Changing Places
Changing Places
Environment, Development and Social Change in Rural Honduras

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# Contents

List of Figures and Tables vii

Preface xi

Chapter 1 Introduction 3

Chapter 2 The Social Landscape 29

Chapter 3 Before the Flood 67

Chapter 4 In the Wake of the Flood 99

Chapter 5 Projects Power and Social Capital 141

Chapter 6 Conclusions 174

Appendix A Land Cover Study Methodology 201

Appendix B Costs of Production, 1998 205

References Cited 209
List of Figures and Tables

List of Figures

2.1 Map of Honduras Showing Study Area 30
2.2 Map of study area showing location of places mentioned in text 31
2.3 Model of Capital Accumulation, Impoverishment, and Environmental Degradation 65
3.1 Map of study area showing land cover before construction of the El Cajón Dam 92
3.2 Map of study area showing types of land lost to reservoir 93
4.1 Map of study area showing land cover after construction of the El Cajón Dam 104
4.2 Map of study area showing changes in land cover between 1981–1994 105
4.3 Flowchart showing the effects of dam on household livelihoods in the El Cajón region 114
List of Tables

2-1 List of major towns and villages in study area with estimated population 32
2-2 Soil texture of El Cajón soils, based on samples taken in 1994, 1998 38
2-3 Descriptive statistics of soil chemistry, El Cajón soils, 1994, 1998 39
2-4 Soil characteristics and ranking, El Cajón soils, 1994, 1998 40
2-5 Primary income producing activities in Montañuelas and surrounding areas 43
2-6 Structure of land ownership for a sample of 51 households in Montañuelas 43
2-7 Ownership of material goods, Montañuelas and total sample 46
2-8 First year of fertilizer adoption among El Cajón cultivators 49
2-9 Amount of land owned by households of various wealth categories 53
2-10 Descriptive statistics of various agricultural practices by wealth category in the El Cajón region 54–55
2-11 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) results for data in Table 2.10 56
2-12 Distribution of cattle ownership by household in the El Cajón Region 62
List of Figures and Tables

3-1 Estimated population of Honduras, early 16th–late 20th centuries 71
3-2 Population in Honduras and around the study area 1801–1998 72
3-3 Comparative land use and productivity, before and after the El Cajón dam 83
3-4 Distribution of land cover types before construction of the El Cajón dam 96
4-1 Distribution of land cover types before and after construction of the El Cajón dam 103
4-2 Changes in forest vegetation in unflooded area, 1981–1994 107
4-3 Comparison of total factor productivity of maize, 1983 versus 1994 137
6-1 State capability and responsiveness: implications for social capital and development 187
B-1 Costs of production in experimental milpa, 1998 207–208
Preface

Anyone embarking on the writing of a book at the beginning of the 21st century must do so with some trepidation. In a world awash with information in a variety of formats: digital, video, microwave, text, graphic, and so forth one must have a strong justification to add to the noise level. I would like to think that this book deals with important topics in novel ways and hence *vale la pena*—is worth the trouble: of writing it and more importantly, of reading it.

The book deals with the trials and tribulations, indignities, troubles and crises suffered by a few thousand people living in a rural region of Honduras. While a certain amount of trial, tribulation, etc is inherent in rural life in Latin America, the problems afflicting these people have been exacerbated significantly by recent development projects, aimed, ostensibly, at improving their collective lot. The book follows their travail over a fifteen year period, 1983-98, during which time a major hydroelectric dam was built in the region and a well-financed environment and development project was implemented as well. The book chronicles their struggle to adjust to the massive changes brought on by the dam, the repercussions of these struggles for the natural environment, and the disappointing outcomes of the development projects. The book closes in 1998, a time that coincided the arrival of Hurricane Mitch in Honduras, a new perturbation, which ushered in new challenges and a new institutional context for coping with these changes. The effects of Hurricane Mitch are *not* explored in this volume.

This is not a personal book in that it does not attempt to bring individuals to life in its pages. I have opted in this book for a more quantitative, data-oriented presentation. I have written myself out of the book: it is not a first person narrative, or very reflexive in the current style. But the book is the product of an intense personal experience and involvement with the people whose predicament I describe. While I have attempted to put the information gathered to good use in defense of the livelihoods of those described herein, it is still probably the case that I have gotten more out of the experience of working in the El Cajón region, personally and professionally, than I have given back. I hope this book will reach some people who can make a difference in the way development proceeds. I hope they read it and act on its recommendations.
The research described in this book is a holistic, synoptic view of social and environmental change at a regional level. As Bennett (1993:12ff) points out, the description and analysis of human-environmental interactions is a complex and challenging task. While I am the individual responsible for most of the data gathered, analyzed and the interpretations provided, this book and the research that produced it, reflects the support of many people.

While in the El Cajón region I lived in the town of San José de Montañuelas, a town whose leaders have asked that I acknowledge its existence with its real name, rather than a pseudonym. I am grateful for the hospitality shown by virtually all members of that community. Specifically, while in Montañuelas I lived with Gumercindo Anariba Avila, his wife Concepción Reyes and their children. I will be forever grateful for the friendship they showed me and their care for me when I shared their home. In 1997-98, Gumercindo worked as my field assistant, helping me contact people for interviews in Montañuelas and surrounding towns. He supplied me with many insights into local life that have been incorporated into this volume. He proved to be an excellent fieldworker and fine companion in the field. Other members of the community that provided valuable advice and support include Julio Cesar Padilla, Isaías Flores, Profesor David Zuniga, Adonias Anariba and Virgilio Hernández among many others.

Institutional support for carrying out this research in Honduras was provided by the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia, Dr. Olga Joya, Director. I also benefited from support from the Instituto Geográfico Nacional, Noe Pineda Portillo, director, and from the offices of the Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical in Tegucigalpa, under the direction of Drs. Hector Barreto and Miguel Ayarza. The Escuela Agrícola Panamericana “Zamorano” analyzed and helped interpret soil samples under the supervision of Dr. Ana Margoth de Andrews, director of the soils lab. Additional logistical support was provided by the Empresa Nacional de Energía Eléctrica (ENEE) and the staff at Manejo de la Cuenca at the El Cajón dam site. Though I have some harsh words for the ENEE in this work, I am grateful for the support provided by Ing. Leonardo Deras and staff. I appreciate their willingness to discuss the goals and implementation of the development project analyzed in Chapter 5 of this work. Portions of Chapter 5 appeared in Human Organization, 59 (3):300-310, used here by permission.

While in Tegucigalpa, I was provided with wonderful hospitality, excellent logistical support and valuable insights into Honduran society by Nelson Bendek and Mercedes Acevedo de Bendek. Their contributions to my efforts in Honduras were absolutely essential to whatever success I have achieved and I sincerely appreciate their assistance and support.
Financial support for this research has been varied, dating back to my doctoral research in the region under the direction of Dr. Payson D. Sheets of the University of Colorado and Dr. Kenneth G. Hirth, then of the University of Kentucky. Support in 1983-84 was provided by the National Science Foundation, Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant (BNS-82-17706), the University of Colorado Graduate School and Department of Anthropology. The University of Maryland provided data analysis facilities. More recent fieldwork (1994, 97, 98, 99) has been supported by: Mississippi State University, Research Initiation Grant; California State University Summer Scholars Award; CSU, Chico Research Grant; CSU, Chico School of International Studies; CSU, Chico College of Behavioral and Social Sciences. The CSU, Chico Geographic Information Center provided essential technical assistance in GIS applications, at a deep discount. Thank you, Chuck Nelson and staff (see Appendix A). Additional assistance with figures was provided by Randy Wall of CSU, Chico's Instructional Media Center. The principal financial support for fieldwork in 1997-98 that really made this research possible was provided by the Center for the International Exchange of Scholars in the form of a Fulbright Lecture and Research Award and the National Geographic Society Committee for Research and Exploration.

The ideas presented here have benefited from discussion among colleagues such as Susan Stonich, James McDonald, Marc Edelman, Susan Place, Pedro Jiménez, Hector Barreto, colleagues and students at CSU, Chico and many people who live in the El Cajón region. In particular I would like to thank Martin Orans and Scott Brady, who read the manuscript and made valuable suggestions for improvement that I have attempted to follow wherever possible. Students in my graduate seminar in Anthropology and Environment also read over the manuscript; their suggestions improved the clarity of the arguments presented here. None of the people or institutions named are responsible for errors of fact or interpretation herein.

Finally, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation and thanks to my family: my wife, Sally Loker and our children, Willy, Savannah and Nathaniel for tolerating my extended absences while in the field or in the office laboring to produce this work. Sally also helped immensely with the production of the final maps used in this publication. They were all good sports on their trip to visit me in the field in Montañuelas. Thanks, guys.