to over-identify with the people being studied. Fortunately, with regular meetings with the HCRF and discussing much of my findings with local marine ecologists, I remained relatively unbiased, understanding the needs of the environment and local people.

### **2.3 Methodological Issues**

There exists various ethical codes of ‘confidentiality’ (e.g. Christians in Patton; 2002, 407). Respondents were made aware of the purpose of research from the outset (Appendix Three), and were given the option to remain anonymous. However, all of the respondents out of anger and frustration towards the conflicts on Cayos Cochinos, wanted their name to be included.

Anthropological research into livelihoods and cultural identities raises a series of issues (Bernard: 2002). As Bernard (2002) points out, it is important to consider ‘positionality’ (2002: 89) in research, and the effect researchers race, sex, and age can have upon the ‘response rate’ (see Rice; 1929 in Bernard, 2002; 230). As a white educated British male (historically the Garifuna have been displaced by British), I was initially associated with the HCRF, and there was a certain level of hostility directed towards me. With the support of hiring local translators, the local population began to trust that I was an independent researcher. Despite actively attempting to reduce the ‘response effect’ however, this study accepts a certain level of inaccuracy, with ‘respondents telling you what they think you want to hear, not what they actually believe’ (Rice; 1929 in Bernard, 2002; 230).

Language differences and translations are the major limitation of this study. With the majority of the local people speaking native dialect, a local Garifuna was employed as a translator. He could not read



or write, but was articulate in the local dialect, Latin American Spanish and English. Often the locals did not understand the meaning of certain terms such as ‘culture’ and ‘livelihoods’, so with the use of the translator, I described what certain terms meant within the questions, with careful consideration not to sway the respondent in anyway. The translator proved to be a particular character, who was educated and passionate about the issues this study was addressing, which often meant he ‘put words in the mouth’ of the respondent. This limitation was overcome quickly, from discussions with the translator about the importance of objectivity. Both the translator and the locals used to participate quite keenly in drinking the local brew (Giffiti) in the afternoons, which limited data collection somewhat. The majority of the data collection was therefore completed in the early mornings and at lunchtime when the men returned from sea.



**Plate 3: Garifuna Community of Chachahuat**



**Plate 4: Garifuna Community of East End**



**Plate 5: Due to high levels of illiteracy all questionnaires were directly translated**



**Plate 6: Focus group with children from East End**





**Plate 7: Participatory Methods were used within Focus Groups**



**Plate 8: Participatory Observations where key to this study**



### **3. Results and Discussions Part I**

#### **3.1 Impact of Changing Livelihoods upon Garifuna Cultural Identity**

This chapter combines primary and secondary research, analysis and discussions in order to assess the impact of changing livelihoods upon Garifuna culture on Cayos Cochinos. The chapter begins with a description of Garifuna livelihood and culture. Following this, factors which have led to livelihood change are assessed. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of how the Garifuna livelihood is changing and its impacts on cultural identity.

##### **3.1.1 Garifuna Livelihood and Culture of Cayos Cochinos**

The fishing villages of Chachahuate and East End appear to have been created as a survival strategy by the Garifuna, whereby they revert back to their traditional skills in fishing for a means of survival. Many of the Garifuna fishermen from Cayos Cochinos, have settled in the villages of Chachahuate and East End because they were unable to find employment on the mainland. For instance, Joseph Bwelto a fishermen from Chachahuate, used to farm cattle, but in 1992 had his land on the mainland redistributed to the high-class locals and foreigners, so Joseph and other Garifuna resorted to fishing as their livelihood'. Lionel Martinez , from East End was also made unemployed when the fruit companies left Honduras. He, like Joseph and many other Garifuna, had to revert back to his traditional seaman skills in order to survive. Mario from East End, would rather be a mechanic than a fishermen but the opportunities are not available to him, so he has to revert to fishing. Despite the involuntary nature of fishing in Cayos Cochinos, 70% of the Garifuna are 'happy with their way of life' and 'enjoy fishing for a few hours and relaxing for the rest of the day' (Adrian E. Oviedo: HCRF).





Only males go out to sea and fish whilst the females remain on the islands cooking, and looking after the children and the household. The average age of the fishermen is 39.7 years of age and the average length of time they have been fishing in the area of Cayos Cochinos is 19.1 years, with a range between 1 to 60 years of age (HCRF Management Plan: 2004). The fishermen devote between 18 to 80 hours a week fishing depending on the season and amount of dependents. Mario, with 4 dependents, will often fish in peak season for 60 to 80 hours a week. He sells about 80% of his catch and on a good week will earn US\$500. However, in the low season (Jan-May) Mario would be fortunate to earn \$US200. Likewise, Adam Azu from Chachahuate, fishes for around 74 hours a week when it is good weather. Whilst, some fishermen stated that they prefer to go fishing at night with a torch because they can catch larger fish. Mario like many of the fishermen at East End sell their fish to a local man called Alejandro, who runs the local fishing cooperative. The cooperative enables the fishermen to pool resources and sell their catch in bulk on the mainland in La Ceiba to the fish factory called 'The Caribbean' where they obtain a better price than if they were to sell it locally. It would be economically unfeasible for each fishermen to travel separately to the mainland to sell their catch. Lionel who is also part of the cooperative, believes he earns between \$US1000 and \$US2000 a year through fishing for red and white snapper and lobster.

The fishing industry on the islands has generated a small service based economy. East End has a bar and shop, whilst Chachahuate the larger village of the two, has three bars and several shops. A local Garifuna, named Donaldo, owns and runs the bar and shop at East End. Principally, Donaldo runs his business to help the community. The bar provides a meeting point for the locals and a table for the children to complete their homework. Donaldo only makes a small profit from the business when he combines fishing and travelling to the mainland to buy goods for the store. Interestingly, all the bars and shops on Chachahuate are run by local Garifuna women. Suyapa Garcia owns and runs a shop from her home, situated on Chachahuate, which helps support her husband's income from fishing.



Suyapa estimates the shop earns \$US40 profit a day, as apposed to \$US5 a day earned by her husband who is a fishermen. The shops expenses are about \$US250 a week which covers buying and transport of goods. The store when it opened seven years ago was only used by locals, but in the last seven years tourists have begun to buy goods. The level of tourism on Cayos Cochinos is relatively low. Despite the growth of tourism and the small service based economy, fishing is the primary Garifuna livelihood on Cochinos.

Little research has been conducted on the Garifuna communities of Cayos Cochinos, as result, many aspects of Garifuna livelihood and culture of Cayos Cochinos contradicts past academic studies completed on mainland Garifuna communities. By comparing findings from Cayos Cochinos to Gonzalez's (1988) work in Livingstone, Guatemala and more recent works by England (2001) in Limon, Honduras, the unique Garifuna culture of Cayos Cochinos becomes evident.

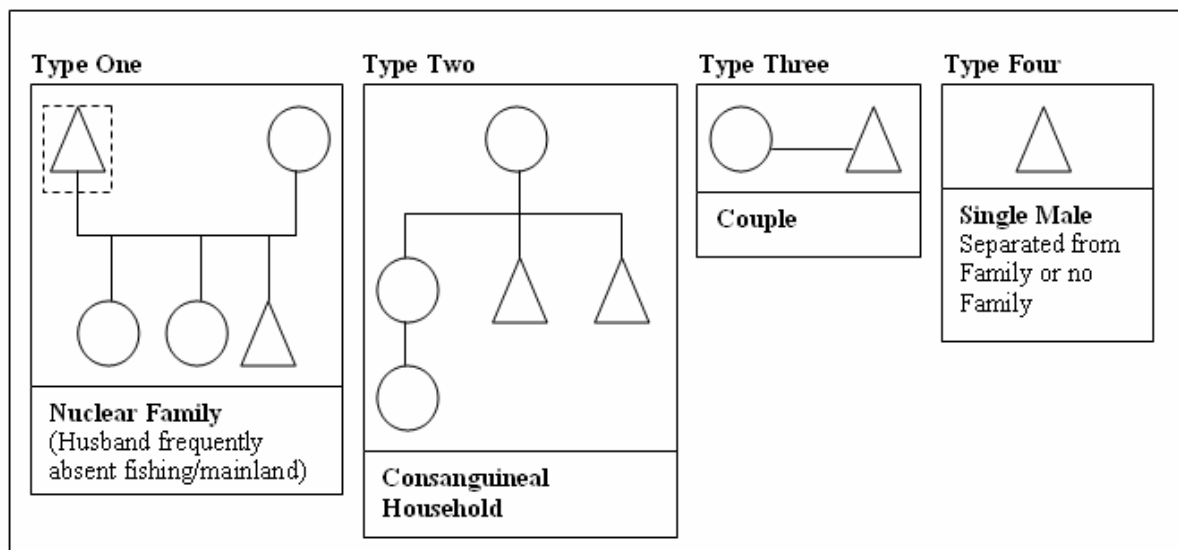
In Gonzalez's book titled, *'Sojourners of the Caribbean: Enthogenesis and Ethnohistory of the Garifuna'* (1998), she states that it is 'inappropriate to think of Garifuna fishing at any time as having been a full time occupation...few if any thought of themselves as career fishermen...it was simply part of every male's repertoire of skills' (1988; ). According to several oral history interviews and research completed by the HCRF, the Garifuna villages of Cayos Cochinos were present when Gonzalez carried out her research sixteen years ago. In contrast to Gonzalez's (1988) findings, fishing is a full-time activity and a career for many Garifuna people of Cayos Cochinos. The Garifuna people of Cayos Cochinos see fishing as their livelihood, their tradition, and the core of their culture.

In addition to the unique Garifuna livelihood of Cayos Cochinos, Chachahuate and East End, displayed differences in household structure to that of the mainland Garifuna communities. Gonzalez (1969) was one of the first ethnographers to focus on kinship and households of Garifuna community,



with the publication of '*Black Carib Household Structure; A Study of migration and modernization*' (1969). Gonzalez (1969) concluded that Garifuna household structure has been significantly influenced by 'migratory wage labour'. In particular, Gonzalez (1969) argues shifts in household structure are an adaptation to migratory wage labour, resulting in 'consanguineal households'<sup>2</sup> which was further supported by England (2001) in her recent survey in Limon, Honduras. The fishing villages of Cayos Cochinos displayed both similar and contrasting results when evaluated against surveys completed by Gonzalez (1969) and England (2001).

There is a greater diversity of household structures within the fishing villages of Cayos Cochinos compared to the mainland Garifuna villages of Livingston, Guatemala (Gonzalez: 1969) and Limon, Honduras (England: 2001). The Garifuna villages of Chachuate and East End are home to four types of household structure, as opposed to two types recognised by Gonzalez (1969):



**Figure 1: Household Structures on Cayos Cochinos**

<sup>2</sup> Consanguineal Households are whereby the women is head of the house. Characteristics include women who are related, their brothers and women's offspring live together within one household. (Gonzalez: 1969)



The mainland Garifuna communities of Limon and Livingston are described by Gonzalez (1969, 1988) and England (2001) as 'sources' of migratory wage labour. Both men and to a lesser extent women, travel away from the village in search of employment, creating consanguineal households. The Garifuna fishing villages of Cayos Cochinos, in contrast is a 'sink' for migratory wage labour, whereby Garifuna people have migrated to the islands to exploit the natural resources of the Caribbean. The difference between 'source' and 'sink' of migratory wage labour has created a Garifuna society on Cayos Cochinos with different and more diverse household structures from that seen in other mainland Garifuna communities in Central America. Notably, because Cayos Cochinos is an area of employment, in particular fishing, there is a higher presence of males, than witnessed by Gonzalez (1969) and England (2001). Greater number of males has increased the ratio of affinal households to consanguineal households and promoted households comprised of couples and single males, which are 'rarely seen within mainland Central American Garifuna villages' (England: 2001). A comparison of households between England (2004) and Cayos Cochinos is shown in Figure Two.

In addition to the effect migratory labour has had on household structures there are several other significant factors including the location of educational facilities, affiliation to the mainland communities, the livelihood of fishing and movement of males between households, which have impacted upon the diversity of households within the Garifuna villages of Cayos Cochinos.

The Garifuna fishing village of East End houses a primary school for the local community of Cayos Cochinos. As geographers we can appreciate that the primary school, alongside local employment from fishing, has promoted the migration and formation of nuclear families. With the father fishing locally, mother maintaining the household and children at primary school, the nuclear family unit is maintained. However, as would be seen if the primary school was not present on East End, the reverse effect occurs when children go to high school on the mainland. Often the mother and her children



migrate back to their associated mainland Garifuna community where they often live with family, leaving the father to continue to fish, forming consanguineal households on the mainland and a single male household within Cayos Cochinos. Many families, however, cannot afford the tuition fess for high school (primary school is funded by the state) which limits the break-up of nuclear families, despite this, focus group research showed that many children want to go to high school and are working hard with the family to finance their education.

The livelihood of fishing, impacts significantly on the Garifuna household structures of Cayos Cochinos. The majority of the men are away from their families for long periods at a time, either at sea or on the mainland selling fish and picking up supplies. Lionel, a fishermen and my translator from East End, described the movement of males ('Donald Ducks' as he called them) between women and their families, whilst their husbands or partners were away. In particular, Lionel's description of male movement between households supports the argument by Gonzalez (1969, 1988) whereby Garifuna females required multiple relationships in order to obtain economic security for themselves and their children. Therefore, despite evidence of nuclear families, there is also evidence of the adult male being absent from the household for long periods at a time, forming temporary consanguineal households, which thereby promotes the movement of other males between households.

Interestingly, the village of Chachahuate contained a number of household occupied by couples (Figure One). Significantly, in Gonzalez (1969, 1988) and England (2001) surveys, they did not find a Garifuna household occupied by a couple. Gonzalez (1969) explained that as Garifuna villages become incorporated into the national economy and culture, bringing increased economic stability, consanguineal household would disappear as more couples would be able to achieve and maintain the affinal household structure (in England: 2001; 148). As already suggested, fishing and the villages of Cayos Cochinos, provided both employment and land for a family to be raised. This stability has



resulted in a movement away from consanguineal households to couples and nuclear family households.

### Garifuna Livelihood and Cultural Identity

The livelihood of fishing initially appeared to represent the core of Garifuna culture. Research suggested, however, that there was a clear distinction between livelihood and cultural identity. Nancy, from Chachuate is quoted saying, 'You are no less Garifuna if you do not fish'. Francisco Vasics, explains Nancy's point, which was strongly supported by the majority of Garifuna on Cayos Cochinos, 'I am a school teacher not a fishermen...this does not make me less Garifuna... belonging to Garifuna traditions...being part of the way of life...dancing, sounds, clothing, food, and fishing makes you Garifuna'. It appears that fishing as a livelihood has gained cultural importance, because of their position of marginality. Despite evidence of tourism and service based economies, fishing provides the only livelihood on Cayos Cochinos. With limited livelihood diversity, the Garifuna of Cayos Cochinos are dependent on fishing for cultural survival. If however, the Garifuna were able to remain on the islands and diversify into a new livelihood strategies, livelihood change would have an insignificant impact upon cultural identity.

In conjunction with research completed on the relationship between livelihoods and cultural identity, the Garifuna highlight the importance of territory. The Garifuna commented that the unique culture of Cayos Cochinos will only continue if they remain in control of their land and the communities of Chachahuate and East End continue to exist. Gonzalez (1988) supports this when she comments that increased migration and integration into the global economy as wage labourers will have detrimental effects on Garifuna cultural identity. In many respects, Cayos Cochinos represents a new St. Vincent,



a Garifuna Nation where they are owners of the land and masters of their own destiny (Irish: 1997; 29; in England 2004).

The unique nature of the Garifuna island communities of Cayos Cochinos has been constructed within an analysis framework, comparing, contrasting and developing past and recent studies by Gonzalez (1969, 1988) and England (2001), who are both influential Garifuna ethnographers. In particular, contrasts have been made between Garifuna mainland studies and results found within the Garifuna fishing villages of Cayos Cochinos. The difference between the two, highlighted the unique culture and community structure of the island communities and the importance of protecting this indigenous community. All of the Garifuna people of Cayos Cochinos are dependent on fishing, without it they would quickly fall into poverty. The mainland communities, which are associated with the fishing villages, are dependent on Cayos Cochinos also, as many families and children of fishermen live on the mainland and rely on the fathers income to pay for their school and food. If nothing else the fishing communities are idyllic; capturing every sense of a remote Caribbean island inhabited by an indigenous population.

### **3.1.2 Why are the Garifuna livelihoods changing?**

According to the Adrian E. Oviedo the director of HCRF, the Garifuna livelihood on Cayos Cochinos is threatened 'as much by natural phenomena as by human pressures'. Low fish stocks, which has been the result of industrial fishing and damage to the coral reefs from natural disasters, and subsequent environment regulations, which have been imposed recently by HCRF in order to protect the marine ecology from further damage, have collectively threatened the livelihoods of Garifuna on Cayos Cochinos.



The Garifuna people of Cayos Cochinos have come to realise that they must protect the reef because as Valerio from Chachahuate argues, ‘if we do not, the children of our children will never know the many species that we enjoy today and they will not have anything to eat’. However despite this, Joseph Bwelto, the oldest fishermen on Chachahuate, states there ‘is a war between the local community and HCRF’ which Esteran Baptists believes is building a ‘hatred’ between the two sides. Before environmental regulations, Garifuna fishermen would fish in their traditional areas, however, as Lionel describes, Garifuna are ‘forced to fish in zones which are six miles away...without power boats...muscle is not a material which can take it very hard especially when your old...when you get there your fishing for six to seven hours and after a six hour paddle...you cannot do it anymore’...however there is ‘no other ability of making money’. HCRF are perceived by the Garifuna as imperialists, taking away resources on which the Garifuna depend for survival and giving them nothing back.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> July, Alfonso, a fishermen from Chachahuate, was caught by HCRF breaking marine conservation regulations. On the 5<sup>th</sup> August Alfonso made a statement describing how he was treated by the Navy, who work with HCRF. Alfonso was diving for lobster in an area which is prohibited by the management plan, when the Navy noticed him, Alfonso swam to the village of East End where he ran into the forest. The Navy shot at him while he was running away, and once they caught him they stripped him down and beat him. Alfonso said that ‘the area they are allowed to dive for lobster is too deep and too far away’ and so to survive you are forced to break the regulations. Many of the Garifuna people play ignorant to the marine conservation regulations, which results in the loss of their human rights as Alfonso learnt on the 28<sup>th</sup> July 04.

With depleted fish stocks and conservation regulations, the Garifuna livelihood is severely threatened. Adrian E, Oviedo states that the management plan has been designed to promote the diversification





away from fishing. Mario and Lionel comment, ‘there is no job in fishing anymore...fishing will disappear with the regulations’. When asked, ‘Should the Garifuna move away from fishing’, Francisco replied, ‘yes there is no work in fishing anymore – it’s too hard’.

‘A livelihood comprises the assets, the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions) that together determine the living gained by the individual’

(Ellis: 2000; 10)

With reference to Ellis (2000) definition of rural livelihood, we can conclude that the Garifuna livelihood of fishing is under severe threat. The assets (fish) of the Caribbean sea are decreasing, whilst conservation regulations imposed by environmental institutions are making both the assets increasingly hard to access and changing the activities of fishermen so they are economically less productive. As displayed by the ratio of nine empty houses to ten occupied houses on East End (Figure Three), fishing as a livelihood no longer provides an adequate ‘means of living’ for the Garifuna of Cayos Cochinos, which has resulted in the permanent removal of many Garifuna to the mainland in search of employment.

### **3.1.3 How are the Garifuna livelihoods changing?**

The Garifuna emphasise if they do not diversify away from fishing it will eventually destroy the communities of Cayos Cochinos. There is a common belief that it is too late for the fishermen of Cayos Cochinos to change. They believe it is the job of the children to move away from fishing and diversify into new forms of employment. I began to postulate if childrens’ ambitions were different from that of their parents, and what impact this would have on the Garifuna of Cayos Cochinos? During discussions with locals evidence came to light that the ambitions of Garifuna children were



different to that of their parents and grandparents. According to the President of East End, the children of Cayos Cochinos ‘want to study and stay in school’ whilst their parents when they were young, used to be ‘keen to get out and fish’. Francisco the local school teacher has witnessed the growth in ambition to learn. Children are more motivated and enjoy education; they want more than their parents have had.

Four focus groups were set up to assess changing ambitions within the Garifuna populations:

- 6 to 16 year olds            (Chachahuate)            (both sexes)
- 6 to 16 year olds            (East End)            (both sexes) (Appendix Eight)
- 17 to 24 year olds            (Chachahuate)            (both sexes)
- 30+ year olds            (Chachahuate)            (both sexes)

Significant results were displayed by the 6 to 16 year old range focus groups:

Only two from nine boys interviewed on East End and Chachahuate wanted to be fishermen when they were older. Three from nine boys wanted to be professionals in medicine, policing and teaching whilst the remaining six wanted to be tradesmen in carpentry and mechanics. Interestingly, the boys who wanted to be professionals also stated a trade. El Menson Ramirez from East End for example would like to be a policemen or a carpenter. El Menson emphasises the movement away from fishing by implying that if he cannot be a policemen he would like to be a carpenter, as opposed to reverting to fishing which has been traditionally chosen by Garifuna who cannot access the education to become professionals. Despite the movement away from fishing as a livelihood, many of the boys from East End and Chachahuate would like to continue to fish for leisure and believe it to be an important part of their cultural identity.



All the girls from East End and Chachuate would like to study and go out to work as secretaries and some as police women. They would like less children and have them later in their life, unlike their mothers, so that they can study and build a career. When they have their children, all the girls would like to put them into day care so they can continue to work and support the family financially. All the girls believe they have more rights and opportunities than their mothers.

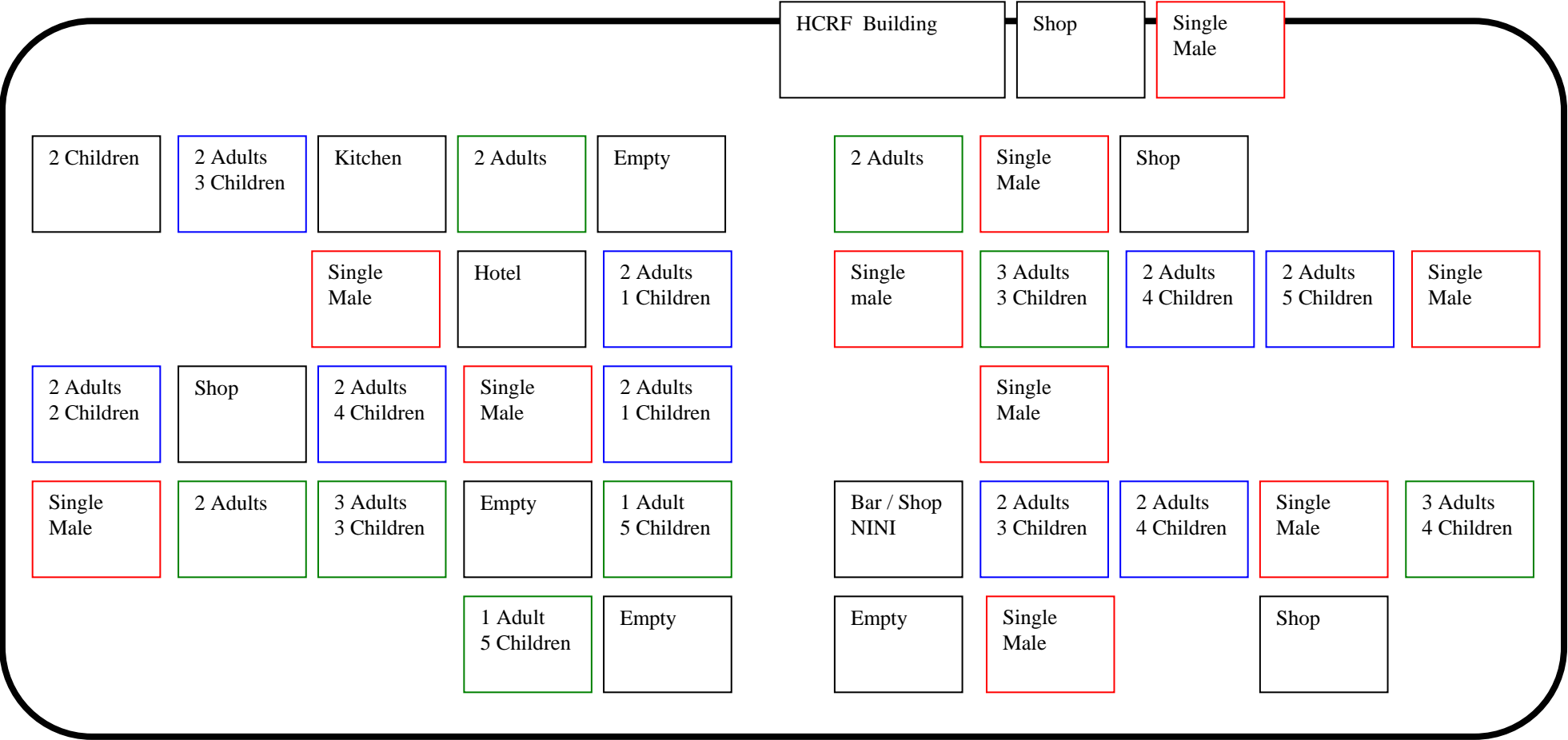
Apart from the two boys who would like to become fishermen, the other sixteen children interviewed, would like to migrate off the islands of Cayos Cochinos, and onto the mainland where they can become educated and obtain employment in the major cities of Central America. All the children acknowledge that education is the key to employment and a better quality of life, and therefore perceive studying as their key ambition. Both boys and girls would like also to be involved with tourism. In particular, they wish to learn English in order to access the tourism industry by becoming tour guides for example.

In general, there are three factors influencing changing childrens ambitions: firstly, parental advice; secondly, increased communication and transport and thirdly, education. Parents believe there is no future in fishing and see learning as the pathway to a better future. Increased transport and communication in recent years between the islands and mainland has promoted an understanding by the children of the world around them. Yovani Ramirez, an eleven year old boy from East End, signifies this increased understanding of the world by stating he would like to be a doctor and further stating where (Galalopa Village) and why (there is no clinic there at present). Better education at primary school is encouraging children to go to high school and work towards becoming a professional as a means of getting away from the problems of the past.



Unfortunately for the school children interviewed many families cannot afford to send their children to high school. With fees totalling US\$3000 a year per student, it is unlikely the Garifuna children from Cayos Cochinos will be able to become professionals as some wished. The focus group conducted with seventeen to twenty five year olds provided substantial evidence of economic issues (as they called it) compromising the ability to reach their ambitions. For instance all participations stated they had to leave education early because they could not afford high school fees. The highest level completed by the participants was 3<sup>rd</sup> Year High School, with over half only reaching 6<sup>th</sup> Grade Primary. Many young men did not want to talk about their ambitions because it upset them to much. Fortunately for Garifuna cultural identity of Cayos Cochinos, the price of high school education is a blessing in disguise. The cost of education prevents the outward migration of younger generations from the islands maintaining the cultural identity of Garifuna communities. The communities of Chachahuate and East End have a young generation of ambitious and motivated individuals, willing to learn and move away from the problems of the past, however without an adequate means of living; how will the unique Garifuna culture of Cayos Cochinos survive?

Figure 2: Demographic Map Chachahuate (diagrammatical representation)



Cayos Cochinos, Honduras

Single Male: 9 32%  
Consanguineal: 5 18%  
Couples: 3 11%  
Nuclear: 10 36%

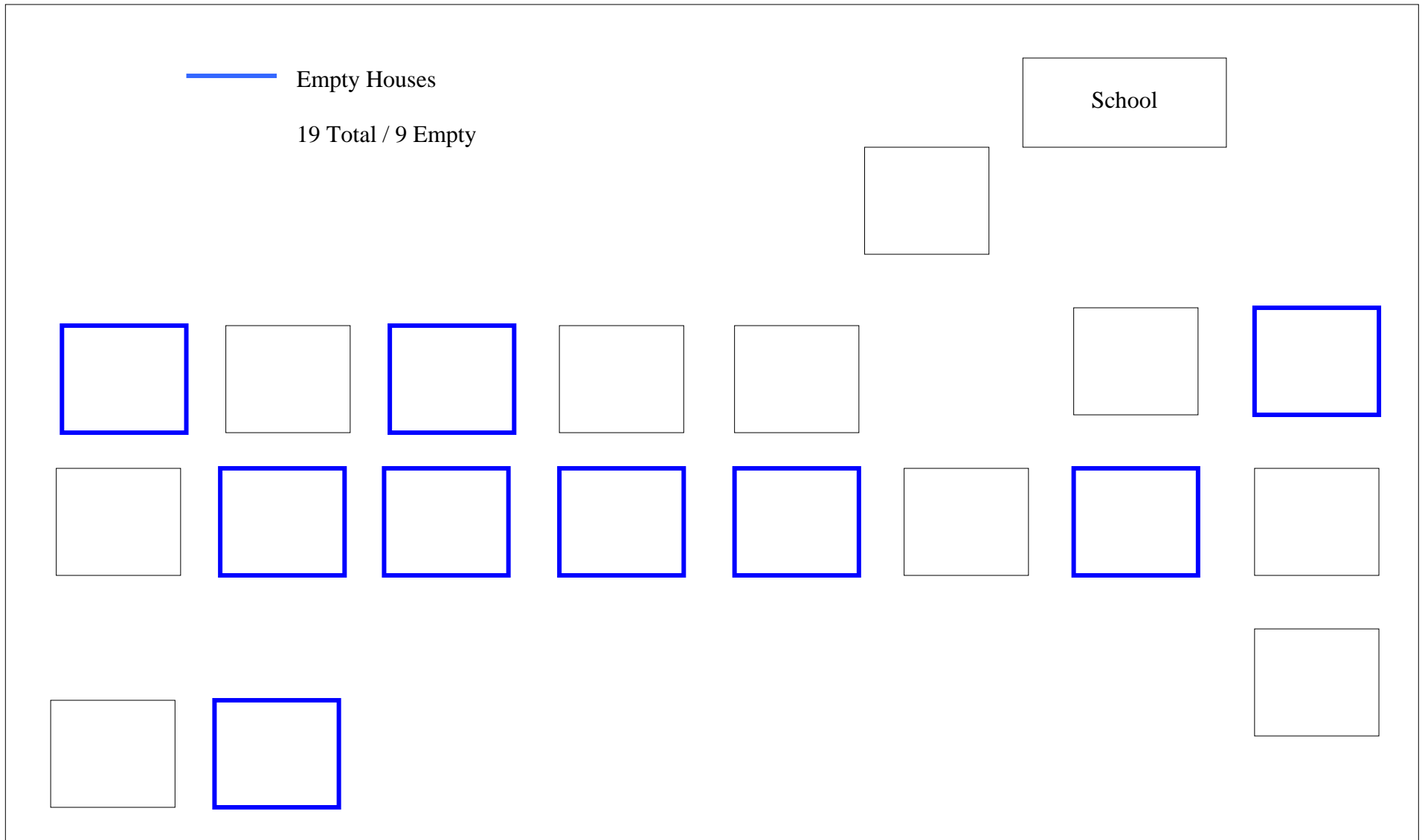
TOTAL: 28

Limon, Honduras (England: 2004; 152)

Single Male: 0%  
Consanguineal 41%  
Couples 0%  
Nuclear 59%

TOTAL 64

Figure 3: East End Outward Migration (diagrammatical representation)





## **4. Results and Discussion Part II**

### **4.1 Impact of New Livelihood Strategy on Garifuna Cultural Identity**

This dissertation has examined changing Garifuna livelihoods and the contributory factors which have ultimately created a demand for a new livelihood strategy. In this, the concluding chapter, the impact of tourism as a new livelihood strategy is assessed. The chapter begins with an evaluation of HCRF's proposal for tourism development and an assessment of the current level of tourism in the region. It concludes with a critical examination of the impact tourism has had on the Garifuna communities, and how a shift to bottom-up development could help enhance both the local Garifuna culture and environment.

#### **4.1.1 HCRF's Tourism Development Proposal**

HCRF view tourism as the sustainable answer to protecting the Garifuna communities and marine ecology of Cayos Cochinos, and currently, along with the Ministry of Tourism, have collectively invested US\$300,000 in the Cayos Cochinos. HCRF predict that the region currently receives on average two hundred tourists a month. A significant proportion of this is regarded as 'scientific tourism'. HCRF believes scientific over general tourism provides significant benefits for the environment and implementation of the management plan. HCRF acknowledges however that once the management plan is in place, general tourism will enable local communities to diversify into other economic activities.

HCRF focuses tourism developments on the mainland to create a base for visitors to access Chachahuate and East End. Nuevo Armenia, one the of the largest Garifuna mainland communities,



has been the centre of HCRF efforts in recent years. A commission of Garifuna residents has been set up whereby HCRF and Garifuna people meet to discuss issues that have arisen. The Garifuna people of Nuevo Armenia want to 'go for it' and become involved in tourism, however, regular winter floods, and fierce competition from large western style hotels such as Hotel Palma in La Ceiba who also run tours to Chachahuat, take many tourists away from visiting Nuevo Armenia. Ideally, HCRF and the Nuevo Armenia residents would like tourists to stay over night so they can visit Chachahuat and in the evening mix with the Garifuna people of Nuevo Armenia over food and drinks.

HCRF would like more Garifuna people from Chachahuat and East End to become qualified tour guides. They believe the Garifuna people are knowledgeable about the local area and would provide a unique experience for tourists visiting the region. Lionel is a private tour guide. His language skills in Garifuna, English and Latin American Spanish have enabled him to become a successful tour guide and interpreter. Lionel was born and raised on the island of Roatan; 30km west of Cayos Cochinos. Roatan is an old English colony, and the residents, including the Garifuna, continue to speak English. Roatan has developed a prosperous tourism industry. Lionel believes having the ability to speak English has enabled the island to capture the tourism industry and exploit its benefits. Similarly, the children of East End and Chachahuat acknowledged the need to learn English to access the benefits of tourism.

In August of 2004 HCRF began a training programme, based on the mainland in La Ceiba, which is open to residents of Cayos Cochinos and associated coastal communities. Alongside this scheme new legislation from HCRF is becoming implemented, whereby a tourist entering Cayos Cochinos marine reserve will be required to hire a local guide. Grants are also available to help the Garifuna diversify into tourism. Rene Azul from Nuevo Armenia, received a grant from HCRF in order to buy a boat suitable for tourists so that he could start his own tour guiding business, which has been a relative





success. However, when Mario a fishermen from East End was asked; ‘Would you be interested in a programme whereby HCRF teach you how to be a tour guide?’ Mario replied, ‘No not at all - do not trust those guys’.

#### **4.1.2 Current Level of Tourism**

There are a limited number of tourism facilities available at Cayos Cochinos at this time. HCRF have acquired an old Smithsonian institute field centre located on Cayo Menor. The resort is only open to scientific tourism and at the peak season of 2004 (July - August) one hundred and twenty people from Operation Wallacea were located within the resort. Many of the scientific tourists were completing marine ecology projects: however there were five social scientists who visited and interacted with the local Garifuna population on a daily basis.

There are two hotels open to general tourists in the region. Plantation Hotel, is small American run western style hotel located on Cayo Major, and charges between US\$100 to US\$120 a night which includes dive excursions. The hotel does not employ any local Garifuna. Another hotel is located on Chachahuate, within the Garifuna village. This hotel is run by a Garifuna lady named Nancy. She charges US\$5 a night and can provide three meals a day for an extra US\$5. Nancy says that she has about 15-20 guests a summer staying between one to three nights. The money earned from the hotel helps support her husbands income.

Most significantly however is the number of day tourists to the region. Day trips are run from the mainland by organisations like ‘Garifuna Tours’ and ‘Tourist Options’. The tours ‘drop by’ a Garifuna village such as Chachahuate and leave the tourists to wander around the island for an hour. Often the tourists will buy a drink and some crafts from the locals. The Garifuna children are attuned



to the economic benefits of tourism as they wittily charge tourists for photos. ‘Tourist Options’ charges US\$35 per person for a trip from La Ceiba to Chachahuaté which includes refreshments. Interestingly the manager, Francis Romeo Mc Nab, rents boats from the Garifuna coastal communities at US\$150 a time. Francis comments that despite contract and financial agreements the Garifuna people are generally unreliable, and often fail to deliver their boats on time for the tour excursions. Francis would like to outsource meals and refreshments to the local people of Chachahuaté, but he believes that they cannot organise themselves to provide a consistent service which is a necessity when running a business. However, the Garifuna comment that they are not ready for tourism; they do not have the facilities and finances to invest to enable them to provide adequate services. The day trip visits have the potential to create consistent financial benefits for the Garifuna people of Chachahuaté, however, these opportunities are lost with the lack of coordination at present both from HCRF and the Garifuna population. Adrian from HCRF supports Francis comment when he stated that, ‘the Garifuna do not like the idea of working all day as they would with tourism as they have no real need for lots of money’. As discussed however, the younger generation appear to be more interested in engaging in the market economy through tourism rather than working primarily within a subsistence based fishing economy.

#### **4.1.3 Impact of tourism on Garifuna livelihoods and cultural identity**

Money from tourists has improved services within the villages with shops and bars opening to meet the demands of the tourist. Joseph Bwelto and Adam Azu however comment that the financial benefits from the services are polarized towards the female population who run the bars and shops, whilst brothers, partners and husbands are out at sea. Seventy two percent of the Garifuna population believe tourism provides many benefits to the region. In particular, 67% of the Garifuna population believe they have benefited from a better standard of living. The majority of the Garifuna population



believe tourism has benefited the community, with improvements in services, however, 87.5% of the Garifuna population state they do not benefit financially from tourism, which mirrors Joseph's and Adam's comment that within an individual context, the benefits of tourism are polarized and further that tourism plays a relatively insignificant role in Garifuna livelihoods on Cayos Cochinos.

The Garifuna people of Cayos Cochinos support HCRF's claim that scientific over general tourism benefits the environment and local communities more. Thirty Percent of the Garifuna population agreed they benefit financially from scientific tourism as opposed to 12.5% from general tourism. With scientific tourism (in particular social science research), the money goes straight into the community instead of the tour companies.

Lionel, Joseph Bwelto and Adam Azu maintain that tourism is pushing up the price of local commodities. Their opinions are supported by 48% of the sample population. However Donaldo, a shop owner at East End disagrees. Donaldo states that there are not enough tourists visiting East End to justify raising prices. He further comments that even if there were enough tourists, he would maintain the current price for the locals.

The Garifuna people of Cayos Cochinos agree with 62.5% majority that 'tourism creates more jobs for foreigners than for the local people'. Many of the Garifuna believe foreign people are generally given the more lucrative jobs from tourism which should be given to the locals. Jack the owner of Plantation Hotel disagrees. Jack has employed local Garifuna people in the past and comments that they never worked well. He believes the Garifuna people just want to fish. When Jack was told about the decline in fishing, he agreed that the Garifuna people would be better workers without fishing to fall back on.



A small minority of Garifuna people display concerns about tourism and their culture. Lionel summarises their opinion when he comments that ‘tourism does not bring to everyone, it only brings to those that are ready...if you are not ready, tourism will exploit you and make a business of your culture’. Juana from Nuevo Armenia insists that the Garifuna must maintain control over tourism, if they do not, foreigners will take over and commoditise Garifuna culture.

Seventy percent of the sample population believe their traditional culture has not been affected by tourism. And the further 70% believe tourism will not create negative social and cultural impacts in the community. The Garifuna look forward to meeting their visitors because they believe the type of tourists attracted to Cayos Cochinos are those that are interested in the livelihoods and culture of the Garifuna people. In conclusion, every Garifuna wants to see more tourists visit the Cayos Cochinos.

#### **4.1.4 Considerations**

With the growth of scientific tourism and day trips from the mainland, regionally, tourism has had a significant impact. Tourism within the communities of Chachahuate and East End however remains in its infancy. At present tourism as a livelihood strategy is limited, with the majority remaining dependent on fishing. Within the next couple of years, HCRF aim to develop tourism in the area, with the objective to diversify all Garifuna livelihoods away from fishing and towards tourism.

Despite tourism’s imposition on the Garifuna people, the communities of Chachahuate and East End support tourism as a new livelihood strategy. Many Garifuna however display concerns over their access to new livelihoods in tourism. Despite efforts to provide grants for local people to develop skills in tour guiding, the implementation of tourism by HCRF remains relatively top-down. HCRF believe that through focused investments on the mainland, the benefits of tourism will ‘trickle’ down



to the locals of Cayos Cochinos. However, as this study has shown, this ‘trickle’ down effect has been very limited, with the majority of the benefits going to foreign organisations who are ‘ready’ for tourism and not to the local Garifuna who are in need of a new livelihood strategy.

By shifting away from ‘grand theories’ towards more locally orientated initiatives that highlight the importance of indigenous knowledge and local development priorities, tourism will provide a sustainable livelihood strategy for the Garifuna of Cayos Cochinos. Through a participatory approach towards this studies methodology, we have learnt about the conflicting demands of the Garifuna and environmentalism on Cayos Cochinos. Using information collected from questionnaires, interviews, focus groups and observations, a bottom-up development strategy is proposed in Figure Four. Based on Thompson’s and Scoone’s (1994a) ideas of ‘Beyond Farmers First’, this participatory model for development emphasises the need to create livelihood diversification through practical strategies, developing effective and equitable partnerships between indigenous knowledge and formal knowledge systems.



## Bottom-Up Development Plan Cayos Cochinos

HCRF Field Centre	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Integrate <u>Scientific Tourism</u> further with local Garifuna communities</li> <li>With over one hundred students located at the field centre of Cayo Menor, regular day trips should run by HCRF to the island of Chachahuate. By increasing the level of integration, the benefits of tourism will be distributed evenly, allowing a relationship of trust and respect to build between HCRF and the local Garifuna.</li> <li>Increased investment in <u>Social Science Research</u></li> <li>A greater understanding is required of the social environment of Cayos Cochinos. As Appendix One highlights, there is a particular need to continuously monitor the implementation of tourism, making sure that it provides for the local people as well as the marine environment. It is important also however, not to over study the population.</li> </ul>	
Nuevo Armenia	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Access to Cayos Cochinos</li> <li>As already suggested by HCRF proposal for tourism, Nuevo Armenia will provide the central access point for tourists visiting Cayos Cochinos. Promoting investment and development within the Garifuna town – spreading the benefits of tourism to all indigenous communities within the region.</li> <li>A jetty with ticket offices and waiting areas should be constructed, to allow for tourists to locate official tour guides and to safely board their boats.</li> <li><u>Tourist Attraction</u></li> <li>Nuevo Armenia should become a tourism attraction in its own right. Developing locally owned hotels, providing fishing and snorkeling trips alongside tours to Chachahuate and East End.</li> <li>HCRF Responsibilities</li> <li>HCRF should work with government to prevent seasonal flooding, which is currently prohibiting investment and development.</li> </ul>	
East End	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Over-Night Tourism</u></li> <li>With surplus land and an adequate sewage system in place and continuous supply of water, East End is a viable option for 'over night tourism'.</li> <li>As Plate Nine and Appendix Nine describes, there is a derelict hotel located just outside East End. With permission of the owner, Robert, this hotel should be renovated to provide accommodation for six people.</li> <li>As time progresses, the local Garifuna, with the support of Social Scientists, should make an assessment of future expansions in tourist accommodation.</li> <li>The locals from East End should run, maintain and cook for the tourists. Alongside this, tour guides from the village should provide recreational fishing and snorkeling trips, exploiting their extensive knowledge of the regions natural habitat.</li> <li><u>Market Economy</u></li> <li>Increasing the market economy of Cayos Cochinos with local food production and crafts, will help Garifuna communities capture the economic benefits of tourism</li> </ul>
Chachahuate	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Day Trip Tourism</u></li> <li>Due to limited space, sewage facilities and water, Chachahuate should be limited to Day-Trip Tourism.</li> <li>By collaborating with companies such as Tourists Options in La Ceiba, the local Garifuna should provide food, drinks and crafts for day trip tourists.</li> <li>Typical Day Trip could include: Guided Tour round island, food and drink with local people, Punta Dance in the afternoon.</li> </ul>
Mainland (Nuevo Armenia)	

Figure 4: Bottom-Up Development Proposal



**Plate 9: The derelict hotel at East End has great potential for redevelopment**



**Plate 10: Disease has killed many Coconut trees on East End. This land should be used for tourism development**



## 5. Conclusion

The Garifuna livelihoods of Cayos Cochinos are changing in response to increased environmental regulation. The communities of Chachahuate and East End are eager to move away from their traditional livelihood of fishing, as it no longer provides an adequate income. The Garifuna themselves have highlighted that changing livelihoods do not necessarily generate cultural loss, as long as there is a sustainable livelihood strategy to diversify into within the community. Despite evidence of tourism, fishing is the primary livelihood on Cayos Cochinos. With the absence therefore of a sustainable livelihood on Cayos Cochinos, Garifuna cultural identity is under threat. Lacking an adequate livelihood to diversify into, the Garifuna communities of Chachahuate and East End are forced to migrate inland in search of employment, resulting in the homogenisation of Garifuna culture into Honduran mainland society.

HCRF acknowledges the importance of livelihood diversity on Cayos Cochinos and intend to implement tourism as a new livelihood strategy within the next two years. Despite the imperialistic fashion in which tourism is being imposed on the Garifuna, the new livelihood strategy is strongly supported. If managed correctly through a bottom-up (Figure 4), as opposed to the current top-down approach, tourism will reward the abilities of younger generations and promote continued community cohesion. Research cannot stop here, however, as Appendix One highlights. The Garifuna of Cayos Cochinos want to develop and gain greater political significance within Honduras. By moving away from their quasi-subsistence livelihood, towards a diversity of new livelihood strategies, the Garifuna cultural identity and marine ecology will be both be protected and enhanced within the region of Cayos Cochinos.





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## **Appendix One: Suggestions for Further Research**

### **Livelihood Diversification on Cayos Cochinos**

This study has highlighted the need for a new livelihood strategy on Cayos Cochinos. However as Ellis (2000) argues in his book, *Livelihood and Diversity in Developing Countries*, we can not relax when one sustainable livelihood is in place. By promoting a diversity of livelihoods on Cayos Cochinos an economic safety net is constructed, enabling the local economy to absorb future environment and economic changes. As we have learnt, a culture with one livelihood is vulnerable to change.

### **Carry Capacity of Major Islands on Cayos Cochinos**

Carrying Capacity studies have been completed on Cayo Menor, where HCRF's field centre is situated. These studies have been particularly useful in assessing how many tourists an island can hold. In order to limit the impacts of tourism, carry capacity studies should be completed both on Chachahuate and East End, taking into account the fluctuations in Garifuna populations at present.

### **Continuous Assessment of Tourism Implementation**

Building upon this study and other development proposal by HCRF, a continuous assessment of tourism and its implementation on Cayos Cochinos should be completed. These studies will help monitor HCRF, so that the needs of the Garifuna are also met, alongside the conservation of the marine environment.

**With tourism development intimate on Cayos Cochinos, there is a strong possibility that their will be considerable inward migration onto the islands of Cayos Cochinos. Studies should be completed on how best to manage this issue.**





### **Appendix Three: Questionnaire Template**

## **Foundation Study: Questionnaire**

Hello, I am a student from England. I am currently carrying out an independent research project.

I am focusing on three main areas of study:

- The economic benefits of tourism
- To learn about Garifuna Livelihoods and Culture Identity on Cayos Cochinos
- To assess how environment regulations has hindered your livelihood and impacted upon your culture.

Unless otherwise requested, all information obtained this questionnaire shall remain completely confidential.

If you would like to help me in completing my survey please join me for a drink.

Any help you can offer us would be greatly appreciated.





<b>a) Administration</b>	<b>b) Family History</b>
--------------------------	--------------------------

Name: ..... Sex: ..... Age: ..... Residence: ..... Occupation: ..... Marital Status: ..... No. of Dependents: .....	1. Where is your mother from? 2. Where is your father from? 3. Were you raised on this island? 4. If not, how have you become part of this community?
---	--

**c) Tourism Levels**

1. Tourism has made me aware of the western way of life. 2. Tourism is responsible for improving the services in my village. 3. Our standard of living is increasing because of money tourists are spending in the region. 4. The presence of tourists provides economic benefits for me. 5. The presence of research tourists at Cayo Menor provides economic benefits for me. 6. Tourism gives benefits to many people in the region. 7. Tourism attracts more investment and spending to the region. 8. Because of tourism our ability to travel has increased. 9. Tourism is responsible for increasing the crime in my village. 10. Prices of many goods and services in the region have increased because of tourism. 11. Because of tourism our traditional livelihood is suffering. 12. Tourism creates more jobs for foreigners than for the local people to the region. 13. Tourism is imposing western values on local people. 14. I am flattered that tourists are interested in my village. 15. I stay away from areas that I know will have tourists. 16. Tourists should try and fit in more with the local lifestyle. 17. Tourists are interested in the history and culture of the Garifuna communities. 18. I would like to see more tourists visiting my village. 19. I am concerned that tourism could create negative social and cultural impacts in the community.	
--	--

**d) Social Issues**

1. Alcohol is an increasing problem in my village. 2. The way of life in my village has changed dramatically in the last 20 years. 3. Today's youth have less respect for their elders. 4. Today's youth have different ambitions than the youth 20 years ago. 5. Religion is less important to the youth today than it was 20 years ago. 6. The punta dance is an important part of my cultural identity.	
---	--



7. The punta dance is an economically valuable tourist attraction.
8. I am happy with the way of life I have now.
9. Approximately how many hours do you watch television per week?
10. The western way of life appeals to me?

#### e) Education

1. What was the highest level of education you completed?
2. Where did / do you go to school
3. How many children do you have
4. How many are going to / went to school
5. Where do they / did they go to school
6. What is the highest level of education your children have completed / will complete

#### f) Management Plan

1. The management plan set out by the HCRF has provided benefits for my family.
2. The management plan interferes with the traditional ways of life of my community.
3. The HCRF enforces the rules and regulations set out by the management plan in a fair and just manner.
4. Life in the communities of the Cayos Cochinos was better before the management plan was implemented.
5. The HCRF respected local views and opinions when formulating the management plan.
6. The HCRF enquired about my own personal views whilst formulating the management plan.

#### g) Migration Levels

##### Cayos Cochinos Migration

1. How often do you visit other islands within Cayos Cochinos?
2. Have you spent more than 3 days on another island within Cayos Cochinos?

*If yes, please answer the following questions:*

- a. When was the last time you spent more than 3 days on another island?
- b. Where did you go?
- c. Why did you go?
- d. How long were you there?
- e. How often do you go to other islands within Cayos Cochinos?

##### Mainland Migration

3. How often do you visit the mainland?
4. Have you spent more than 5 days on the mainland?

*If yes, please answer the following questions:*

- a. In particular in which communities have you spent more than 5 days on the mainland?



- b. When was the last time you spent more than 5 days on the mainland?
- c. Where did you go?
- d. Why did you go?
- e. How long were you there?
- f. How often do you go to the mainland?

#### International Migration

5. I have travelled outside of Honduras in the last 20 years.
6. I plan to travel outside Honduras within the next 10 years

#### **h) Income and Expenses**

*If not a fishermen move to question six*

1. How much of your time do you spend fishing every week (hours)?
2. What percentage of your catch do you sell?
3. What seafood do you sell?
4. What seafood do you eat for home consumption?
5. Who do you sell your fish to (Hotels, Restaurants, Cooperatives, Personally at the docks)?
6. What alternative economic activities do you take part in.
7. If not participating in economic alternatives - do you intend to in the foreseeable future?
8. A) If involved in tourism specifically which of the following choices best describes your involvement by recording the relevant number?

1. Provide Meals	2. Sell beverages	3. Sell crafts	4. Accommodation	5. Tour Guide
------------------	-------------------	----------------	------------------	---------------

B) If you are a *tour guide* which activities are you involved with?

9. Do you ever earn money from tourists for any other activity?
10. How much do you earn in a month from tourism activities?
11. Can you please estimate what percentage of your income is from tourism?
12. Do you see tourism as an easy means to raise extra funds?
13. Last year, did you receive money from another person outside your home?
  - a. If yes, please explain: (loan from HCRF, funds from tied community)
  - b. What percent of your total income does this account for?
14. Are you normally able to pay your monthly expenses?
15. Do you have any money left after you pay your expenses each month?
16. If you could not pay your basic expenses, what would your family do?



## Appendix Four: Questionnaire Answer Sheet Template

<p><b>A) Administration</b></p> <p>Name: .....</p> <p>Sex: .....</p> <p>Age: .....</p> <p>Residence: .....</p> <p>Occupation: .....</p> <p>Marital Status: .....</p> <p>Number of Dependents: .....</p>	<p><b>B) Family History</b></p> <p>1).....</p> <p>2).....</p> <p>3).....</p> <p>4).....</p>
---	---

### C) Impacts of Tourism

QUESTION NUMBER	1	2	3	4	0
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					

QUESTION NUMBER	1	2	3	4	0
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					

QUESTION NUMBER	1	2	3	4	0
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					

### D) Social Issues

QUESTION NUMBER	1	2	3	4	0
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

QUESTION NUMBER	1	2	3	4	0
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

### E) Education

- 1).....
- 2) .....
- 3) .....
- 4) .....
- 5) .....
- 6) .....

### F) Management Plan

QUESTION NUMBER	1	2	3	4	0
1					
2					
3					

QUESTION NUMBER	1	2	3	4	0
4					
5					
6					

### G) Migration

**Levels**

- 1).....
- 2) .....
  - 2a) .....
  - 2b).....
  - 2c) .....
  - 2d) .....
  - 2e) .....
- 3) .....
- 4) .....
  - 4a) .....
  - 4b) .....
  - 4c) .....
  - 4d) .....
  - 4e) .....
- 5) .....
- 6) .....

**H) Income and Expenses**

- 1) .....
- 2) .....
- 3) .....
- 4) .....
- 5) .....
- 6) .....
- 7) .....
  - 8a) .....
  - 8b) .....
- 9) .....
- 10) .....
- 11) .....
- 12) .....
  - 13a) .....
  - 13b) .....
- 14) .....
- 15) .....
- 16) .....



## Appendix Five: Interview Summaries

Date	Respondent	Topic	Place
10/07/04	Adrian O'	First meeting with HCRF. General descriptions of the area and the management plan.	Cayo Menor
15/07/04	Louis Alvarez		Armenia
15/07/04	Tourist Options		La Ceiba
17/07/04	Tim Coles	Economics of Scientific Tourism in the area of Cayos Cochinos	Cayo Menor
18/07/04	Nini	Nini owns and runs a small shop and bar on Chachahuate	Chachahuate
21/07/04	Antoio Baptiste	Fishermen perspective of environmental regulations	Chachahuate
21/07/04	Lionel Martinez	Information regarding Aids on Cayos Cochinos	East End
21/07/04	Adrian	Second meeting with HCRF to discuss many questions that raised from first week of research	Cayo Menor
23/07/04	Adam Azu	Garifuna Fishermen Perspective of environment regulations	Chachahuate
23/07/04	Mario and Cilva	Garifuna Family Perspective of environment regulations	East End
23/07/04	Tour Guide	Random tour guide on Chachahuate – interviewed tour guiding on Cayos Cochinos	Chachahuate
26/07/04	Diego Ealix	President of Foundation Commission within Armenia. Impact of environmental regulations on mainland Garifuna communities	Armenia
26/07/04	Rene Azul	Chief Tour Guide for Armenia: again learnt about the impact HCRF on mainland Garifuna communities	Armenia
26/07/04	Adrain O'	Visit to HCRF office, third meeting to discuss HCRF development proposals	La Ceiba
27/07/04	OFRDNEH	General history of Garifuna in Honduras and collected secondary resources	LA Ceiba
28/07/04	Joseph Bwelto	Oldest man on Chachahuate – oral history	Chachahuate
29/07/04	Lionel Martinez	Oral History	East End
29/07/04	John	President of East End: in-depth general interview	East End
30/07/04	Donaldo	Informal Interview – runs and owns only shop and bar in East End	East End
31/07/04	MA Student	American Student also working in Cayos Cochinos – obtain wider reading	Chachahuate
3/08/04	Nancy	Hotel owner on Chachahuate – interviewed about tourism and economics	Chachahuate
3/08/04	Ansella Baptiste	General Interview	Chachahuate
3/08/04	Suyapa Garcia	Owens and Runs shop – interviewed about economics and livelihoods	Chachahuate
3/07/04	Allehandro	Information regarding the fishing co-operative between Garifuna	East End
10/7/04	Francisco Vasics	School teacher – discussion of results from children ambition focus groups	East End



## **Appendix Six: Exemplar Interview**

**Respondent:** Adrian, Director of Honduran Coral Reef Foundation (HCRF)

**Date:** 10<sup>th</sup> July 04

**Place:** Cayo Menor

### **What measures are in place to police entry to the Marine Reserve Area?**

Upon entry every boat is required to report locations, destinations, purpose of visit and details of their passengers (such as home nation and length of stay). There is a section of the Honduran Navy tasked with patrolling the area.

### **How effective would you say the measures are in documenting all the visitors to the area?**

I would say that it is about 85% effective as we don't document any of the comings and goings of the locals and also some back packers come independently and avoid our registers.

### **When was the area set up as a Marine Reserve?**

The area became a marine reserve in 1993.

### **Did you receive any help with either the funding or the planning of the area?**

Yes, we had help in formulating and implementing the plans for the area from organisations such as the WWF (World Wildlife Fund). We ten other ideas from other areas and their management plans, such as The Galapagos Islands, Mexico and Borneo?

We also had some help with the funding of the plan from private donors.

### **Can you tell us who these donors are?**

They came from many sources that I cannot release.

### **Is there currently much tourism in the Cayos Cochinos area?**

During the last ten years the levels of tourism have been quite low. Most of the tourism has been in the form of research tourism from organisations such as Operation Wallacea and your predecessors The Smithsonian Institute.

### **What sort of tourist is the foundation looking to attract to the area?**

Overall we want scientific tourism as they give back to the local community and provide means of implementing the management plan. However, short stay general tourists are also welcome on other cays apart from Cayos Menor which is solely for scientific tourism – because we do not want to mix the both for the sake of research and management.

### **Who owns the islands?**

The islands are private owned but under a number of restrictions requiring consent both on the owner's part and of management plan for any development.

Society of Ecological Investment (SEI) own Cayos Menor, it is available for private purchase but there are strict guidelines, management plan rules and regulations to be followed. This is in response to a new law that came about three years ago. (Therefore cannot be exploited)

### **How many people visit Cayos Cochinos a year?**



Based on our most recent statistics within the management plan we believe that about 1500 people visit the marine reserve – which works out at 200 per month – however of course we have high and low seasons – July to Dec is lobster season and holly week is also in Dec which contributes to the high season -it is impossible to have a definite figure – we believe that we record 85% of visits.

Cayos Menor is closed to general tourism as we don't want to mix both scientific and general tourism as it could disturb the scientists and could affect their research.

We want to increase scientific research so that the threshold level of tourists against impacts can be calculated so that the area is not adversely affected by tourism. We have had many requests by companies and private owners (Italian owner study) for general tourism to be brought to the area however all their applications have been rejected to try and maintain the protected area.

Currently the majority of tourism in the area is scientific tourism in partnership with operation Wallacea but we don't want to become dependent on only one resource so we are currently trying to develop a number of other relationships. This includes direct links with a number of American universities as well as other research organisations but we want to concentrate the majority of tourism development in scientific research rather than general tourism.

**In general, what forms of tourism take place in Cayos Cochinos?**

There are two types - scientific and general tourism – examples of scientific are that found on Cayos Cochinos whilst general tourists can be found in small hotels within some of the cays within the marine park – an example being a small hotel of 20 rooms in Cayos Major.

**What do you believe to be the benefits of scientific tourism?**

Scientific tourism helps promote and implement the management plan.

**What do you believe to be the benefits of general tourism?**

General tourists enable local communities to diverse into other economic activities such as tourist guides.

We promote short stays with regard to general tourism – water and food is under a great deal of pressure – added pressure of long stays would be exacerbating the problems

**Does the park charge entrance fees?**

Yes entrance fees are charged – they are variable based on length of stay and reasons for visiting – for general tourist's short stays are cheaper for example – the table can found within the management plan.

**How much does it cost to stay in Cayos Cochinos?**

In Cayos Menor its about 100-120 dollars including food and diving  
Chachuate 5-10 dollars – however for more accurate prices.

**What migration/interaction occurs between the islands and mainland?**

People are always moving between Chachuate and sister town of the mainland

**Do you feel the management plan is vulnerable because it is dependent upon funding from abroad?**

Since the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> it has become much more difficult to obtain funds from abroad or other sources. As a result we are trying to make the Cayos Cochinos a sustainable area through measures such as entrance fees.





**Did you take ideas and experience from other management plans from across the world?**

Our management plan is supported by the WWF and we also consulted ten other management plans such as Galapagos, Bocas Del Torra, Mexico and Belize? We also received financial and technical support from private donors. The WWF are continuing to help with the implementation of the management plan.

**Which is more important within the management plan – communities or environment?**

The coral reef is not our first priority, the communities are. We believe that the corals and communities are linked so strongly that if you help the communities this will have positive knock on effects upon the coral so any money made from tourism projects will not only be used to implement protection plans but also to help develop the communities.

**Why do you think the local communities need tourism?**

One of the major concerns for these communities is that the fisheries are declining within the whole region. This is obviously a major concern as the fish provide their food but also provide the majority of their trade. It is not only over-fishing that is resulting in decreased fish stocks but also the ever increasing population levels. Therefore via tourism and the management plan we are trying to promote alternative sources of food and income to fishing.

**What are the current main sources of employment in the area?**

80% of the local population fish for selves and a little extra to make some money. This money is needed to buy essential medical supplies from the mainland and a few other commodities however it is becoming increasingly evident that with western influences through TV they are demanding more. There is very little agriculture in the area with the other 20% of the population coconut farming and commercial industries. There are 10 HCRF members in Cayos Menor and 5 in La Ceiba with an extra 5 at moment due to the large amount of research ecotourists in Cayos Menor. The majority of these employees are locals.

**What alternative sources of income have these locals come up with?**

Micro enterprises, houses, training and communications and buying equipment - Sambo Creek – spend 20,000 the train and provide facilities to study

**What type of schooling to Garifuna people have?**

The local school is public but they do have to pay for books and transportation costs. To help with transport costs they are given boats and motors but they have to finance their own fuel. School is not compulsory. There is limited ambition for further education such as university, which is highlighted by a 70% illiteracy rate. They are simply happy with their lives as they are.

**How do you intend to increase the benefits of tourism for the local communities?**

A new rule has been implemented so that everyone who comes into the area will have to have a local guide with them. However they need to be trained and many don't want to be, so they are going to take some convincing

Try to increase hotels on mainland to promote tourism – and also try to get them to provide own transportation

Thinking of lower rates for Hondurans

5 – 200 dollars dependent on were they stay for local Hondurans



All money goes to the communities and HCRF salaries

Traditionally men catch the fish and sit around – women take care of the whole family and cooking

**Have you had difficulty implementing the management plan within the local communities?**

Management plan was finished in Nov 2003 and approved in Feb 2004 and now being slowly implemented. Workshops and training are used to help implement and teach new laws but lots of people still break the laws. Use laws to confiscate law breaking materials/tools and often sent to mainland court. Crime has increased since 1994 but in line with national level.

**Why is there a need for an increase in tourism in this area?**

Everyday there are less and less fish due to over fishing

20 years ago there was 5-10 people now 100 to 200 people

- breeding, people marrying into island community from mainland integration, like passport system

**Are there any other problems facing the local communities?**

Aids is exacerbated by fishermen visiting other communities and bringing infections home. There are however AIDs awareness programmes in place.

**Has tourism affected the local communities in any other ways?**

Traditions have not changed for tourists. Still have traditional dances

Communities want to maintain their lifestyles, they enjoy fishing for a few hours and relaxing for the rest of the day, they don't like the idea of working all day as they would with tourism as they have no real need for lots of money.



## Appendix Seven: Exemplar In-Depth Oral History

**Respondent:** Lionel Martinez  
**Date:** 29<sup>th</sup> July 04  
**Place:** East End

- Q: Whats Sambo Creek like?  
 A: Sambo creek is a Garifuna village – very not to young – its an old village  
 Q: Is it an island?  
 A: Sambo Creek is just past La Ceiba  
 Q: Why is it full of old people do you think – is it cos there is not schools there and stuff?  
 A: Urrh yes most of the old people have school because its near La Ceiba it was a privilege to get schooling its not like in Rotan back then like those days where they had private schools so that I could get better knowledge  
 Q: Was that in rotan you went to school?  
 A: Yes – it was a private school  
 Q: Did it cost a lot?  
 A: Yes  
 Q: What do your parents do?  
 A: There all died but he is the farmer  
 Q: And what about your grandfather?  
 A: My father was a sail man and used to work offshore  
 Q: Was it the case that a lot of your grandfathers friends were fish men?  
 A: Ok, my grandfather was a farmer but pushed himself into the mountains  
 Q: Would you say Garifuna people were more in the mountains than by the coast?  
 A: No! fishing was the top job for them there was nothing else to do and so they have best money to survive with there kids  
 Q: Do the people in the mountains just farm?  
 A: Yes  
 Q: What is the percentage of Garifuna around the coast?  
 A: Urrh ok the 90% live near the ocean are on the beach  
 Q: Is this because when they settle they hit points along the coast?  
 A: Yes that is right  
 Q: Do you know anything about the property rights and problems the Garifuna had with there land when it was taken away from them  
 A: Yes  
 Q: Could you explain what you know about it  
 A: Ok the little I know about it, all I know about it  
 Ok along the coast Garifuna have arrived from St Vincent 212 years ago – ok they arrived at puntacorda in Rotan this is were they had there first settlement alittle after that not so long after they arrived at the puntacorda there was people from spain and some british from England ha so then these people sail out to the ocean and come to the mainland and found and made there settlements on the beach and some arrived, ok, lets start from the west...

Some arrived at Travesa – and some to Rio Tinto and some to Bahama – turnabay – trioimpho – sambo creek no first corelsle then sambo creek



- Q: Is this the british?  
A: No this is the garifunas  
Q: Is this when they were push out of Punta Gordor  
A: Yes this is right – because there was a lot of free land on mainland – it was not populated you just walked in and built your house  
After sambo creek was Armenia – new armenis  
Q: So Armenia was quite recent and biggest  
A: No  
Q: Whos the biggest  
A: Trioempho  
That is the big Garifuna village  
Ok  
Q: Where do these names come from - They come from Spain?  
A: Yes they are Spanish names  
Do you want all the Garifuna villages?  
No its ok just those will do  
Q: Which way did they spread – east to west?  
A: Ok they spread from east to west – yes – because some dropped into Nicaragua the mainland west of Honduras  
Q: So could you explain the offshore thing were the Garifuna seem to get employed by going on boats and working form companies  
OK  
Could you explain why they did it, what they get out of it and stuff?  
A: OK – when Garifuna was getting employment off your people during the second world war since then Garifuna started to survive much better and standard fruit company and united fruit company started to settle down with business in Honduras.  
Q: Which companies  
A: The fruit companies from US  
Q: They employed lots of people  
A: Yes  
Things started to get a lot better since they arrived – that’s when la Ceiba started to develop  
There is loads of land around La Ceiba for fruits  
Yes that its right  
Q: Why are these companies good from Honduras?  
A: Well it happen so that a lot of changes and they got more and more rights  
Q: So the companies gave more and more rights to the Garifuna people  
A: Yes  
Most Garifuna on the mainland worked for the companies for many years  
Q: So it was almost like the company made a lot of money for the government so therefore the people that worked for them came more important  
A: Right  
Q: Was the employment on the mainland or on the ships  
A: Its was on the mainland – a lot of Hondurans worked on the boats that were delivering babana top all over Europe and ameria – all over the world – united and standard were the strongest in the whole world  
  
Q: Did you feel exploited by them  
A: Yes  
They gave a lot of good but the company also because of the gov was getting there big sgare of it and a lot of people didn’t get there money– up till now standard fruit company ow a lot of people money some 50 to 60 years and ow them some money from retirement



- Q: Pensions?  
 A: Yes pension money  
 Right and that hasn't been paid as yet  
 They will carry that to the international court  
 All the money is in Tegultialpa but know one knows were it is – this is the truth
- Q: Is there still a lot of presence of that company? Did they still own a lot of land  
 A: Yes  
 Q: Do they employ more people now than they did?  
 A: No  
 There is less people working for the company right now
- Q: So you have this massive problem that the fishing has gone down because of the foundation, you have this fruit company gradually disappearin , or not employing as many people, so the main sources of income aare disappearing.  
 A: Yes this is right.  
 Q: So the Garifuna people have got to change  
 A: Yes a lot of change  
 Q: Do you think the mainland people are adapting more than the island people?  
 A: Yes  
 Q: How do you think the mainland people are adapting, do you think the island people are stuck in the past and they have to fish  
 A: Yes  
 Q: How do you think the mainland people are more adapt.  
 A: Yes they are better at tourism, they work for different companies, and they go to the city to work and industrial lands to work and some go to factories  
 The problem is these islands are here because of fishing, and the problem is when fishing doesn't exist an island such as east end in 20 years time due to the foundation and reduction in fishing, islands such as this wont exist.  
 Yes
- Q: Do you think what will happen is , the people in east end in 20 years will be forced to go back to the mainland  
 A: Yes  
 Q: And people from the mainland, which are more adapted to things like tourism, and Garifuna entrepreneurs will begin to colonise these islands again?  
 A: Yes, because there wont be any fishes left.  
 Q: They will be able to do it because they have money to do it, and they will make east end ready for it.  
 A: When you have big credit, you can start to build the big hotels.  
 But what happens to the people here, is that they don't have the money and get pushed off the island so that rich people can take advantage, it will be very sad because people will be pushed off the island and have nowhere to live.
- Q: Do you think this change is almost needed

- For example, for people to be pushed back onto the mainland so that Garifuna entrepreneurs from the mainland, can take advantage of the new economies, Is this a good thing?
- A: Yes, but it is very bad that we are loosing our fishing culture, because in Honduras there is no good education for everybody, the poor fishermen of Honduras love to fish, it is the only thing they can do.
- Q: It is a massive loss from your culture.  
 A: That's right.  
 We cant go to the mainland and easily become accustomed to the way they live.



- Yes
- Q: The people here will find it very hard to go to the mainland and settle down and make a new life
- A: Yes it will be very hard.
- Q: How much do you think there is a change in the roots of the culture when the people from roatan were made to settle along the coast all those years ago?
- Did they pick up, changes, and traditions and mix them with their culture, do you see what I am getting at?
- A: Yes, it changed very little, because we stick together, we stick with our family and friends and so we haven't changed very much.
- Q: So there shouldn't be much difference between Roatan where the first settlement was and the the furthest settlement on the mainland
- A: There is no changes
- Q: How long did it take from the first settlement to the mainlands last settlement. How long did it take for them to spread out? 100 years, 50 years?
- A: It took about 30 years, but they never lost communication between the islands because we used to canoe between the islands and communicate and sell food, and see family.
- Q: Did the villages start to separate with time?
- A: In recent years things have changed a lot, what with technology, and tourism, creating areas and islands with a different environment, do you feel that because of this you are more vulnerable to change?
- Yes, because in the past everyone was having a good time, singing and dancing,
- Q: Was it more fun when you were young?
- A: Yes it ws much more cool, much more respectful.
- Q: So do you think your quality of life has gone down?
- A: Yes, as I have got older my quality of life has gone down.
- Q: But you do think the children of today have a better education
- A: Yes
- Q: So how would you describe the differences between you and your children and you and your father?
- Q: We will start with you and your father.
- A: Ok
- Q: My father used to work offshore, but also a farmer and a fisherman, so he used to dive for lobser and fish and he used to go off to America on a supply boat. It was easy when he was on a boat but hard when he was at home, because he was farming and fishing, because he may have to go fishing during the night and fishing during the morning.
- Q: Did he earn a lot more money because he was effectively doing two jobs.
- A: Yes
- The condition at home was better because he had enough money to feed the kids and buy clothes for the family, but in my days when I was young, fishing was a lot better because you earnt more money from it, the job was worth a lot more than when my father did it.
- Q: So you got more money than your father doing the same job?
- A: Yes
- Q: So you didn't farm at all?
- A: No, I was a fisherman and worked offshore on one of the boats
- Q: So you had a better quality of life than your father?
- A: Yes at the beginning.
- My father had no TV, no stereo, no medicine or nice bed.
- Q: Did you have quite a nice house?
- A: Yes



- In roatan I had a very nice house, but I separated from my family and that house is now for my kids. I cant push them out.
- Q: Your parents obviously thought education was important as they sent you to private school, was that common in those days? Did parents want to send their kids to private schools to gain a better education?
- A: Every Garifuna wanted to go to a good school. They tried to work to get sufficient money to try to send their kids to school, as our government do not provide a free education. However primary school is free. But high school is expensive with transport, uniform ,living and of course fees. Most people would barely make enough money to feed themselves.
- Q: How are you childrens lives different to your lives?
- A: Because my children went to primary schhol, high school, and my first kids are in the usa and are professionsals and they went to university and they have it made. I never had that opportunity from my parents. My kids had it from me.
- Q: Do you think your generation has had it hard?
- A: ecause you had a good job at the beginning of your life, but with low fish numbers and the foundation, your has been forced to change a lot.
- Q: Your generation seem to be in a transition stage, and have been forced to move into a new type of employment, however, you children have grown up accepting change and becoming educated to take advantage of the new opportunities, so the new generation will be adapted.
- A: Yes, my generation does have it hard, because we have had to change our lifestyles and for some of us it is too late, we only know how to fish. My father had it hard, but he knew how to and could earn his money. My children have grown up in this new environment and have adapted to change; it is too late for us.
- Q: Do you think that your childrens education will impact apon Garifuna culture because as you have explained, educated Garifuna people appear to be moving away form Garifuna villages, and further not practicing traditional Garifuna traits such as the language and tools and all that?
- A: Yes,
- Q: So do you think this is gonna stop Garifuna traditions?
- A: No, because there are so many Garifuna villages in the US, where Garifuna culture is practiced and the language is spoken.  
There are Garifuna villages in seattle, boston , new york, all over the place.
- Q: Do you think that the Garifuna people are very different there than they are here?
- A: Yes, they are different because they are far more educated.
- Q: How do the Garifuna pay for the children to be educated at university.
- A: Because I am a fisherman and a businessman back home- I had a restaurant in roatan. I was earning enough money as I used to buy and sell lobsters, conc, fish.
- Q: Do you still have your restaurant?
- A: No, I didn't sell it, my kids live there, but mitch came and destroyed it
- Q: How much destruction did mitch cause?
- A: Lots, yes, it affected a lot of people, it killed a lot of people.
- Q: Was the mainland or the islands hit more?
- A: They were hit harder on the islands but the construction was better and stronger so there wasn't so much damage on the islands. Also on the islands we have no rivers or lakes that flood the villages and cause most of the damage.  
In Amenia they were flooded because of the river.
- Q: Do you think people started afresh after hurricane mitch?
- Q: Do you think they adapted more because of hurricane mitch?



- A: Yes, because the destruction that Mitch caused made them think how weak the houses were and the land that they built the houses on. So they decided to build stronger houses with better land and have a better value of live.
- Q: The fishing stocks were hit hard by hurricane Mitch; do you think this forced a change away from fishing?
- A: Yes, because the markets went, and also the big companies didn't want to buy fish from us anymore because the water was contaminated with sewage and dead people. So they stopped buying fish from Honduras.
- Q: Just a question about women, what did your grandmother used to do?
- A: She used to farm with my grandfather.
- Q: And how would you describe women in Garifuna culture, how would you describe their place and what they do?
- Some Garifuna women work, about 5% of them. They rest are lazy arse people.
- Q: Women are lazy?
- A: Garifuna men like their women staying at home and looking after the kids. I don't want my wife to be out of sight, she should mind the kids or else Donald duck might come around.
- Q: Is there a lot of cheating between partners, husbands and wives?
- A: Yes, Garifuna people have changed, in the past they had a lot more respect for relationships, now marriage doesn't mean as much and regularly cheat having children with different people. Men are now a lot more cruel to women , they beat them up, there is a lot more violence towards them, there is far less respect for women now than there was.
- Q: Is there a lot of teenage pregnancy?
- A: Yes there is a lot more prostitution also, because women are forced to become more independent from women .
- Q: Are a lot of people dieing of aids?
- A: Yes loads of people have aids.
- Q: Are you worried about aids?
- A: Yes, everyone is worried about aids!
- Q: Would you wear a condom?
- A: If I didn't know them I would wear 3. I am a careful duck.
- Q: Do you think there is a problem because the young aren't educated about aids, about how dangerous it is.
- A: Yes, the young people have very little knowledge about aids and sex and only a few wear condoms.
- Q: Do they get taught at school about aids?
- A: Only at high school.
- Q: There is not many people that get to high school though.
- A: Yes this is true.
- The main problem is that women don't care about condoms, and people get drunk and careless.
- Q: Does the man usually support the womans child?
- A: Yes, usually , but some don't.
- Q: On average how many children do people have?
- A: Between 5-10.
- Q: Do a lot of people die young?
- A: Yes.
- Q: Do you think that women are left on their own with children more now than they were 20 years ago?
- A: Yes a lot more now.





- Q: Why?
- A: Because the women are cheating on their husbands. So kids have to look after themselves which is causing a lot more corruption.
- Q: Do you think now there is a lot more casual sex and cheating than there was 20 years ago?
- A: Yes when I was growing up people were a lot more respectful of relationships than they are now. The communities don't appreciate each other as much as they used to and people are starting to kill each other a lot more.
- Q: How has crime increased since you have been growing up?
- A: When I WAS growing up there wasn't much killing, but now people are killing each other everywhere. The law doesn't make an effort to catch people, if they find them they will prosecute, however they don't always find them.
- Q: So people get away with crime a lot.
- A: Yes, crime has increasing in my country a lot
- Q: Do you think the law is quite lax on drugs?
- A: Do you think because the fishing has been taken away from the Garifuna people they are turning to drugs to accommodate their needs financially.
- A: Yes.
- Q: Does the mainland have a lot of crime also
- A: Yes
- Q: Does the mainland have more crime than in chachauate?
- A: Yes
- Q: Does roatan have more crime than chachauate?
- A: Yes because it is a bigger island. There is a lot of drugs and a lot of crime in roatan.
- Q: Is this because of tourists
- A: Yes because of tourists.
- Q: Yes, I know because I grew up in roatan , and I saw the increase in drugs as tourism increased.
- A: When I was young, only once in a blue moon did I see drugs, now it is everywhere. You can get hold of whatever you want. There is a lot of people sitting around waiting to buy drugs off them.
- Q: Do you think it will change in the future.
- A: No it will never change, because the tourism will increase and the tourists want it.
- Q: Do you think that because tourists brought drugs to the island , the locals have started to take drugs.
- A: Yes, first they sell it, then they try it, and like it and get hooked themselves.
- Q: But on the mainland there isn't much tourism, but why then is there still drugs on the mainland?
- A: Because the drugs are grown on the mainland and in that time it has to go through the mainland to get to roatan.  
Also because roatan is quite big, it can be smuggled easily and hidden away. And because it is near Colombia nicuagua and all that drugs can easily be imported.  
It is very hard to control drugs without wiping out everything.
- Q: Tourism has caused a lot of drug problems in roatan , but, what other impacts have there been from tourism?
- A: Yeah ok, the culture has increased in roatan because of tourism.
- Q: Do you think the culture has got stronger then
- A: Yes that is right.  
The fishing is very good in roatan, the best in Honduras.because there is no restrictions in roatan.



- Q: Is there place in roatan that is a cultural museum or any thing?
- A: Yes, in sandy bay.
- Q: Why do people in roatan speak English and people in cayos cochinos not?
- A: Because roatan was a british colony.
- Q: Do you think that because they speak English it has made them a lot more adaptable to tourism?
- A: Yes. Because they speak English they can communicate with the tourists, and so the tourists spend more money. Where as on the mainland they cant communicate to tourists which means they cant really sell things and have as big tourism industry.
- Q: So why do they continue to speak English in roatan, and not in the communities that left.
- A: Because when they were on the mainland they adapted to that language through a generation. Roatan always had the british influence, so never lost the language.
- Q: Do you know if the education system here incorporates Garifuna culture?
- A: Yes.
- Q: Would you say that the children here are proud of their Garifuna culture?
- A: Yes. It is the wisdom.
- Q: Does the government influence what the children are educated about, does it have a national curriculum?
- A: Yes, but, if they don't like it it isn't taught, because we have the power.
- Q: Do they learn Garifuna in the school?
- A: No, they learn Garifuna at home and speak Garifuna at school.
- Q: Do you think that the government are trying to push out Garifuna history in education?
- A: No. we wouldn't let it, there will always be someone somewhere that will help us overpower the government.



## Appendix Eight: Exemplar Focus Group

**Topic:** Changing Ambitions: 6-16 Years of Age

**Respondents:** Yovani Ramirez, Jose Aradas, Exon Oespiosas, El Menson Ramirez, Manalin Ramirez, Dionali Ramirez, Yuni Palacio, Suyapa Meleendez

**Date :** 4th Aug 04

### What would you like to do when your older?

<i>Yovani Ramirez:</i>	Doctor
<i>Jose Aradas:</i>	Fishermen
<i>Exon Oespiosas:</i>	Military officer or Policeman
<i>El Menson Ramirez:</i>	Policeman or Carpenter
<i>Manalin Ramirez:</i>	Secretary
<i>Dionali Ramirez:</i>	Secretary
<i>Yuni Palacio:</i>	Police Women
<i>Suyapa Meleendez:</i>	Secretary

### Would you like to go to high school? University?

<i>Yovani Ramirez:</i>	High School and University
<i>Jose Aradas:</i>	High School (left the focus group at this point)
<i>Exon Oespiosas:</i>	High School and University
<i>El Menson Ramirez:</i>	High School and University
<i>Manalin Ramirez:</i>	High School and University
<i>Dionali Ramirez:</i>	High School and University
<i>Yuni Palacio:</i>	High School and University
<i>Suyapa Meleendez:</i>	High School and University

### Where would you like to go to school when your older?

<i>Yovani Ramirez:</i>	La Ceiba (better education here than within Garifuna communities)
<i>Exon Oespiosas:</i>	Rio Estevan
<i>El Menson Ramirez:</i>	La Ceiba
<i>Manalin Ramirez:</i>	Tegucigalpa (Honduran Capital)
<i>Dionali Ramirez:</i>	Tegucigalpa
<i>Yuni Palacio:</i>	Tegucigalpa
<i>Suyapa Meleendez:</i>	Tegucigalpa

### Where would you like to live when your older ?



*Yovani Ramirez:* Galalopa, Mainland Garifuna Village in need of Doctor  
*Exon Oespiosas:* Rio Estevan  
*El Menson Ramirez:* La Ceiba

*Manalin Ramirez:* Tegucigalpa  
*Dionali Ramirez:* Tegucigalpa  
*Yuni Palacio:* Armenia  
*Suyapa Meleendez:* Telucigalpa

**Would you like to travel when your older? And where?**

*Yovani Ramirez:* Yes - US  
*Exon Oespiosas:* Yes - US  
*El Menson Ramirez:* Yes – an english speaking country

*Manalin Ramirez:* Yes – Tegucigalpa  
*Dionali Ramirez:* Yes - Europe  
*Yuni Palacio:* Yes - US  
*Suyapa Meleendez:* Yes – US

**Would you like to get married?**

*Yovani Ramirez:* Yes  
*Exon Oespiosas:* Yes  
*El Menson Ramirez:* Yes

*Manalin Ramirez:* Yes  
*Dionali Ramirez:* Yes  
*Yuni Palacio:* Yes  
*Suyapa Meleendez:* Yes

**How old would you like to be when you get married?**

*Yovani Ramirez:* 22  
*Exon Oespiosas:* 23  
*El Menson Ramirez:* 22

*Manalin Ramirez:* 20  
*Dionali Ramirez:* 20  
*Yuni Palacio:* 20  
*Suyapa Meleendez:* 20

**How many children would you like?**

*Yovani Ramirez:* 2  
*Exon Oespiosas:* 2  
*El Menson Ramirez:* 1

*Manalin Ramirez:* 2  
*Dionali Ramirez:* 2



*Yuni Palacio:* 2  
*Suyapa Meleendez:* 2

**Would you like to put your children into daycare so that you can progress with your career?  
(Female Children Only)**

*Manalin Ramirez:* Yes  
*Dionali Ramirez:* Yes  
*Yuni Palacio:* Yes  
*Suyapa Meleendez:* Yes

**Do you think you have more rights than your mother? (Female Children Only)**

*Manalin Ramirez:* Yes  
*Dionali Ramirez:* Yes  
*Yuni Palacio:* Yes  
*Suyapa Meleendez:* Yes



## **Appendix Nine: Exemplar Participation Observations**

**Date:** 8<sup>th</sup> July 04

**Place:** East End

**Topic:** **Views about the Honduran Coral Reef Foundation and possibility for tourism development on East End, with the redevelopment of a previous resort.**

### Field Notes:

Whilst having lunch with Lionel and Mario (local Garifuna at East End), they shared with me their feelings against the Honduran Coral Reef Foundation. Instead of hearing of anger towards the organisation, I heard a different story, one of emotion and distress. They understand why the coral reefs need to be protected, but don't understand why the Garifuna of Cayos Cochinos have not been compensated. They want a new livelihood to go into, they see tourism as the answer. Because with tourism they can remain as a community. I agreed, tourism seems the only option, the islands have very limited resources, and there is not much room for diversity.

\*Whilst walking of lunch, I was taken past an old building. Lionel explained that the building used to be a small hotel, but the owner did not make enough money from the business and left. The hotel could hold about six people at one time, and has great potential for renovation.

**NOTE:** Must speak to Robert – the owner of the island about possible redevelopment of resort

Phone: 441 2811



## Appendix Ten: Exemplar Observational Notes

**Date:** 25<sup>th</sup> July 04

**Place:** Nuevo Armenia

**Topic:** **There is a high level of integration between the Chachahuate and the mainland community of Armenia. Many residents of Chachahuate have family and friends on the mainland.**

- Massive western influence in Armenia
  - Many young people wearing Nike and Bling Bling clothing
  - However not many adverts unlike the rest of the country
  - Mixture of local and western music played – western music playing included Shaggy, Bob Marley and Sean Paul
  - Western sound systems – very powerful
  - TVs in every house I looked into
  - Some houses had DVDs
- Education levels appear higher than that of the islands
  - high school certificates on the walls of housing
  - Island communities do not have high school facilities only primary school – children remain/sent back to Armenia for schooling if there parents can afford it.
  - People appeared more educated – the new generation appeared to have greater drive and potential opportunities
  - This was shown within the interview with the head of the commission – spoke about other forms of employment
- Everybody knows about Cayos Cochinos
- Cultural change appears apparent – but different to that of the Island communities
  - Impact from fishing however some what less than the islands
  - Less resentment towards the foundation
  - Remember the foundation concentrate efforts on the mainland (Adrian Interview)
  - Much more western influence in Armenia
  - Under different levels of influence – both have cultural change though
- Demographics
  - Many young people in Armenia – and when compared to islands a substantial difference
  - In particular there were more women than men
  - Further, a high concentration of teenagers and people in there early twenties
  - Reasons for this are that men leave Armenia for work and fishing – high schools situated in Armenia which educates many teenagers from the local area and Cayos Cochinos.