

# Analysis of Cultural Uses of Land in the Indigenous Territories of the Honduran Moskitia

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## Introduction

This report is a study of the cultural uses of land, forests and bodies of water, in the text referred to simply as cultural land use (CLU), of the indigenous territories of four indigenous peoples settled in the department of Gracias a Dios in Honduras, called the Honduran Moskitia. These peoples are the Tawahka, the Pech, the Garífuna and the Miskitu.

An analysis of this nature involves an effort to gather information on how these peoples visualize their territory based on their own *emic* concepts, as opposed to *etic* studies of current or potential land use. It is hoped that this vision will be complementary to other studies being carried out with the latter perspective.

In light of the *emic* concepts<sup>1</sup> and against the background of the analysis of UCTs, the study has identified a series of findings related to issues such as: social organization, emphasizing the kinship social structure; settlement patterns, highlighting the cultural dynamics of territorial occupation (a text on ethnohistory has been added in Annex 1); governance, identifying their traditional models of authorities and decision-making; land tenure, unveiling customary land tenure; climate change, identifying UCT adaptations to improve resilience to climate change; the indigenous economy, with an emphasis on the non-monetary traditional indigenous economy (TIE), not just the market economy; migration, as a process of response to the transformation of UCTs and TIE, loss of food security and lack of education and income opportunities in the area; and the state of cultural survival.

The identification of the different categories of TCUs includes, for each of these categories, both their access rules (customary land tenure) and their management rules (territorial management based on traditional knowledge). This identification, as well as their sustainability analysis and the proposals presented by the indigenous stakeholders (collected in interviews with key stakeholders and in workshops conducted in each sampled community) to overcome the challenge of sustainability in the face of current changes in use, have been grouped in matrices, which for reasons of space are presented in Annex 2.

The UCTs and their standards are identified according to the following scheme.

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<sup>1</sup> The *etic* / *emic* dichotomy was initially coined by the linguist [Kenneth Pike](#) in 1954 and is widely used today in ethnological analysis. The *etic* concepts, typical of Western culture and scientific analysis, are of an analytical, inductive or descriptive nature, where the logic of causality prevails. The *emic* concepts are typical of traditional societies, significant for people who are part of a culture, where the logic of metonymy (what follows what) prevails, rather than that of causality. In the case of indigenous peoples, each *emic* category has monemes in native languages. Common *emic* concepts to refer to territory are collective/individual property, environmental services, protection / buffer / exploitation areas, agroforestry systems, silvopastoral systems, ecological systems and sacred sites, among others, which have little relation with the *emic* concepts of indigenous peoples about their territories, although these peoples have claimed the concept of collective property to obtain collective rights and to defend their territories.



Graph 1: categories and aspects of cultural land uses. Own elaboration

It should be noted that the access and management norms of the UCTs are cultural ideals, which have had to face the challenges of modernity, generating behavioral changes (for example, in hunting and fishing methods). However, the main impact on the UCTs and their norms has not been the result of these internal behavioral changes, but rather the consequence of a process of usurpation of their territories by ladinos, which has intensified in the last decade, driven by the association of the invaders with drug trafficking and the permissiveness of the Honduran State.

These usupadores are known by various names in the native languages, which denote their nature as "others", with connotations about their aggressiveness, as in the Miskitu reference term of *ispayul*, which means "people of dog and machete or weapon". However, they are referred to by all indigenous peoples, in Spanish, with the generic term "*third parties*", which is the term we use throughout the text, despite the fact that these peoples have classifications that differentiate them (those married to indigenous people, ladino settlers with a long history of settlement in indigenous territories, "good" settlers; which are distinguished from the "bad" third parties, of more recent appearance).

The UCTs of the indigenous peoples differ from and contrast with the UCTs of third parties, which have brought to the region a cattle-raising cultural use, based on a dynamic of clearing forests, planting pastures (grasses) and enclosing the land with wire fences; and in turn associated with predatory cultural practices of hunting, fishing, logging and transport, which differ significantly from the indigenous UCTs.

Annex 2 presents the analysis of the UCT of the Pech, Tawahka and Garífuna peoples; but the Miskitu have been divided into three UCT, following their own classification system, which corresponds, approximately, to the occupation by this people of different ecological niches. A distinction is made between the Miskitu *Salwina* (saltwater), *Klawina* (freshwater) and *Twi* (savannah) UCTs.

Field work for this study was carried out between January and February 2024, in a sample of communities that included a Tawahka (Krausirpi), a Pech (Las Marías), a Garífuna (Plaplaya), a Miskitu *Salwina* (Brus Laguna); and two *Klawina* (a river with hills, Wampusirpi; and a flat river, Tikiuraya).

A *Twi* community was not included in the sample, but the consultancy made a visit to Auka. However, although information was collected on their UCTs, which are referred to in parts of the

The short period of time spent in Auka did not allow for a sustainability analysis of the UCTs of its *Twi* savanna territory. However, the Brus Laguna, Wampusirpi and Tikiuraya territories have *twi* areas, so the categories used by these communities to classify their savannas were included.

The text of this report presents in its first part the findings collected in the communities on the above mentioned issues. In its second part, an analysis of the socio-cultural impact of the changes generated in recent years, in relation to the titling of their territories and the conformation of their functional governance (Indigenous Territorial Councils) and the intensification of the usurpation of these territories by *third parties*.

The recommendations, which emanate from stakeholder proposals and community workshops regarding the sustainability adjustments of the UCTs and the socio-cultural impact analysis conducted in the communities, are presented in Annex 3.

This study and its recommendations are based on perceptions, not on experimental evidence of impact. The idea of this study is to gather the visions and perspectives of indigenous peoples regarding the challenge of the survival of their livelihoods and their development options, so that they can be taken into account by donors and the government in their decision-making processes regarding possible investments and public policy definitions.

For security reasons and at the request of the informants, no names were included in this report.

## 1. Findings

### *The territory*

The territory of the Honduran Moskitia in the department of Gracias a Dios is characterized by a mass of broadleaf forests that descend from the Central Cordillera in the Department of Olancho, characterized by igneous and metamorphic formations with Mesozoic sediments and presence of Cretaceous and calcitic formations, where several rivers flow down. The longest and most abundant, to the east, the Patuca and the Segovia or Coco; and the shortest to the west, which are the Sicre, Patuca and Tinto.

At the end of the foothills of the mountain range, the broadleaf forests follow the course of the rivers, but in the interfluves there are highly leached soils that form a series of savannah tongues in a south-north direction, which the Miskitu identify with the name of *twi*, some of them intersected by short rivers such as the Warunta, with gallery forests along the way, of Miskitu *Awala Tasbaika* cultural use. Between the easternmost tongue of the savannah and the Coco River is a river that rises in the lowlands, the Kruta; and between this river and the Coco is the most southeastern broadleaf forest mass of the department. The Miskitu identify these broadleaf forest masses as *unta tara* cultural use. Part of the *Twi* savannas are covered with conifers, which for the Miskitu is their *awas dakura* cultural use.

Although some rivers such as the Plátano, Patuca and Kruta flow directly into the sea, the other runoffs feed a huge lagoon system, with small freshwater lagoons inland and large saltwater lagoons, separated from the sea by sandy beds. These lagoons are Karataska, Brus and Ibans. Both the entrances of the rivers to the sea, as well as the communication of the lagoon system with the sea, are characterized by bars, of Miskitu *warta* cultural use, of great importance for the Miskitu and Garifuna, for its accumulation of the fishing resource.

The resulting orography determines a series of ecosystems that coincide with the indigenous territories. The Pech, Tawahka and part of the Miskitu *Klawina* (freshwater) settle along the rivers with foothills of the mountain range. Other Miskitu *Klawina* settle in the flat rivers. And in the lagoon system, the Miskitu *salwina* (saltwater) and the Garifuna settle. The Miskitu *Twi*, in turn, settle in the savannahs.

The comparison of the current titling of indigenous territories with the cultural territories of these peoples yielded the following findings related to research topics established in the terms of reference of this consultancy:

The ***ancestral territory of the*** Pech and Tawahka does not coincide with their titling. Although all the indigenous peoples of the Moslkitia have a high historical mobility (see Annex 1: ethnohistory), the Tawahka titling, which dates back to 1994, was done through four titles on the lands of the vegas that they occupied at that time along the middle Patuca River, two in the department of Olancho and the other two in Gracias a Dios, under the logic of the Civil Code of titling those areas "worked" (with effective works of possession)<sup>2</sup>. For their hunting, fishing and gathering activities, the Tawahka Asangni Biosphere Reserve was created around the vegas, in their ancestral territories for these cultural uses, with core and "cultural" areas. The Tawahka people have been displaced from their titled areas in Olancho and the

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<sup>2</sup> An arrangement similar to that of the *native communities* in Peru, who are titled only the areas of settlement and their *conucos*. The farmers are granted the right of usufruct over the surrounding forest, while they are granted the right of usufruct over the surrounding forest.

The reserve is currently occupied by settlers. They can only hunt in the Warunta Range (downstream from their current villages of Krausirpi and Krautara) and their access to fishing is restricted by third party occupations.

The Pech territory was formed downstream of the Plátano River, when their ancestral territory extended upstream to *Chilmeca*, which today is the core zone of the Biosphere Reserve, with restricted access for them.

The titling of the twelve Miskitu indigenous territories as of 2012, which was unprecedented for the country, in the sense that for the first time Honduras recognized a legal security based on the concept of territory, did not include the islets and keys that have ancestrally been part of their *Kay* cultural uses.

**Endogamy** determines the composition of the communities, whose settlements mostly originated in marriage alliances of exogamous matrilineages that were located in the same place as endogamous *fratries* (see the section on social organization of kinship), some of them, as in the case of the Pech of Las Marías, intercultural between Pech and Miskitu. Marriage alliances between members of different local communities determine, in turn, non-monetary reciprocal exchanges, which in the cases of neighboring settlements or villages, coincide with the areas of some territories, as in the case of the Pech territory of Las Marías, the Tawahka territory (with intercultural marriage alliances between Tawahka and Miskitu), the Garífuna territory of Barauda and the Miskitu territory of Bakinasta.

Considering the high mobility of men in these communities (see settlement patterns), some of whom either marry or have children with women from communities in other territories, these alliances are the basis of reciprocal relationships that contribute to the fabric of **vertical complementarity** that is practiced with exchanges between the lagoon system (fish, shellfish) and the freshwater river system (rice, beans).

Taking into account the analysis of **cultural land use** (see Annex 2), the following groups of cultural territories were found to exist: those of the Tawahka, Pech and Garífuna, which are only one for each people in the Moskitia and, in the case of the Miskitu, the *Klawina* territories of the mountain river (Bakinasta, in the sample) and the flat river (Tikiuraya), the *Salwina* territories of the lagoon system (with the Diunat territory in the sample) and the *Twi* territories.

From the point of view of **correspondence with titling**, while it is true that some of these cultural territories corresponded to titled territories (Tawahka, Las Marías pech, Barauda, Bakinasta titles), this was not the case in others. The *Klawina* cultural territories of the Kruta River were not titled separately, but were included in the *Twi* territories of WamakKlisinasta, Truktsinasta and Lainasta, with whose communities they do not have marital alliances or carry out reciprocity exchanges of vertical complementarity (these territories are horizontally aligned, not in the vertical direction of the rivers) and have little communication between them. During the field visit to Tikiuraya, the consultancy was accompanied by the board of directors of the Laniasta Territorial Council, which includes Tikiuraya. The informants from that community stated that they did not know the members of the Territorial Council.

Diunat's land title included land to the south bordering the Río Plátano Biosphere Reserve in the headwaters of the Sicre River. Although it is true that some of the original Brus Laguna matrilineages had work sites in that area, these mountain river sites are difficult to access for the Miskitu *Salwina* of Brus Laguna and today they have lost them to third parties and to Miskitu *Klawina* or *Twi* occupations, especially Wawina. On the other hand, the Miskitu *Salwina* of Brus Laguna had

The Miskitu *Klawina* of Bakinasta were advancing upstream of the Patuca with their cultural use of *insla prata* agriculture, where they encountered the Miskitu *Klawina* of Bakinasta who were advancing downstream, in a place partially occupied by the Miskitu *Twi* of Bamiasta, who in Guagina have a cultural use of the *Awala Un* river valley. The resulting conflict did not make it possible to define to which territory this area corresponded, so the titling exercise was declared "tripartite".

A similar case occurred in the Baltimore plains on the southern shore of Lake Ibans, where the Miskitu of the Rayaka indigenous territory and the Garifuna of Plaplaya shared grazing rights (see the section on customary land tenure) and after a long conflict, thanks to an agreement reached by the family chiefs of the original matrilineages of Plaplaya and Belen (see the section on governance), it was agreed that six thousand multicultural hectares, Garifuna-Miskitu, would be titled.

## ***The social structure of kinship***

The social structure of kinship is matrilineal, both among the Pech, Miskitu and Tawahka, of Chibcha cultural tradition<sup>3</sup>, and among the Garifuna or Garinagu, possibly because of their Arawak maternal heritage. In all these cases the rule of residence is uxorilocal, where the husband moves to live at the residence of the wife's mother and to work on his mother-in-law's land. Matrilineal societies operate as sibling societies, who control land tenure.

One consequence of the uxorilocal rule is that women stay in their place of residence, while men are more mobile, both because they move to their partners' residence as a consequence of marriage, and because market insertion opportunities for natural resource extraction (cedar and mahogany logging, gathering tuno and chicle, hunting lizards and felines for skins, and fishing, especially diving for lobster), have historically been male activities, requiring long periods of absence of men from their homes.

This high male mobility has generated a phenomenon of polygyny, where men have children with several women in different locations. The children remain in their mothers' residence and inherit the rights of their matrilineage.

Another factor of mobility has been the consequence of the wars (Sandino's war in the 30's and the Contra-Sandinista war in the 80's), which caused a wave of Miskitu and Sumu Nicaraguan refugees to the Honduran Moskitia and the enlistment of indigenous people from the area in the Contra troops. The refugees of the 80's settled in the savannas (*Twi* cultural use) of Mocerón, Ahuás and Auka and in the Miskitu *Klawina*, (fresh water) and Tawahka territories of the middle Patuca River. Among the refugees came nuclear and extended families with single men. These families settled in a neolocal residence pattern, but many males married or had children with Miskitu and Tawahka women. With the signing of the peace accords. Most of the nuclear families returned to Nicaragua, but the men who had obtained mates (which gave them access to the matrilineage lands of their mistresses), stayed.

There are studies that show that women have lost their capacity to influence their communities and matrilineages, due to the masculinization of market insertion, militarization and their consequent marginalization in decision-making (Kirkland, 2001; Romero, 2012); to which must be added the current masculinization of the composition of territorial councils, federations and councils of elders.

This does not mean that women do not maintain significant management power over matrilineage lands and the family economy. In another study (Hobson - Herligy, 2012) on the Miskitu *Salwina* (saltwater) community of Kuri, on the left bank of the mouth of the Platano River, in which

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<sup>3</sup> The Tawahka, Miskitu and Pech peoples are part of the Chibcha cultural tradition in the extreme northwest, with the Pech, Miskitu and Tawahka languages (Mitsulmapa family) belonging to the large group of Macro Chibcha linguistic families (Mason, 1940; Constela, 2002, 2005). As such, the communities of these peoples studied in the sample share some characteristics in their social structure of kinship and in the role of women in society; in their traditional governance; in their food production system; in their cultural uses of the land, cosmovision and access to biodiversity; and in their traditional religious-magical system. The communities in the sample are all matrilineal, but many Macro Chibcha indigenous peoples are of parallel ancestry (which for some authors is the original structure of the Chica social organization), as is the case of the Kogi or Kággaba of the Sierra Nevada de Santamarta, the Uwa of the eastern foothills of the Sierra del Cocuy, both in Colombia, and the Guna of Colombia and Panama. In these cases parallel matrilineal and patrilineal lineages are recognized and the inheritance can be transferred from fathers to sons and from mothers to daughters. This does not seem to be the case in any of the peoples of the Honduran Moskitia, where the social structure is clearly matrilineal, although the highly mobile males maintain certain recessive rights over the lands of their original matrilineages (if they divorce they can return to their community of origin and receive work rights on the lands of their matrilineages), an aspect that has been of importance in the recent phenomenon of land sales (see the section on land tenure).

90% of the men are dedicated to lobster diving, it is shown how the women organize themselves to procure the income from the divers (which they tend to spend on liquor, sex and nowadays on cocaine sulfate or *stone*), to strengthen the family economy (purchase of market products) and how the women autonomously manage the cultivated lands where they establish their cultural uses *prata* (in Miskitu). Male absenteeism strengthens the matrifocality of these communities, with settlements of extended families with houses of daughters and granddaughters that are organized around the central house of the matrilineage grandmother (*kuka* in Miskitu), who is the landowner and leader of the settlement, with constant interaction between women who come and go around the central house of the *kuka*, busy raising children.



Image 1: Miskitu *Salwina* settlement of Kuri and *insla prata* shifting agriculture in the *unta tara* forest between the coast and the Patuca River and the *dahpat* wetlands of its madrevejas. On Google Earth satellite image, June 2024.

Matrifocality is stronger when male absenteeism is higher, which is accentuated in the Miskitu *Salwina* settlements on the coast and among the Garífuna. In the Miskitu *Klávina* (upriver), Tawahka and Pech communities, the matrilineage chiefs are usually, although not in all cases, male (the older brothers or grandfathers with prestige), so that the councils of elders tend to be dominated by them.

Although the rule of uxorilocality leads to married men settling in the residences (and land) of the wife's matrilineage, this does not in all cases result in their displacement outside the local community, since most of the current Miskitu, Pech, Tawahka and Garífuna settlements began with the arrival of two or four groups of brothers from matrilineages whose

descendants marry each other, forming fraternities, which are matrimonial alliances between these lineages. In this way, the transfer of the husband to the wife's residence can operate within the same local community.

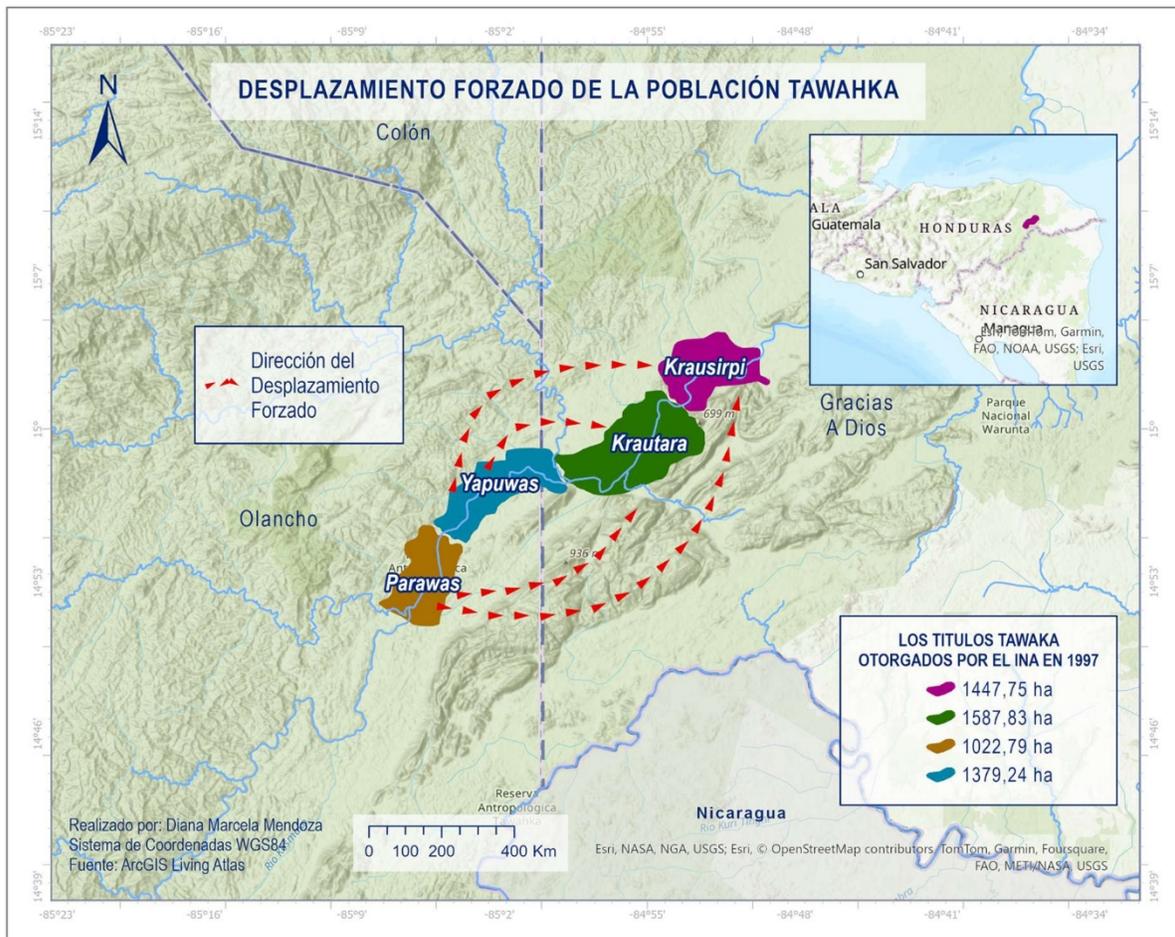


Image 2: matrilineage chiefs of the dominant Tikiuraya fraternity.

The dynamics of the foundation of new communities, with the transfer of groups of brothers from different matrilineages to a new locality, happens for several reasons: (i) because of threats, subjugation or perception of insecurity, as is the case of the history of the Tawahka settlements' journey in the last century (see Ethnohistory), until they settled in their current communities of Krautara and Krausirpi, after having been recently expelled from their settlements of Parawas and Yapuwas by the illegal mining of third parties; or Miskitu and Sumo refugees from the war between the Contras and Sandinistas in Nicaragua, who settled in the *Twi* of Mocerón and Ahuás and in the middle Patuca; (ii) by the exhaustion of resources or overpopulation in the original community and the discovery of fertile lands, with good hunting and fishing resources without occupants, as in the case of the foundation of Wampusirpi; or (iii) by internal conflicts or social tensions in the original community, which lead to its segmentation by *splitting*, as in the case of the departure from Tikiuraya of two matrilineages, who went to found a new community upstream of the Krauta River.

Segmentation by fission is a dynamic of territorial occupation, insofar as the division of a community generates the occupation of new lands. This dynamic operates as follows: the founding matrilineages of a community occupy the available lands and by the uxoriocal rule can attract men from other communities who marry the women of these original matrilineages, gaining access to their resources. However, over time, these men may bring their sisters or cousins (a phenomenon known as *uxoriocal creep*), who are not added to the existing matrilineages. When they marry, they form new matrilineages, secondary lineages known as "allegados". As the original matrilineages have preferential rights to lands and resources, the secondary lineages must ask permission from the original matrilineages or occupy lands that have not been appropriated by them. This situation generates tensions in the communities, which over time may

become unbearable for some of these groups, generating the separation of segments of these communities in search of new lands. The founding-segmentation cycle of local communities can last between three and four generations, approximately 40-50 years.



Map 1: Forced displacement of the Tawahka from their (titled) communities of Parawas and Yapuwás due to threats from illegal miners who appropriated the cultural use of the *Yapuwás* (place of the lizard) on the banks of the Patuca and Wampu rivers, where the Tawahka exploited gold with batea.

A case that illustrates these tensions was found during fieldwork in Tikiuraya. In this community, there has been an increase in cattle theft (*bipraskan*, dragging dead cows). Tikiuraya, which is located on the middle Kruta River, has an area of *unta tara* forest to the east between this river and the Coco River, which is the border with Nicaragua, and an area of *twi* savanna to the west. The *twi* is considered a community cultural use, where anyone can graze their cattle. The increase in thefts has led cattle owners, especially the original matrilineages, to close the *twi* pockets closest to the Kruta River with wire in order to guard their cattle, converting a cultural use of radial tenure (*bakahnu dukia*, collective) into a perimeter use (*silpdukiam*, private). The authorship of the thefts is attributed to young drug addicts.

The Council of Elders has followed several processes to these young people, with the purpose of applying the customary law figure of *talamana*, which is a system of compensation, where who is responsible for paying the consideration is not the individual perpetrator of the punishable conduct, but his family (nuclear or lineage). It turns out that when *young relatives* have been charged with theft, their lineages have refused to pay, which has been considered a serious violation of customary law and is generating intense social tension in the community.

Interethnic marriages are not an exception in the Moskitia. The peoples with smaller populations, which are the Tawahka and Pech, are mixed with Miskitu, and there are also marriages or unions of indigenous women with Ladino men, which are accepted in the communities, but which some authors (Cruz and Benitez, 2014) consider as a source of acculturation, in that cases have been reported of ladinos who prohibit their children from speaking the native language, disregard customary law, appropriate their wives' land ownership and establish a relationship of male dominance with them, involving domestic violence. Cruz and Benitez express their concern about the preference of Tawahka women to marry ladinos.

A special case is that of the Pech, in whose community of Las Marías they cohabit with the Miskitu. Unlike the Pech of Dulce Nombre de Culmí, the Pech of the Plátano River remained in voluntary isolation in the core zone of the Río Plátano Biosphere Reserve, near the archeological site of *Ciudad Blanca*, which they consider their ancestral territory, until around 1910. Upstream of Las Marías, there are five rapids (*Bruckwell, Kiplatara, Walpaulban Sirpi, Kaumakioz* and *Li Warbra* - whirlpool in Miskitu, known as "Subterráneo"), which impede navigation to the sources of the Plátano River. There are several Pech accounts of the first contact with the Miskitu, involving *silent trade* (Grierson, 1903; typical of the relationship of isolated peoples with other actors) and the theft of Pech women by Miskitu fishermen who would have ventured to the first rapids. From these first contacts, the Pech went down to the navigable part of the Banana River and after several settlement attempts, they ended up at the site of Las Marías or *Batiltuk* (broken boat in Miskitu), becoming a people in initial contact. Their mixing with the Miskitu, which some authors consider as an indicator of the weakness of the Pech culture; but which can also be interpreted, in the opposite sense, as a survival strategy through invisibilization, which is in turn typical of peoples in initial contact.

In a 1988 experiment that sought to strengthen Pech society in Las Marías by increasing the gene pool to extend inter-Pech marriage alliances, members of two Pech lineages from Culmí were transferred to Las Marías and accepted as guests, and were assigned land at Pico Dama and the Wahawala and Sulawala *workings*. However, over time, these families sold these lands to third parties ("only the vegas - of *kanaus wista* cultural use, for polyculture and grazing - but the third parties took the hills - of *waha cho wiata* cultural use for shifting cultivation"), a fact that is considered to have opened the door to the invasion of Las Marías by these third parties, bearers of a cultural use of extensive cattle ranching, who today control most of the Pech territory.

## **Settlement patterns**

In general, the indigenous peoples of the Moskitia present a nucleated settlement pattern. There are several factors that explain this phenomenon, such as:

(i) For the Miskitu *Salwina* and Garifuna, the accumulation of fishing resources in the lagoon system, both in saltwater lagoons (Miskitu cultural use *lakun salkira* and Garifuna *ladarahgun duna*) and saltwater canals (Garifuna *leibaragun duna*), as well as in freshwater (lakun kauhla Miskitu, Garifuna dihe laru laru bella); as in freshwater (*lakun kauhla* miskitu, *dihe lagunu* garifuna); as in the beaches (*auhya* miskitu, *laru laru bella* garifuna). Since fishing is their main source of sustenance, both for food sovereignty and for the market, it is convenient for these peoples to settle in places adjacent to where these resources are found and where water (Miskitu) or land (Garifuna, which goes from Colón to the lido or *ahud* of Barauda, easily accessible from Plaplaya) transportation is easy.

In addition, the concentration of the population in settlements near the beach facilitates the collection of divers and lobstermen to catch lobster, and lobster boats come to these settlements to hire them; and in the case of the Miskitu, it allows them to keep safe the fishing equipment used in season to catch sea cucumbers and jellyfish in the cays (Miskitu *key* cultural use) for the market (the Garifuna do not fish in the cays or on the reefs).

Some Miskitu communities, such as Barra Patuca, gather in the lidos (*raya* cultural use) near the "barras" (*warta* cultural use) at the mouths of rivers or outlets of saltwater lagoons to the sea, which is where fishing is concentrated, including the exit of shrimp from the *laulu pliska* mangroves, where they are raised, to the sea, for their development as adults. In recent years, due to the effect of marine currents, the *warta* are the places where the cocaine packages that are thrown into the sea by the drug traffickers' boats, when they are pursued by the police and the DEA, accumulate.

From these settlements, both the Miskitu *Salwina* and the Garifuna have easy access to riverbanks, streams and nearby forests for the establishment of their shifting cultivation systems (*insla prata* miskitu and *wawuru wägü* Garifuna) and polycultures miskitu *prata almuk*. The Garifuna of Plaplaya, who do not have polycultures, plant bitter cassava and musaceae in the lidos *ahud*, in pockets in the middle of their *ubudu* settlements.

In the case of the Miskitu, when they have to stay in freshwater lagoons (such as the Raya Lagoon in Brus Laguna) or on the beach for the fishing season, or when they have to stay on the farmland for planting or harvesting *prata*, they build seasonal huts known as *bink*. As the Miskitu agricultural cycle progresses and the *prata* becomes an "established farm" with the consolidation of polycultures, the four or five *binks* that were established at the beginning of *prata* cultivation to house the entire extended family also evolve into one or more wooden houses similar to those built in the villages, but more precarious.



twi

Image 3. *Bink* miskitu in *ahuya* cultural use in front of Brus Laguna for shark fishing to be sold during Easter Week

(ii) In the case of the Tawahka and Pech, as well as in the case of the Tawahka *Kl wina* and *Twi*, a factor that favors nucleated settlements is the fear of periodic or *full* flooding of rivers and streams and hurricanes, which leads these peoples to prefer to settle in high places, where they can protect themselves from these natural phenomena and improve their resilience against climate change. Given the scarcity of high spaces in the lowlands, they prefer to choose them for nucleated settlements, not dispersed ones.

In the case of the *Twi communities*, which have lower quality soils than those settled along the rivers, in Auka it was stated that the main reason for settling in the savannahs was to be safe from *flooding*. As the *Twi* include several types of cultural uses, these communities prefer to settle in the *Twi dakura* cultural use, with forest, especially in those places that, due to their proximity to the rivers, contain broadleaf forest, which are scarce, so the settlements end up being relatively nucleated.

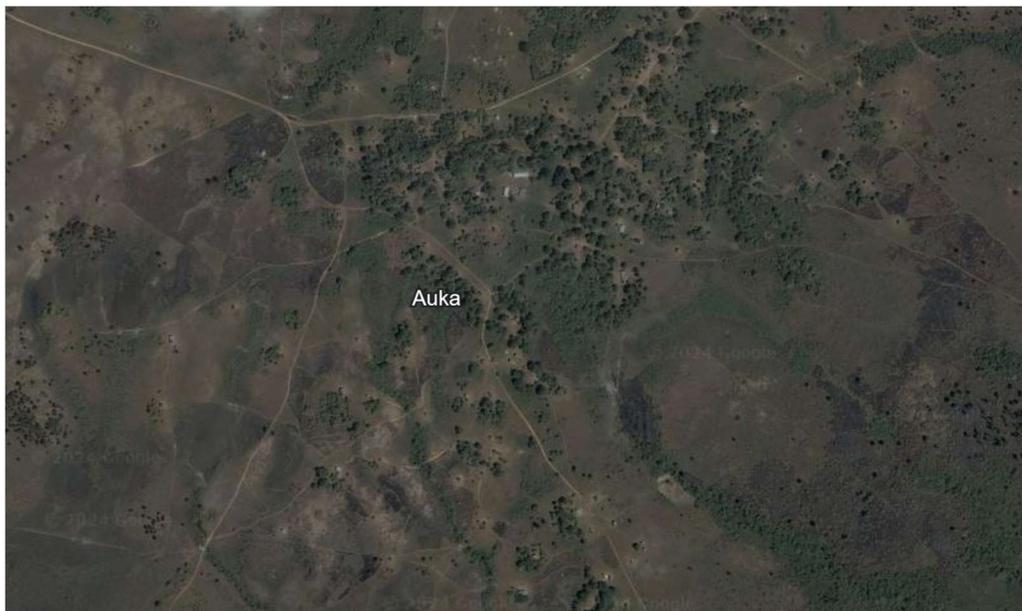


Image 4: Miskitu *Twi* semi-nucleated settlement of Auka in *Twi dakura* cultural use. Google Earth image, June 2024.

(iii) matrifocality, the tendency of women in matrilineages to settle in adjoining houses of different generations around a larger house (the grandmother's *kuka*, among the Miskitu) for the socialization of women, the raising of children and the organization of agricultural work in the laboratories. When communities are organized in fraternities, lineages that exchange partners among themselves, the result is a set of two, four or more (counting the lineages of *relatives*) settlement patterns of continuous matrilineages, which together constitute a nucleated settlement;

(iv) The perception of insecurity in the face of the advance of colonization by third parties (cattle ranchers and illegal miners) and the danger of drug trafficking, which has led the Tawahka to gather in two of their four original settlements; the Pech to take refuge, with their Miskitu relatives, in the settlement of Las Marías; the Miskitu of Brus Laguna to abandon their seasonal settlements in their *meadows* in the basins of the Sikre, Twas and Tilasunta rivers, due to the usurpation of drug traffickers, illegal miners and third party cattle ranchers; and the Garífuna have been forced to abandon their work sites in the Tinto river basin due to encroachment by drug traffickers, which has forced them to move their shifting agriculture to the wetlands in front of Plaplaya, to move the planting of yucca brava and musaceae to their home sites, and to suspend their seasonal grazing around Lake Ibans ("vagrancy") due to the occupation of cattle ranching settlers from the Baltimore plains, south of the lake.



Map 2: transhumance of cattle and displacement of Garifuna agriculture due to the usurpation of the Tinto River by drug traffickers and of the Baltimore plains (south of Lake Ibans) by third party cattle ranchers.

The perception of insecurity also affected those displaced by the wars in Nicaragua against Sandino and the war between Sandinistas and Contras (in which the Sandinista organization was active on Honduran soil).

Misquito, Sumo and Mayagna Misurasata) displaced indigenous Nicaraguan population to settle neolocally in certain places (such as Mocoron, with the support of the UN) or to be added by marriage to pre-existing Tawahka and Miskitu settlements (especially in Wampusirpi); and

(v) the availability of services, both commercial, public and religious, that accumulate in the nucleated places.

The Moravian religion entered the Honduran Moskitia in the 30's, coming from Nicaragua, founding temples, forming the first schools and a hospital in Ahuás, which ended up fostering a nucleated settlement pattern among their parishioners. The Moravians were followed by the Catholic religion (the Tawahka had been encouraged in the colony to settle by Spanish missions, which did not succeed) and more recently, a series of evangelical Christian churches of different denominations. In Brus Laguna, a settlement with 1,700 inhabitants, there are 35 churches, while the Diunat Territorial Council does not have a headquarters to attend to its competencies.

One of the contributions of the Moravians to the settlements was the redesign of the traditional dwelling houses, which today are conspicuous throughout the Moskitia. The palafitte construction was maintained (to face floods and the control of the *Aedes egypty*, which does not rise more than one meter high), but the construction with round wood was changed for sawn wood (floors and walls), the thatched roof (made of *suita* palm, which is preserved in a few more traditional houses) was changed for calamine, the rooms were divided and the kitchen was integrated into the house.



Comparison between traditional and morava tawahka house

As for the activity of the governments, the governability of the indigenous peoples by the political powers of the day has been based on the condition of the settlement and nucleation of the indigenous peoples. In the Spanish colony (which little affected the Moquitia), to collect the royal tribute and to impose forced labor; and in the republic to carry out a project of assimilation. In the case of the Nicaraguan Moskitia, in the 50's and 60's the Rio Coco Pilot Project for the basic education program with the support of UNESCO (Meringer, 2014) strengthened the nucleation of communities around schools. Although in the Moskitia the GHO did not adopt any program of the magnitude of the Rio Coco Pilot Project, the GHO did not adopt any program of the magnitude of the Rio Coco Pilot Project (Meringer, 2014).

Coco, for practical reasons it is preferred that schools and health centers be located in nucleated settlements.

Finally, there is the issue of whether prior to the current settlement pattern, the Tawahka, Pech and Miskitu *Kláwina* practiced **nomadism**. In the accounts of the elders of these three peoples collected during the fieldwork, their original character as hunters, gatherers and freshwater fishermen of transhumant settlement was emphasized, and the fact that the current preponderance of crops for their food security (and their new nucleated settlement pattern), is due to the displacements and restrictions on hunting, fishing and gathering imposed by the presence of third party usurpers of their territories.

The Tawahka elders state that when they arrived at the Patuca River, they did not cultivate crops, except for malanga in the wetlands, and that they supplemented their diet of hunting, fishing and gathering with the guineos they found growing in the river's meadows. Prior to contact with the Miskitu, when they were isolated in what is now the core zone of the Río Plátano Biosphere Reserve, their main activity was hunting, complemented by fishing and gathering. In the case of the Miskitu *Kláwina*, an elder from Wampusirpi described the *nomadic times* they lived in before they formed villages: "we hunted for a while in *posts* in the *unta tara* forests, we went down to the Barra Patuca *warta* to fish and we also traveled in canoes with sails to Belize (known at that time as British Honduras) to exploit mahogany", a description of male transhumance, which aligns with the observation of the current mobility of the males of the indigenous peoples of the Moskitia, described above, in the section on social organization of kinship.

However, the supposed nomadism of the Tawahka has been questioned by Cruz and Benítez<sup>4</sup>. For their part, the Pech of the Platano River use the same term for the cultural use of canopy polyculture (*kuk atataшка*) as the Pech of Culmí (for the cultural use of shifting agriculture they use a miskitism, *prata tiska*, instead of the *waja atataшка* used in Culmí), which indicates some possible complementary practice of agriculture during the time they remained isolated.

Rather than nomadism, it is possible that it was a matter of transhumance, where these peoples established temporary settlements, where women and children stayed most of the time, while the men dedicated themselves to hunting and fishing; changing settlements when these resources were exhausted (as Griffin suggested in 1994 for the Tawahka<sup>5</sup>); or they reacted in this way to natural disasters, epidemics or violence or threats from third parties (as Cruz and Benítez have recorded).

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<sup>4</sup> "It is our opinion that there was neither true nomadism nor true subsistence gathering among the Tawahka 500 years ago, but that they were sedentary agricultural-hunting-fishing groups that could change their location due to political factors (intertribal wars), ecological factors (soil depletion, floods, plagues or epidemics) or due to processes of union or division of the different groups...". Cruz, Gustavo and Benítez, Edgardo. *Ethnological and Ecological Diagnosis of the Tawahka Asangni Biosphere*. Tawahka Indigenous Federation of Honduras (FITH). Krausirpi, 1994. S/P.

<sup>5</sup> "so as not to kill all the animals in one place".

## Governance

It is necessary to distinguish between traditional governance and that which is functional or articulated to state governance, represented in the latter case by the federations (among the Tawahka) and the territorial councils (TC, for the other cases), which have legal status for the administration of the indigenous territories (IT); and which were created by the State in the Moskitia since 1992 (Tawahka titles), which are articulated to the municipal mayors' offices and the sectorial entities of the State.

**Traditional governance** is based on the indigenous legal system, which is composed of customary law, on the one hand, and a jurisdictional system involving certain authorities and particular procedures, on the other.

**Customary law** is made up of a series of norms that establish ideal patterns of behavior for civil life and the relationship between men and nature, spirits and *wild* forces present in the territory. These norms obey the Amerindian principle of harmony, where the teleology of good living (*laman lakan* miskitu. García, 2014) focuses on transforming the environment, on *taming it* to establish an order determined by human action, but rather on coexisting with the *bravo*.

In territorial terms, these norms are reflected in an ethic of land management, known as *territorial knowledge-based land management* (TKLM). Management norms are one of the two aspects that accompany each of the cultural land use categories; the other aspect being that of access rules, which is reflected in customary land tenure law (see the detail of both norms for each cultural use in Annex 2 of this study: *cultural land use sustainability matrix*).

These ethics and their consequences are the reflection of particular cosmovisions, which many peoples call *Law of Origin*, which are considered immutable, to differentiate them from more modern mandates or norms adopted by their authorities (traditional or functional), the latter being known as *Proper Law* (Perafán, 1994, 2022).

A case of these cosmovisions is that of the tawahka concept of the *malam*, the place where the tawahka go after death, which is visualized as a cave with a circular mouth that projects a cone of light to its floor, where the spirits of the deceased tawahka and of the diverse species of animals are arranged. The spirits of the tawahka who have complied with the ideal patterns of behavior, especially those of the hunt, are located within the light projected by the cone. Those who have mistreated the animals or hunted more than allowed, are located in the shadow. From there, they can see the animals, but neither the animals nor the spirits of the ancestors can see them. This is the punishment of invisibility<sup>6</sup>.

The presence of several spirits or apparitions contributes to determine the ideal ethics of behavior, as is the case of the mermaid (the *liwa mairin* miskitu; Suazo, 2019; similar to the *wasyal*, tawahka water woman and the *wi asoa* pech), of the mother of the cuyamel (*isha akati*) pech, of the tawahka water tiger (*wasnawah*) o

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<sup>6</sup> Common in the malocas of the Amazon, as in the case of the *iña siritise* (not wanting to see) tucano, where the members of a maloca make the perpetrator of a serious behavior invisible, as if he did not exist, thus applying the penalty of *nito basiótise* (not being able to live together), in order to force him to leave the community. See: Perafán, Carlos; Azcárate, Luis and Guzmán, Antonio. *Tukano Legal System*. ICAN. Bogotá, 1996.

of Miskitu ghost boats (*liwa butka*), which harm fishermen when they do not comply with the rules of subsistence fishing behavior and reciprocity in catches.

Several animals have "owners", so one should only hunt what is necessary to feed their families, at the cost of being vulnerable to the damage that these spirits can cause. Trees with "owners", such as the ceibo, cannot be touched and there are places in the high hills (certain *walpa unta* caves among the Miskitu) and in the primary forests (the place where the spirits sleep and pass through in the *unta tara*, among the Miskitu) that are taboo. However, in other caves, such as the *buksa dusunta* miskitu of the quequeo (wild boar), whose owner is considered a more benign spirit, it is possible to hunt, but only with the owner's permission. Among the Tawahka it is taboo in the high hills those places where evil spirits such as the *sisimiti* (hairy body with the face of a pig), the *ulak*, goblin and the *nawah san*, black tiger (panther) inhabit; similar to the Pech, for whom it is taboo the place where the *aubia* spirits inhabit, in the high hill *waja cho huya*. It is also taboo for the Miskitu of Tikiuraya to hunt certain animals, such as monkeys, parrots, guaras, tigers and lizards. For the Miskitu, the spirits of the *unta tara* forest become angry (i) when their habitat, the large trees, are destroyed; (ii) when the vines where they rest are destroyed; (iii) when the *yabal* passes are destroyed; and (iv) when menstruating women approach.

None of the peoples studied have a traditional political system of centralized authorities, although it is possible that they may have had one in the past, as in the case of the Miskitu kingdom (Helms, 1986) during the English protectorate of the Moskitia (currently there are two groups in Honduras that claim Miskitu kingdoms, without major followers); or of theological<sup>7</sup> or military authorities that are common in other Macro Chibcha peoples (Cardona, 2022, for the Tawahka case). The Tawahka elders stated that they had been led in the past by *ditalyan*, who would have guided them in their different journeys in their historical dynamics of territorial occupation, escaping epidemics, avoiding dangers and threats, identifying favorable sites for new settlements and performing the rituals, dances and songs they considered necessary to protect these settlements from spirits and dangerous forces and to ask permission from the owners of the forests, hills, waters and savannahs to settle and use their resources.

In the absence of traditional systems of centralized authorities, the ***jurisdictional system of the*** Moskitia peoples can be characterized as segmentary<sup>8</sup>, articulated to a religious magic system.

In a segmentary system, decision making operates within social segments, which are the matrilineages, where internal segment issues are resolved (land allocation within the matrilineage tenure, work organization, capital support for fishing equipment, provision of dowries, conflict resolution among members, redistribution); and when it comes to alliances or intra-tribal conflicts between segments or members of segments, segmentation operates either as an aggregation of segments or as an opposition between them, in which case the meeting and negotiation of the family chiefs of the segments involved, who are the segment authorities, serves as the scenario for conflict resolution.

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<sup>7</sup> Such is the case of the *Mamu* of the peoples of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, of the *Werjayá* among the Uwa, both in Colombia; of the *Sahkla Guna* in Panama, of the *Mama Tadata* religion among the Ngöbe-Buglé of Panama or of the institution of the *Usékar* (Bozzoli, 2006) among the Bri-Bri and Cabécar of Costa Rica.

<sup>8</sup> Political system originally described for the Nuer pastoralists of southern Sudan by E.E. Evans Pritchard. *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1940

As for the matrimonial alliances between segments (exogamy of matrilineages), there is among the Miskitu an institution that reaffirms this alliance, which is that of the *leipian*, which consists of the godfather cutting the umbilical cord of the godchild, strengthening the fictitious agnatic kinship (descendants of a single parent) in the communities, the organization of fishing and hunting parties and the arrangements of reciprocity of goods and work (*biribiri tawahka; pana pana miskitu, yupi aya pech* and *eida turú garifuna*) between these segments or related matrilineages (who intermarry), many of which (in the case of the fratrics described above in the kinship section) act as communities made up of exogamous halves<sup>9</sup>.

Given the high mobility, the recent foundation of the current settlements and their tendency to fission for the creation of new settlements, the depth of these social segments is low, rarely exceeding three or four generations; reason for which they are not divided into sub-lineages with recognized identity (only in extended families), nor aggregates (clans).<sup>10</sup>

The segmentary system extends to inter-tribal relations between indigenous peoples and communities. One example encountered during fieldwork was the territorial conflict between the Garífuna community of Plaplaya, of the Barauda indigenous territory, and the Miskitu communities of the lido between Lake Ibans and the sea (Ibans, Belén), of the Rayaka indigenous territory. This case involved disputes over fishing in the creek that separates Plaplaya from Ibans and over the right to graze and settle for agricultural work in the wetlands and savannas (Baltimore plains) on the southwestern edge of Lake Ibans. A conflict that lasted for two years and reached its resolution when the family chiefs of the original or dominant matrilineages of Plaplaya and Belen reached an agreement, which was reflected in the issuance of two titles, one Garifuna of 2,600 hectares and another multicultural or shared Miskitu / Garifuna of 6,000 hectares in the plains of Baltimore.

The Miskitu jurisdiction has a cultural mechanism for conflict resolution<sup>11</sup> called *talamana*. Miskitu customary law establishes types and criteria for these compensations, which range from conduct against personal integrity, to conduct against patrimony, to conduct against women. For example, domestic violence, "touching someone else's woman", "looking at a woman's leg", generate compensation obligations between kinship segments, taking into account that husbands and wives belong to different exogamous segments or lineages. The *talamana* mechanism entails social responsibility, which does not fall on the perpetrator of the behavior that violates the behavior pattern, but on his or her family. In the Garifuna case, the system is one of punishment, which includes penalties of work, exposure in chiliyos or condemnation to remain on top of an anthill.

Those behaviors that violate the ideal patterns of behavior on the forest, waters, hills and animal houses, especially on the occasion of hunting, fishing and gathering activities in which neither the people nor the goods of the social segments are involved, as well as matters of witchcraft and poisoning, are understood to be the responsibility of the **magical-religious system** associated with the segmentary jurisdiction. It is understood that the spirits and forces are in charge of punishing those who violate these patterns. In cases of witchcraft or occultism, the following are explained

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<sup>9</sup>Common in the Amazon, which is also the dyadic structure of the Quechua and Aymara *ayllu* of the Andes.

<sup>10</sup> As in the case of the Bribri and Cabecar clans in Costa Rica or the male *Tuxe* and female *Dake* lineages of the Kogi of the Sierra Nevada de Santamarta, with a long history of permanent occupation of the same territory.

<sup>11</sup> These kinds of mechanisms, culturally institutionalized and diachronically (historically) created by some indigenous peoples, prevent other forms of conflict resolution such as blood collection or revenge (Begley, Coe and Palmer, 2015) and seek to overcome the Miskitu fear of poisoning and the use of "black magic" (witchcraft).

phenomena such as drowning ("he jumped into the water") or snakebite, as retribution for this system.

The authorities of this system are the *sukia* miskitu, the *ditalyan* tawahka, the *wata* pech and the *bú garífuna*, many of them women. These specialists exercise curative functions of the traditional health system, but they are also responsible for the protection of individuals or communities against the influence of spirits and forces. Tikiuraya distinguishes three types of *sukia* "not contaminated with witchcraft<sup>12</sup>": *sukias bakul*, who protect the community from evil spirits of the forests and water and to whom benign spirits indicate which plants to use for healing; *sukias pikis*, singers, who invoke spirits; *sukias kualtaya*, who transfer the souls of deceased people to the distant world, to the homes of the spirits of the forest *unta tara* and those aquatic in the *li*.



Image 6: *sukia bakul* of Tikiuraya demarcating an area of protection against spirits in the community.

The magical religious system has been weakened by the presence of Christian churches. Several of the communities visited have lost these authorities. However, while the Pech community of Las Marías no longer has a *watá* and the last two *tawahka ditalyan* have passed away, the *tawahka* elders plan to import a *sumo ditalyan* from Nicaragua; and while there are no *sukias pikis* or *kualtayas* in Wampusirpi or Brus Laguna, families consult *sukias* from other communities. Plaplaya no longer has *bu*, but does have *buyeis*, who lead the *chugú* (one-day) and *dugu* (three days or more) festivals, to invoke the spirits of the *gubida* ancestors who are troublesome and may be causing illness, in order to placate them. In Plaplaya these meetings are still practiced and the contradiction with the Christian churches is explained as follows: "he attends who believes".

**Functional governance** is the responsibility of the Territorial Councils<sup>13</sup> which have legal status for the management of the Pech, Garifuna and Miskitu indigenous territories, which were titled in the

<sup>12</sup> Witchcraft attributed to the activity and influence of "sukias de Nicaragua".

<sup>13</sup> For the history of the titling of indigenous territories and the formation of the Territorial Councils, see: Burneo de la Rocha, Maria Luisa and López de Romana, Angel. *Territorial Councils in the Muskitia, Honduras*. International Land Coalition, Latin America and the Caribbean (ILC LAC) and The Tenure Facility (TF).

Department of Gracias a Dios as of 2012; and from the Tawahka Indigenous Federation of Honduras (FITH), which does so for the four Tawahka titles granted in 1994, two in the Department of Olancho (from which they were involuntarily displaced) and two in the Department of Gracias a Dios.



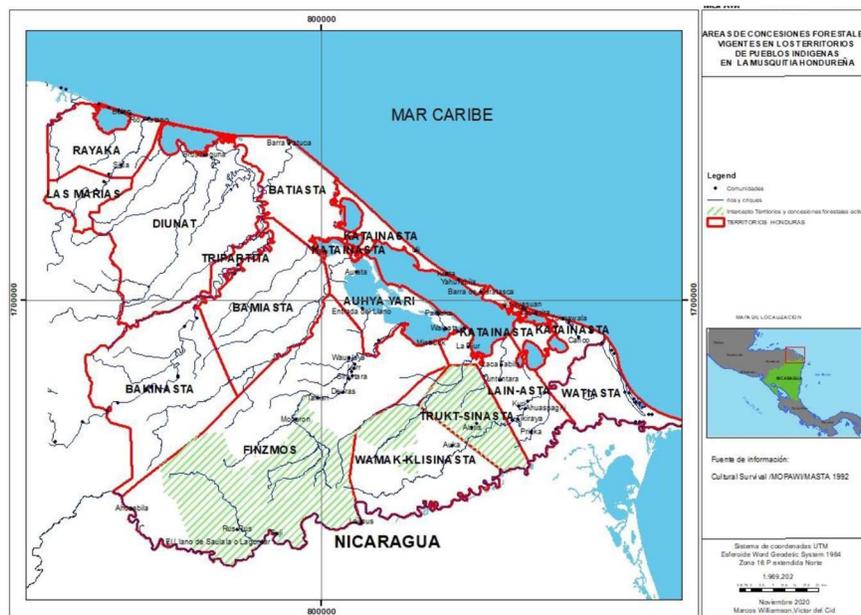
Map 3: Indigenous territories in the Department of Gracias a Dios. Source: CA Indígena 2017.

The Territorial Councils fulfill a series of competencies assigned to them in their acts of creation and operate in practice as territorial entities for the administration of these territories, but with the characteristic that their competencies do not have the resources to fulfill them, so that their actions are limited by the lack of income or transfers of resources from the State to carry out their functions. They do not have the capacity, for example, to hire technicians or legal assistance.

These councils are generally weak, with a low level of recognition among the population of their territories (who have little knowledge of the life plans, development plans and regulations they formulate), with a low level of coordination among themselves and with a low capacity to support their community councils, councils of elders, boards of trustees, and women's and youth groups in their communities. Nor do they have the capacity to care for and monitor their forests and natural resources, much less to enforce their jurisdictional decisions. They have no infrastructure (with the exception of the one built by Prawanka), nor do they have the capacity to manage filing systems.

Additionally, they are subject to a **parallelism** phenomenon. The Territorial Councils and the FITH have formulated life plans, community development plans, integral ecological protection and cultural heritage rescue programs (such as the Tawahka Asangni Biosphere), regulations and have joined forces to formulate management plans for the lagoon systems, but these plans overlap with the municipalities' development plans and the ICF's biosphere management plans and logging plans.

In this parallelism, the municipalities and the ICF have not consulted their plans with the indigenous governments (an extreme case being the concession of forest exploitation in the coniferous forests of the *Twi* savannas and the *Unta Tara* mountains of the Kruta and Coco rivers in Miskitu indigenous territories, without the prior consultation of Art. 6 of ILO Convention 169) and have the resources to implement these plans, while the functional indigenous governance does not have them. In this scenario of lack of public resources for the fulfillment of their competencies, the activities that the territorial councils have been able to carry out have been limited to those made possible by the scarce and sporadic resources of international cooperation.



Map 4: ICF forest concessions without prior consultation in the Honduran Moskitia, Source: Mopawi, MASTA, IUCN

It should be added that, despite their public competencies, the Territorial Councils are considered by the country's legal system as community-based non-governmental organizations, subject to registration and oversight by the Civil Organizations Registration Office of the Ministry of Government and Justice.

The Territorial Councils and the FITH have integrated traditional indigenous jurisdiction into the functional governance structure through the incorporation of Councils of Elders. For example, in the indigenous territory of DIUNAT (Brus Laguna), when there is a land boundary conflict between community members, the Territorial Council sends its Land Commission to investigate, which presents a report to the Board of Directors, the Supervisory Committee and the Council of Elders; the parties are then called and two elder witnesses (usually chiefs of the lineages in dispute) are consulted, to find out "who worked first" or if there are "inheritances". The decision is made jointly by the Board of Directors and the Council of Elders. If there is no solution, the file is sent to the Ethnic Prosecutor's Office.

This new jurisdictional governance, composed of a mixture of the traditional jurisdictional system and the competencies of the Territorial Councils, presents challenges in three respects; the first with respect to the supplanting of functions by public institutions. The second, with respect to what to do in the face of encroachments by third parties. And the third, in relation to the so-called "internal reorganization".

Although Honduras has ratified ILO Convention 169, it has not adjusted its legal system or the actions of its institutions to the recognition of indigenous jurisdiction contained in Art. 8 of the Convention (nor the prior consultation of Art. 6 of the Convention). It exists by law (and custom), but is weakened by the intervention, actions and omissions of the institutions at different levels, as well as of the territorial councils themselves, which have limited the capacity of the traditional bodies to make and *enforce* their decisions in accordance with customary law.

The Auxiliaries of Justice, the Justices of the Peace and the influence of the churches **supplant** and weaken the indigenous jurisdiction. In Krausirpi, the deputy mayor and the president of the FITH were accused of promoting land sales to settlers. In Wampusirpi, the justice of the peace formalizes the sale and purchase documents of possession rights between third parties and indigenous people. In the same locality, an ICF official confiscated some turtles hunted by a Miskitu, which generated a riot in the community that set fire to the ICF's facilities. Several witnesses in Brus Laguna stated having heard in the pastors' sermons that the arrival of the planes with drug shipments (to different airstrips that existed in the DIUNAT territory, most of them nowadays deactivated) was "a gift from heaven". The herders, many of them coming from outside, do not know the rules of customary management. A shepherd in Brus Laguna boasted of having killed all the twelve quequeos (wild boars) he found in a cave.

The institutions do not know or recognize the existence of indigenous jurisdiction or customary law, but neither have they had the institutional capacity to prosecute environmental crimes, prevent the construction of illegal roads and evict invaders from indigenous territories, nor to guarantee the security of the indigenous population, which is subject to threats from drug traffickers and armed ladino settlers. There are no specialized prosecutors' offices in the region. An official who carried out an inventory of the encroachments in Barauda was later murdered in La Ceiba. This and other murders, such as that of a president of the FITH, remain unpunished. A third one, who murdered a Tawahka when he complained about a land purchase from a family member, was released before being brought before a judge in Puerto Lempira and remains in Krausirpi boasting about his actions.

The local institutional framework of prosecutors, courts and human rights ombudsmen is conspicuous by its absence. Although the so-called Green Battalion is present, it only intervenes in the core zones and does not get involved in preventing the destruction of indigenous territories, providing security to the indigenous population and evicting usurpers, nor does it coordinate with the indigenous jurisdiction. The intervention of the armed forces has been limited to the persecution of drug traffickers.

The presence of INA, ICF and SERNA is weak in Gracias a Dios. The sanitation standard is not being met and the Wampusirpi sanitation pilot project, which was announced years ago, has not been implemented.

The recent decree of Environmental Emergency of the Forests of Honduras and the creation of the Commission for "Zero deforestation by 2029", shows an unprecedented effort of intervention by the current government to neutralize illegal roads and intervene in the process of usurpation of drug traffickers and ladino settlers in the forests of Olancho and the Moskitia, but it remains to be seen what consequences this will have for the indigenous territories, since the actions foreseen are focused on prosecuting environmental crimes against the nation's forest patrimony and carrying out actions to evict illegal activities in the core zones of the protected areas, rather than on protecting the indigenous territories and promoting their cleanup (although in its Art. 7º orders the Prosecutor's Office to "investigate the processes of granting of titles of

property, and illegally registered in the Property Institute, within the inalienable national forest patrimony, and especially those that have dispossessed the communities and native peoples").

The Territorial Councils feel **defenseless** against the actions of third parties, armed and associated with drug trafficking, who do not know the customary law of the indigenous peoples, nor are they willing to submit to the decisions of their jurisdiction. When this governance has tried to act in the face of third party encroachment, State institutions have not only avoided supporting them, but have ignored their decisions. One such case was that of the Miskitu *Twi* of Auka (indigenous territory of WamakKlinasta), whose government held a group of third-party invaders for two weeks in March 2015 and was accused of kidnapping. The detainees were handed over to the Government, which signed an agreement in which the Government agreed to investigate and sanction those responsible for the land sale and environmental destruction, finalize the land titling process and return the settlers to their places of origin, which according to the Territorial Council, has not been fulfilled so far. On the contrary, by December 2015, the number of third party invaders had already increased<sup>14</sup> .

According to Marcos Williamson and Víctor del Cid, "to clean up the territory, cleansing it of outsiders, it is essential to carry out an **internal sanitation** to overcome the bad practices of some leaders who act individually, without respecting collective decision making, in accordance with traditional forms of organization"<sup>15</sup> . This reorganization refers to the fact that "in the communities and territories the notion of private property has penetrated, so that the indigenous people themselves have sold plots of land to people who are not ladinos". This task not only implies pointing out those responsible for the illegal sales of indigenous lands, but also a moral effort to recover the ethics of customary law, as well as to dissociate themselves from the influence of drug trafficking, which has permeated the leadership of the territorial councils and especially the youth,

At the level of **indigenous organizations**, MASTA (*Moskitia Asla Takanka*, the unity of the Moskitia) associates the Miskitu Territorial Councils and the Unity of Indigenous and Black Peoples of the Honduran Moskitia (UPINMH), the governments of the four indigenous peoples of the Moskitia.

In terms of indigenous jurisdiction, MASTA (the organization that promoted the titling of the indigenous territories of the Moskitia, as well as the formation of twelve Territorial Councils and their respective Communal Councils) promoted the adoption in 2012 of the autonomous protocol for free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) called the *Bio-cultural Protocol of the Miskitu Indigenous People*<sup>16</sup> . In order to obtain FPIC, the protocol relies on a chain of decisions, back and forth, between MASTA, the Territorial Councils and the Communal Councils of the latter, not to mention the segmentary system of decisions based on matrilineages. In this protocol the final decision of FPIC is MASTA's<sup>17</sup> . The protocol has been used for prior consultation for hydrocarbon exploration in the Moskitia, which was subsequent to the concession contract. The recent division of MASTA has been used as an argument by

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<sup>14</sup>OHCHR, *Final mission statement Honduras by the UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz*. November 10, 2015. <https://www.ohchr.org/es/statements/2015/11/end-mission-statement-honduras-special-rapporteur-rights-indigenous-peoples>.

<sup>15</sup> Williamson, Marcos and del Cid, Víctor. "Proposals for Land Reclamation Options with a Focus on the Twelve (12) Indigenous Territorial Councils (CTI) in the Honduran Moskitia". Final Consultancy Report. IUCN - MASTA - Mopawi. December 2022. P. 46

<sup>16</sup> <https://portals.iucn.org/library/node/45165>

<sup>17</sup> This differs from other autonomous protocols for consultation and FPIC of indigenous peoples, Afro-descendants and traditional local communities, especially those of the Amazon, where the responsibility for deciding on FPIC rests not with the second-tier organizations, but with the local decision-making bodies, while the former are assigned an accompanying role. See: Millaleo Hernández, Salvador (Ed) (2020) *Protocolos Autonómicos de Consulta Previa Indígena en América Latina: Estudios de Casos en Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, Colombia, Honduras, México Y Perú*. IGWIA - Ford Foundation.

The concessionary companies CaribX and Azipetrol did not execute a series of works<sup>18</sup> that had been agreed upon during the consultation process<sup>19</sup>.

UNPINMH has worked in the search for agreements between the FITH tawahka and the Territorial Councils of the Pech, Miskitu and Garífuna territories to establish basic principles of consensus about the territorial governance of the Moskitia as a whole. Its last action was to achieve consensus on the opposition to the opening of roads, in the case of the road to Las Marías, promoted by the self-styled Brus Laguna Cattlemen's Association, whose members, invading settlers from the Pech and Diunat indigenous territories, had been pressuring the Municipality of Brus Laguna for its approval, claiming that they would contribute land taxes to the municipality, generate employment, build new schools and boost the municipality's economy.



Image 7: Open town meeting in Belén, where the Brus Laguna Cattlemen's Association presented arguments to ask for support for a road to Las Marías. February 1, 2024.

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<sup>18</sup> A road between Tapamlaya and Auka; a navigation channel from Kuswa Swamp to Raya; and the road from Brus Laguna to Ahuas.

<sup>19</sup> Landa, Pedro (2024) *The oil concession in the Honduran Mosquitia. An update from the approach of respect for community consultation and human rights*. CESPAD. Pp. 17-18.

## **Customary land tenure**

The customary tenure of land, forests and water bodies of the indigenous peoples of the Moskitia is of three kinds: radial, restricted and perimeter.

**Radial** tenure is that which is predicated on spaces that are not defined as specific, delimited areas; such as those (in Miskitu) of *unta tara* forests, *li* water bodies or *twi* savannas; and over which different actors or productive units have access to their resources. They are called radial because when access rights are mapped, they result in a series of lines along which these productive units (individuals, nuclear families, extended families, hunting or fishing parties, communities, and even villages) concur, in a radial manner, to these cultural uses. In this form of tenure, it is difficult to predicate that it is a "collective" property, in the sense that the community or collectivity holds the power of disposition over these areas. The disposition (*abusus*) is the dominant attribute of the *etic* conception of the Roman property right (the other attributes of this right being use and enjoyment)<sup>20</sup>.

The reason is because culturally it is understood that these spaces have "owners", as is the case of the mermaid for the bodies of water, of the mother of the cuyamel tawahka for the headwaters of rivers and streams; of the duende for the *twi* and, in the case of the hills and even the riverbanks, of a series of "animal houses" with particular spiritual owners, which extend to some specific flora. From the indigenous vision, these spaces are not only occupied by flora, fauna and resources, but are spaces of spiritual life, full of specific beings and *strong* forces.

In this scenario, the access of cultural use that the indigenous productive actors may have in these spaces, which belong to spiritual owners, that make up the realm of the wild, the raw, the wild, must follow a series of rules in hunting, fishing and gathering. In general, these rules point to two ethical elements: the first, of quantity, in the sense that the appropriation of the resources found in these spaces should be limited to cover family needs and not to deplete resources that are not going to be used. In some cases, this use is accompanied by ritual obligations; in others, it is sufficient to comply with the general rule. The second is redistribution, in the sense of the obligation to share what is obtained. An obligation that can transcend the world of the living.

Knowledge of these rules is socialized and transmitted in different ways (mother-daughter relationship; planning of hunting and fishing parties; family reflections; discussions of life plans/regulations in territorial and communal councils; cooking conversations; relationship with *sukia*; etc.).

In the Miskitu *Twi* community of Auka, in the *Twi Siksa* cultural use (savannah with black earth, where there are rocks and small hills), there is a place of special cultural significance called *Il Tatua* (high hill), "where the

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<sup>20</sup> The *usus* was the right that the holder had to make use of the thing in accordance with its destination or nature, *fructus* was the right to perceive the fruits either real (interest of an amount of money) or general fruits. The *abusus* was the right of disposition based on the power to modify, sell or destroy the object or thing determined. Roman property was perpetual, absolute and exclusive. Exclusivity did not allow simultaneous rights. In essence, the civil codes of the region reflect these principles. The notions of community or co-ownership are modern developments to qualify the principle of exclusivity; as are the limitations to absolute ownership, originating in French administrative law of Napoleonic origin and in modern environmental law. The *emic* concepts of customary land tenure of the indigenous peoples of the Moskitia have little to do with this *etic* conception. Especially with the Roman law attribute of *abusus* or disposition, on which the cultural use of ladino settlers, cattle ranchers, miners and forestry companies, whose challenge the indigenous peoples of the Moskitia face, is based. In such use, land, forests, water and their resources are objects, on which any abuse can be exercised, with the purpose of obtaining from them a *fructus* of monetary profitability.

*prophets (sukias) worshipped that long hill. No one can go up there, only authorized people. Every four or six years a ritual is performed to protect the basic grains (beans, corn), so that diseases do not reach them. The prophet is the only one who ascends, while the crowd surrounds the hill. The ritual, in which people from the territories of Lainasta, Truksinasta, Wmak klisinasta, Finzmos, and Auhyayari participate, can last from five to ten days. The prophet's message is that the protection of basic grains is contingent on the communities' compliance with the traditional rules of territorial management, which are mentioned in the ritual: "the prophet, through the dream, comes to tell the people that they should respect their regulations. Because if he does not comply with these regulations, it does not work, it does not protect the basic grains. It can go and touch viruses. It cannot protect because it is not complying with the rules. But if we comply with the rules, as they say, everyone will be protected".*



Image 8: // *Tatua* hill in Auka.

Regarding the rule of sharing, the Garífuna periodically perform the rituals or festivals of *chugú* (one day) and *dugu* (three days or more), which are themselves redistribution events, to invoke the spirits of the *gubida* ancestors, when the ancestors are deemed to be upset. The ancestors' displeasure is reputed when illnesses, disasters or conflicts occur in the community. The reason for their displeasure is that the community has stopped sharing food and festivities with them.

There are several types of radio tenure (see details in the annex on cultural uses). Access to certain cultural uses can be for any person, indigenous or non-indigenous, as in the case of the lagoon system's communication channels and navigation in general. In other cases, it may be restricted to people of an indigenous people, as in the case of the use of the fishing areas continuous to the beach in Plaplaya (*laru laru bella*), which is only for the Garífuna; or to people living in local villages, as in the cases of access to the wood of the *Twi* conifers. In fishing and hunting, access to the resources of the *unta tara* forest, hills and rivers, creeks and wetlands is conditioned to certain rules, as for example in Tikiuraya it is forbidden to hunt with dogs. Gold mining on the banks that are home to lizards and turtles (Tawahka *yapuwás* cultural use) is only allowed with a pan. For certain types of hunting, fishing or gathering, rituals are required to ask permission from the owners.

of the animals, fish or plants to be used. Finally, access to certain cultural uses requires the permission of certain family chiefs, reflecting preferential rights of the original settlement lineages in the territories contiguous to the villages.

**Restricted** tenure (to animals, plants or spirits) refers to certain areas that are animal homes that should not be intervened (such as their breeding sites in certain caves in the hills, in the rivers or in the mangroves) or to certain places in the forest or in the hills where it is understood that spirits that do not want to be disturbed inhabit; and in the Pech case, to the headwaters of the *aso huya* rivers where the mother of the cuyamel lives, which are forbidden places for hunting or fishing. These places are taboo; either one cannot go to them, or one can only pass through them ("without looking up, in silence; never with menstruating women"). The taboo extends to certain animals or plants, regardless of the place where they are found, as in the case of the prohibition to hunt monkeys, parrots, guaras, tigers and lizards in Tikiuraya or to cut ceibas (among the Miskitu).

**Perimeter** tenure is that which is predicated on defined areas and in most cases demarcated (not with wire fences but with trees that are planted along the boundaries and serve as "markers"; mango trees being the preferred one among the Miskitu for this purpose).

This tenure is predicated on extended families and nuclear families (not individuals) and obeys changing dynamics of occupation of particular cultural uses, especially those of river and stream meadows, mountain foothills (of hills or flat forest, where there are no hills) and villages or habitation sites. It is in turn related to the traditional systems of agricultural food production, of which there are three: itinerant agriculture, semi-permanent crops and permanent polycultures; and to the settlements of extended family housing complexes.

This dynamic can be described as follows:

(i) *for cultivation areas*: at the time of the foundation of a community, each matrilineage takes possession of an area, which is described as "two or three turns of a river or stream" or as "the side of a lagoon" and its annexed areas, which can be the foot of a hill, the foot of a flat forest, a wetland or an old mother.

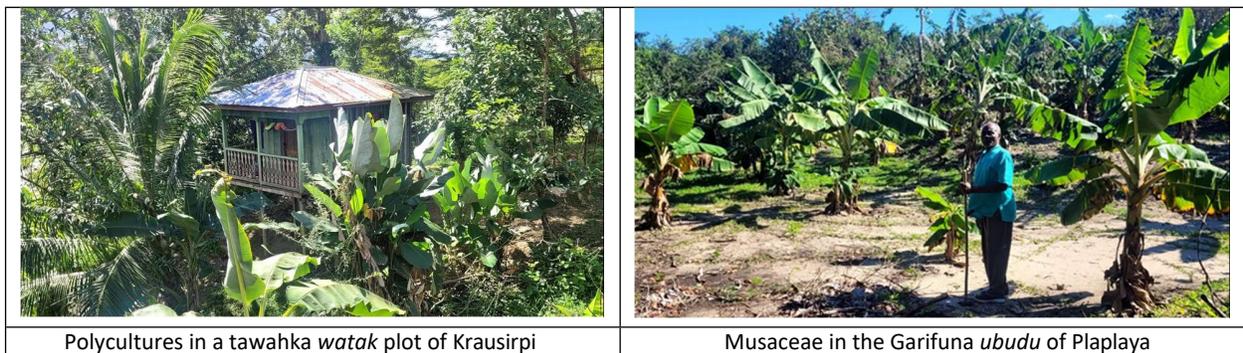
Shifting cultivation (*insla prata* in Miskitu) is established either in the meadows (for beans or rice, by slash and burn) or in the foothills (for cassava, by slash and burn, where drier and better-drained soils are preferred). Rotation depends on the stubble recovery time, which is usually between three or four years in the area. Tenure depends on the size of the crops, which are measured in *tasks* and if they are large they can be worked by a segment of a matrilineage (extended families) or by the matrilineage as a whole (depending on the depth of the matrilineage); and if smaller, they can be assigned to nuclear families. However, in all cases, the allocation of the land to be cultivated each year is the decision of the heads of the family, often involving discussions and "campfire" reflections at the grandmother's house.

Given the itinerant nature of this type of agriculture, if a nuclear family is assigned a place for clearing and sowing, this "right" cannot be permanent, because it would also become a permanent place of cultivation which, since the soil is not renewed with the fallow rest, will diminish its yield over time. In this sense, the allocation of plots for shifting cultivation to nuclear families (when applicable) is movable, within the domain area of the matrilineage or extended family.

However, taking into account that the vega areas have better soils and are scarcer, there is a tendency to sow the same plot several times in a row, especially with beans or associated crops, which over time will decrease their yield. At that moment, these plots tend to change their destination (in the Tawahka and Miskitu cases, since the Pech do not practice shifting cultivation in the meadows, which they dedicate to grazing and *kuk atashka* polycultures), in preference to semi-permanent crops of musaceae, which over time give way, in part, to permanent canopy polycultures. This process is parallel to the transformation of the dwellings in the "trabajaderos" of the meadows that begin as simple seasonal workplaces, in many cases with contiguous constructions of nuclear families, members of the same extended family, which evolve into more permanent constructions with sawn timber.

When these complexes have evolved into permanent polycultures in the vegas, maintaining areas of semi-permanent or associated crops around them, we speak of "made or old farms", which are considered more resilient to floods or "full", as they are planted mostly with permanent crops (dominated by palms and timber) and easily replaceable semi-permanent crops (musaceae). These *prata almuk* (miskitu) or *yamak mahsan* (tawahka), are of varied tenure; they may be kept under the control of extended families (segments of a matrilineage) or may have been divided among the nuclear families of the segment. In any case, it is difficult to think that the ownership of these lots or farms is individual and even more difficult to think that this ownership corresponds to men. In the words of a female head of a matrilineage in Brus Laguna, "my sons do not work in agriculture; (it is my) three sons-in-law (who) help me"; and

(ii) *For the nucleated settlements* or villages, a distinction is made between the living areas (*utla en miskitu*), strictly speaking; and those areas of the orchards (*utla lata tasbaia*) adjacent to them. The former belong to nuclear families and the latter can belong to nuclear or extended families. The arrangement of these dwellings follows the pattern of occupation of the original matrilineages, i.e. a maternal house of a female head of the family (*kuka*, grandmother in Miskitu) surrounded by the houses of her daughters, so it is not strange that there may be orchards of extended families. To the extent that there is territorial loss, these gardens tend to become more complex, becoming true polycultures (as observed in Wampusirpi and Krausirpi). In the case of Plaplaya, the loss of Garifuna agricultural land along the Tinto River to settlers and drug traffickers has transferred the cassava and musaceous crops to the *ubudú* nucleated settlements, owned by extended families.



Images 9: transformation of the cultural use of populated sites by encroachment of farmland

## Resilience to climate change

The Honduran Moskitia is subject to a high risk of flooding, exacerbated by climate change. On the one hand, due to the seasonal flooding of its rivers, especially the most abundant, the Patuca and Plátano rivers; and on the other hand, due to the fact that it is located in the Caribbean hurricane corridor.

The most devastating hurricanes were Mitch in 1988; and Eta and Iota which made landfall in the Moskitia within two weeks of each other in 2020, in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Hurricane Mitch devastated the cultural uses of the *Miskitu-Klwiná's* *sau lahni* tawahka and *awala un* plains, where the production of basic grains for their food sovereignty was concentrated. Part of the soils affected by the floods resulting from the hurricane did not recover and more than half of the soils of the *sau lahni* tawahka of the Patuca River, in front of the Krausirpi settlement, were converted into pastures, for the current cultural use of *tiriski pan* grazing, which can no longer be used for *yamak pan* agriculture.



Images 10: effects of hurricane Mitch (1998) on the tawahka *sau lahni* plain in front of Krausirpi

A recent study (Carrasco et al, 2022) found that the Karataska lagoon system and the Kruta River contained high levels of detrital organic matter and a low pH, which is attributed to discharges from the Karataska and Kruta rivers.

hurricanes Eta and Iota, affecting the fishing resource<sup>21</sup>, a resource also affected by the high presence of bacteria due to the discharge of sewage into the lagoons and rivers<sup>22</sup>.

The erosion of the alluvial banks contributes to these phenomena, mostly caused by the debris that third party invaders of the indigenous territories have cleared, affecting the homes of animals (turtles, lizards, river shrimp and fish) and increasing the dumping of organic dietary matter into the rivers, wetlands and the Moskitia lagoon system. This phenomenon is compounded by illegal gold mining, especially in the Sikre and Patuca rivers, which contaminates the Brus Laguna lagoon system with mercury (as perceived by local residents, without a local study by the Centro de Estudios y Control de Contaminantes, CESCO within the framework of the MINAMATA Convention on mercury).<sup>23</sup>



Image 11: third party debris from river banks in the Río Plátano Biosphere Reserve, downstream of the Las Marías pech settlement.

On the other hand, there is the issue of the impact of debris from third parties on forests, hills, wetlands, rivers and streams in indigenous territories and protected areas, which increases the dragging of detrital organic matter, siliceous material (from the *twi* and river banks) and calcium carbonate (from the Warunta mountain range and other limestone formations), enhanced by the action of climate change, which affects the Moskitia lagoon system and generates changes in the cultural uses of the indigenous peoples.

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<sup>21</sup> "The low oxygen concentration in the Kruta River is attributed to the fact that sunlight penetrated only 39% of the biological oxygen column (BOD) generated by the bacterial degradation of large amounts of detrital organic matter (OM) from 1400 km<sup>2</sup> of adjacent wetlands, which entered the system during flooding and runoff caused by the Eta and Iota storms. Low (acidic) pH values were observed in the three lagoons and the Kruta River, with  $6 \pm 0.5$  and  $5.3 \pm 0.2$  respectively. These values are consistent with high rates of dissolved oxygen (DO) consumption by bacterial degradation of large amounts of OM. Ideal pH values for fish range between 6.5 and 8.5, values below 5.5 can slow growth and affect reproduction and below 4.5 can cause fish death". In: Carrasco Navas - Parejo, Juan Carlos; Montalván Torres, Belkis Carolina and Murillo Bustillo Martín Alfredo (2022) *Estudio Integrado de la Calidad del Agua en las Lagunas Costeras de Karataska, Tansing, Auratá y en el Río Kruta: base para la Gestión de Pesquerías con Enfoque Ecosistémico*. Prawanka. Prawanka. P. 6.

<sup>22</sup> "Of the 21 sites sampled, 100% were positive for total coliforms (N=14) and *Enterococcus faecalis* (n=21). This is a strong limiting factor for the economic potential of the fishing sector, especially the sale of fresh fish". Ibid, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> <https://minamataconvention.org/es/parties/hnd>

The first occupations of the ladino settlers followed a cultural use cycle of deforestation - agriculture - pasture planting; but with the arrival of drug trafficking, the opening of illegal portfolios and the use of heavy machinery for deforestation, which intensified during the 2020 pandemic, the model changed to a cultural use cycle of deforestation - pasture planting (sowing), without any agricultural use.



Images 12: new dynamic model of third party encroachment from 2020 onwards: clearing with machinery and sowing of pastures.

A particular impact of this ladino model has been on the cultural uses of the Miskitu (*unta tasbaia*), Tawahka (*sau pan*) and Pech (*waja cho wiata*) foothills. The utilization of these cultural uses by indigenous peoples to prevent the effects of floods is one of the resilience strategies of these peoples in the face of climate change (see below), which have been particularly affected by encroachment by third parties.

Although in many cases the occupation of land by third parties is a direct usurpation, in others it is done through the mediation of "purchases" from indigenous people, which are clearly illegal. The dynamics of this way of usurpation is the following: the business between settlers and indigenous people (in some cases forced, as in yapuwas, with the miners who threatened the Tawahka, where "it was necessary to sell"), are generally carried out on "established farms" in the vegas, whose possession is validated (to men) through a certificate issued by the respective Territorial Council (this situation was found in Krausirpi, Wampusirpi and Brus Laguna, during the field work).

The third parties occupy these vegas, but draw (on the ground, with the work of "chaperos", young indigenous people, who are hired for this purpose) lines into the hills, twis or related forests (by means of ditches or wire fences) and additionally appropriate these areas. The third parties go to the justices of the peace or notaries to formalize (but not register) these sales and the possessory right and later sell it to another person (who may be a front man) including the additional area they have taken. This operation is repeated several times with the purpose of configuring the legal figure of the "good faith" of the last buyer, which they intend to allege in their favor at the time of implementing the

reorganization process<sup>24</sup>. They also try their luck in seeking registration with the Instituto de la Propiedad.

The climate change adaptation strategies of the indigenous peoples of the Moskitia are as follows:

1. Establish settlements on high ground or river banks and build houses on stilts, as mentioned in the section on settlement patterns.
2. Maximize shifting cultivation of *prata insla* in the foothills (*unta tasbaia* miskitu), (*sau pan* -low hill- tawahka); and maximize the planting of musaceae (which are vulnerable to flooding, but are also easy to replace and grow quickly), palm trees (such as the *uhun* from which the batana is obtained in Tikiuraya, the cash crop of this community on the Kruta River), fruit trees, timber trees and polycultures in the meadows. Among the Tawahka and the Miskitu *Klawina* (freshwater), basic grains, especially beans, continue to be planted in the meadows. The rationale for this is that these are short-cycle crops and the amount planted per nuclear or extended family does not exceed one or two tasks, so that in the event of "fullness" the risk of crop loss is minimized.
3. When there are no hills, because they are lowlands, as in the case of Tikiuraya, move as far as possible the grain agriculture and the itinerant *prata insla* away from the riverbanks, either to the banks or to the neighboring *unta tara* forest.

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<sup>24</sup> As expressed by the lawyer for the third parties at the meeting of the Sanitation Commission with the Territorial Councils of the Río Plátano Biosphere, held in Wampusirpi in August 2023.

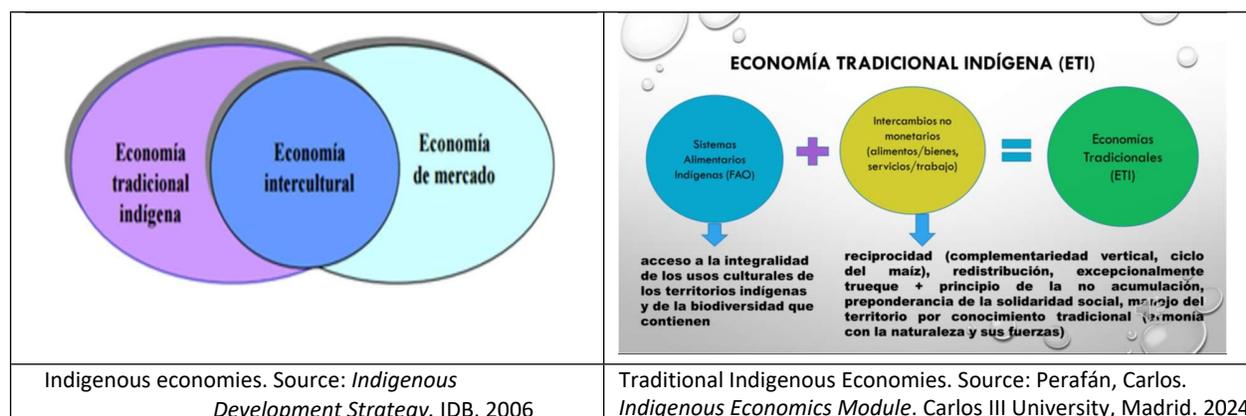


Image 13: organization of shifting cultivation *insla prata* of Tikiuraya at the foot of its *unta tara* forest. Note that there is also this agriculture on the return of the Kruta river, which is a bank, Source: Google Earth, June 2024.

4. In the Pech case, the vegas *kanaus wista* are not used for grain crops or shifting cultivation, which is done on the hills or hills *waja cho wiata*. In the Pech model, shifting cultivation *prata tiska* is planted on the hills at the edge of the meadows, and grains are planted on the other side of the hill, on the meadows of small *tisa wiska* streams, which do not present a high risk of flooding. The *kanaus wista* vegas are used for the cultural uses *kuk wakashka* (grazing) and *kuk atatashka*, canopy polyculture.
5. In the case of the Miskitu *Twi*, from the savannah, to avoid settlements and crops along the rivers. During the visit to Auka, we were told that the reason for choosing to live in the savannah, with its poor soils, was to "be safe from the floods". The Miskitu *Twi* prefer to establish their crops in the *Twi Siska* cultural use of "black lands".
6. In the case of the Garifuna people of Plaplaya, the transfer of the musaceae and yucca plantations to the *ahud*, the lido located between the lagoon system and the sea, many of them in the middle of the *ubudú* (population center), where there is less risk of flooding (although during Hurricane Felix in 2007, the rising waters of the Tinto River carried away part of the Barauda *ahud*, which was dedicated to these crops).

## Traditional indigenous (TIE) and market economies

The economy of the indigenous peoples of the Moskitia is a mixture of **traditional indigenous economy (TIE)** and market economy. The ETI is understood as the set of traditional modes of production, plus non-monetary exchanges, which can be summarized in the following graphs:



Figures 2: Indigenous economies

In the workshops conducted, preliminary exercises were carried out to assess the relative incidence of the ETI vs. the market economy in the communities of the sample<sup>25</sup>. In general, the river communities (Pech, Tawahka and Miskitu *Klawina*) depended more on the ETI than the lagoon and marine system communities (Miskitu *Salwina* and Garífuna), with Tikiuraya being the community with the highest prevalence of the ETI (90% ETI vs. 10% market). For the savannah peoples (Miskitu *Twi*) this exercise was not carried out, as they were not included in the sample and the consultancy only made one visit to the Auka community.

Only in one community was there a perception of dependence on the market greater than on the ETI, which was the case of the Garífuna of Plaplaya (55% market, 45% ETI). This situation was attributed to the weakening of the ETI and loss of food sovereignty of Plaplaya, as a consequence of the usurpation of their lands of itinerant agriculture and *wawuru wägü* in the Tinto River; the suspension of the roaming (itinerant grazing) of their cattle around the Ibans River in the *sagadi le* cultural use, due to the invasion of third parties from the Baltimore plains; the competition of the Palacios mestizos in fishing the estuaries, canals, lagoons (cultural uses *leibaragun duna*, running water; and *ladarahgun duna*, open water) and wetlands (cultural use *dihelagunu*, swampy lagoon) with the use of trammel nets; and the activity of shrimp boats within the cultural use *laru laru bella*, within the strip reserved by DIMAR for artisanal fishing.

Plaplaya's strategy to overcome the loss of its food sovereignty has been to move the cultivation of cassava brava and musaceae to the lido or *ahud*, integrating them into the *bunagüo* coconut crops; to move the *wawuru wägü* shifting agriculture to the wetlands, where it competes with grass crops.

<sup>25</sup> Through a proxy calculation under the question of what area of crops and how much of the catch from fishing and hunting and gathering activities (nowadays especially timber) was exchanged for money; mediating questions on the calculation of monetary income from labor

activities, remittances, monetary subsidies and sales of handicrafts or other products.

to be able to keep animals (which has resulted in a decrease in shifting agriculture and cattle stock); transform coconut and cassava with the help of secondary processing enterprises (two cassava and coconut graters, with donor contributions), managed by women's groups, whose products are mainly for ETI consumption and non-monetary exchanges; adopt a ban on the establishment of third-party businesses in their territory; intensify intertribal employment (washing clothes, mowing, assistantships); and promote music and arts. There was no perceived increase in fishing for the ETI, nor for the market. These strategies are considered insufficient, which has resulted in increased migration.



Images 14: transformation of products and promotion of Garifuna arts

The ETI of the indigenous peoples of the Moskitia is characterized by: (i) hunting, fishing and gathering activities (see details in the annex on cultural land use). Medicinal plants are collected in the *unta tara* forests and *dahpat* (with permanent water mirror) and *swampo* (without) wetlands, edible plants and inputs for handicrafts used in those places, but mainly wood for construction, which is nowadays sawn into boards (in some places they still use palm leaf roofing). The preferred timbers for these purposes are the conifers of the *Twi* savannas, but where these are not found, broadleaves are used; (ii) an agricultural food production system based on shifting cultivation, semi-permanent crops (musaceae) and permanent crops, where the presence of canopy polycultures stands out, which for the *Pech* are direct plantings of *kuk atatashka* and for the Miskitu (*prata almuk*) and Tawahka (*yamak mahsan*) are more the result of a dynamic of reuse of tired soils of the vegas, especially due to the planting of grains (beans and rice) in the same place, which do not comply with the frequency of fallow (largely encouraged today as monocultures by seed donations in food security programs of the government and NGOs); and (iii) a system of labor exchange and non-monetary reciprocity of goods and services known as *biribiri* among the Tawahka; *pana pana* among the Miskitu, *yupi aya* among the Pech and *eida turú* among the Garifuna, mediated by the cosmovision of sharing, which in ethical terms marks the difference between the *mayangna* - denomination of "we" among the Tawahka, from the *ispayul* - son of dog and machete, Miskitu denomination for the Ladinos; and in turn highlights the difference between the ideal ethos of indigenous cultural uses (producing for family subsistence, in harmony with nature), and that of the cultural uses of third parties (exploiting nature to obtain money).

Although the fieldwork revealed a generalized opinion of the weakening of non-monetary exchange systems ("it is not like before"), as a result of the phenomenon of monetarization, in the sample workshops exercises were carried out to identify the extent of reciprocity of non-monetary exchange of goods, the result of which showed the persistence of the reciprocity system of goods (hunting pieces, fishing catches, grains, bananas, cassava, etc.) not only within a community, but also outside of it, where the exchange of fish for grains/mussels is dominant.) not only within the fratries of a community but also outside of them, where the exchange of fish for grains/mussels is dominant. The system is not only carried out between marriage alliances / fictitious relatives / indigenous partners, many of them from different villages (tawahka - miskitu; pech - miskiti; miskitu *klawina* - miskitu *salwina*; but is used by ladino traders in their relations with indigenous people (de la Cruz et al, 2016), who go up the rivers at bean and rice harvest time, to exchange (by barter) these indigenous products (including cattle) for a series of victuals that they carry in their boats (where in Tikiuraya it is said that cocaine sulfate is also transported, whose consumption the elders have as the cause of the increase in thefts by young people close to the community). The role of reciprocity in the sale of indigenous lands, due to accumulated debts (*endeude*), common in other cases of indigenous territorial loss (Mongua Calderón, 2018), could not be appreciated during the fieldwork of this consultancy, for security reasons and time limitations.

The ETI has undergone a remarkable change in recent years, from an initial preponderance of hunting, fishing and gathering, to a greater reliance today on crops and livestock raising. According to Pech, Tawahka and Miskitu elders, in the past they were not cultivators. The Tawahka say that they were dedicated to fishing (especially for cuyamel) and hunting, that they only planted a few tubers, and that they collected bananas in the meadows of the Patuca and Wampu rivers, which they "found there"; the Pech, who during their voluntary isolation in the *waja huya* (large forest), upstream of the Plátano River in what is now called the Core Zone of the Plátano River Biosphere Reserve, hunted and fished for cuyamel; and the Miskitu, who hunted in the forests and fished in the lagoon system on a transhumant basis.

The change of balance in the ETI between agriculture and hunting, fishing and gathering has intensified in recent years due to encroachment by third parties, which has especially affected the latter three cultural uses. The Tawahka were unable to return to their seasonal fishing trips during the cuyamel spawning season, due to the occupation by third parties of the Wampu River and the course and headwaters of the Patuca River, where they do not allow the Tawahka pipantes to pass (there were several cases in which firearms were fired from the banks at their boats); And their hunting areas were reduced to the Warunta mountain range, since they could not return to the core zone of the Tawahka Asangni reserve to hunt, due to the presence of third parties in that area. The Miskitu of Wapusirpi cannot hunt in the Warunta River Reserve or in the Warunta Mountain Range because of the presence of third party fences. Access to the conifers of the Wampusirpi savannah is also restricted by wire fences. The Pech are not allowed to hunt and fish in their ancestral *waja huya* because it is part of the protected area system; they have seen a decrease in the presence of wild animals due to the clearing of land by third parties and hunting with dogs; and their fishing has also decreased due to the traffic of draft boats (Jamaican and shark boats) with high-horsepower engines (75 and 100 hp) in the Plátano River, which also affects the Patuca River (Collins, 2011). Miskitu *Salwina* and Garifuna fishing is affected by the contamination of the lagoon system and the occupation of the artisanal fishing area by industrial shrimp boats. Hunting, fishing and gathering in the indigenous territories of the *Twi* savannas has been impacted by forestry concessions, while in cases such as Auka, third party occupation of the

sector of the Kruta River that belongs to their WamakKlisinasta territory, has limited their access to hunting in the *unta tara* forest.

This change of balance in ETI between hunting, fishing and gathering vs. agriculture has resulted in a decrease of protein in the diet and an increase of grain monocultures in the meadows, increasing the risk (due to fullness) and contributing to the degradation of their soils. Indigenous agriculture, in turn, has been impacted by the loss of land to third parties and its cultural use for cattle ranching, whose associated deforestation has increased soil degradation and contamination of rivers and the lagoon system (by mercury and the dragging of organic and mineral materials). Taken together, these changes have diminished the food sovereignty of indigenous peoples and have led them to seek market alternatives that, as demonstrated by the current preponderance of the ETI vs. the market economy, are limited in the Moskitia.

The **market economy** has been described in the Moskitia as a *boom and bust* cycle (Weaterman, 2012), dating back to the 17th century. For the elders consulted during fieldwork, the milestones of the market booms were, in their chronological order: the exploitation of cedar and mahogany in both the Moskitia and Belize (Weaver and Sabido, 1996), where the presence of Miskitu in mahogany logging dates back to 1910, traveling seasonally in sailing canoes (*duritara*) to British Honduras (now Belize); the exploitation of the tuno for latex; the work in banana plantations of German businessmen in the Banana River in the 30's; the exploitation of chicle; the sale of lizard, otter and feline skins; and finally, the lobster fishing by diving in the Caribbean banks. Of these booms, the only one that remains is that of miskitu diving (with its risks of amnea by immersion). In recent years, there has been a more modest boom in sea cucumber and jellyfish fishing, which takes place in the bars that connect the lagoon system with the sea (jellyfish) and in the cays (sea cucumber, jellyfish).

Market linkages are precarious. Apart from lobster diving and sea cucumber and jellyfish fishing, which require boats, launches and fishing equipment, there are few stable *cash crops* in the hands of indigenous peoples. Two cash crops were found: (i) shark and red snapper fishing (Garifuna and Miskitu *Salwina*) in the sea and other species in the lagoons (Miskitu *Salwina*), which are salted for sale during Easter week. The fishermen stated that they were able to catch enough to "make it through the year" with their cash needs; and (ii) the processing of batana oil from the *uhun* palm (*Elaeis oleifera*) among the Miskitu *Klávina* of the Kruta River. In the other cases, money is obtained from the sale of agricultural surpluses and some handicrafts; from the sale of livestock; and from labor income, subsidies and remittances.



Image 15: *uhun* palm in the Kruta river

Considering that the vegas are subject to flooding due to hurricanes and climate change, there is a high risk for planting areas larger than one or two tareas of beans per family. Attempts to introduce monocultures such as cocoa in the vegas have resulted in failure or low production due to flooding (Krausirpi, Wampusirpi).

Employment is segmented in nature: in the communities visited, formal employment was limited to teachers, some civil servants and health personnel. Indigenous governance is not (as in other countries) a source of employment. The main sources of informal employment are divers and loggers (mostly employed by third parties for forest clearing).

Artisanal gold mining with panning has disappeared or has been drastically reduced due to the displacement of illegal miners using pumps and dredges. This context explains the high migration, especially internal migration and dependence on drug trafficking (In Brus Laguna 22 sales of "piedra" (cocaine sulfate) were identified, which impacts young people.

Indigenous families invest a good part of their monetary income in supporting the professional education of their children outside of the Moskitia, especially those coming from the sale of cattle and the sale of land<sup>26</sup>. Indigenous professionals stay in the cities and contribute to their families through remittances. At the time of the creation of the Tawahka Federation (FITH) in the 1990s, a strategy was agreed upon to send a cohort of young people to study outside their territory, but they never returned to their communities of origin.

In terms of indigenous entrepreneurship, the most successful enterprises identified were those of the Miskitu *Salwina* matrilineages that have boats for lobster fishing and cabotage; and boats for fishing in the cays. The boat-owning families have encouraged the improvement of the range of the boats (Jamaican, shark boats) for the exploitation of jellyfish and sea cucumber, since they drag them to the cays (100 miles from the coast). Other dominant matrilineages (in Brus Laguna) are planting African palm in the Rapa Lagoon.



<sup>26</sup> The other two reasons mentioned to justify the sale of land were health care needs and the provision of household goods.

Apart from these cases, the most successful enterprises are those of women; some, such as those of MIMAT<sup>27</sup> in Puerto Lempira, are aimed at the market outside the communities; but most of these enterprises are located in the communities and serve (partially) an internal demand (bakery, confectionery, dressmaking, food preparation). There are groups of sawyers, carpenters and canoe builders (and in some cases pipantes). Commerce in the communities is dominated by ladinos, but there are some indigenous stores (especially for teachers).

The supply of tourism services is weak and is affected by the perception of insecurity from third parties and the decrease in biodiversity<sup>28</sup>. Pech ecotourism lodges in Las Marías operate only sporadically, due to lack of demand. In most of the communities visited, there is no regular lodging service (with the exception of Brus Laguna and Puerto Lempira, which have indigenous hotels) and only a few places offer food on a sustained basis.

The high cost of transportation is a problem. The aquatic interconnection of the lagoon system is limited and there is a high risk of marine passenger transportation (by boat).

Conditional cash transfers (Bono Solidario, formerly Bono de Vida Mejor) are an appreciated resource in the communities. In Tikiuraya it was stated that "it arrived in December and we were able to spend a happy Christmas", although its selective design was criticized: "not all of us who went down to Puerto Lempira were given the bonus". In another case, the Asociación de Miskitu Hondureños de Buzos Lisiados (AMHBLI), at the time of our visit, complained that the crippled had been waiting a year for a bonus offered to them by the government.

Finally, the supply of financial services in Gracias a Dios is poor and there are no dedicated financial mechanisms for indigenous peoples. Commerce offers credit, but there is discrimination against indigenous people. For example, ammunition is not sold to indigenous people (only one load at a time).

With regard to the ***promotion of indigenous enterprises***, the following was identified:

(i) Fisheries. It requires regulation and institutionalization to protect freshwater and saltwater stocks. The financing of a fleet of indigenous boats and vessels was proposed, which could contribute to improving the risk of amnesia by immersion, equipping them with hyperbaric chambers; and which is considered the engine for strengthening the fishing production chain;

(ii) Agricultural. Avoid investments in the vegas other than those for food security. Map areas free of fill that could be used to produce beans and rice. The Indigenous Council of DIUNAT believes that it is possible to determine areas for this kind of investment around the Rapa Lagoon;

(iii) Forestry. Take advantage of the experience of the cultural uses of polycultures in the meadows to promote the production of high-value forest species (mahogany, cedar) both for export and to promote the production chain of woodworking and boat building. These crops are resilient to flooding and can be established in the form of polycultures associated with fruit trees, including cocoa;

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<sup>27</sup> *Mairin Indian Miskitu Asla Takankan*

<sup>28</sup> A Pech tourism businesswoman said: "There are no more birds or animals nearby, they have been run off by third parties. What will tourists come to see. Cows? -"

(iv) Tourism. Exploring an indigenous tourism strategy, which requires considerations of tourism models, finance and climate change resilience; consultations about the nature of ownership and the possibility of attracting potential partners<sup>29</sup>; and solutions to the security challenge;

(v) Financial. Initial formation of seed capital funds in the Territorial Councils and Communal Councils to finance women's enterprises aimed at responding to the internal demand for goods and services and to support non-agricultural enterprises of young people. It is considered feasible if the challenge of the lack of income of the Territorial Councils is overcome<sup>30</sup>; and

(vi) Communication. Although the communities and indigenous organizations defend and demand certain internal roads (improvement of existing roads in the *twi*; construction of the Puerto Lempira - Sirsirtara, Ahuas and Wampusirpi roads), the indigenous means of communication is aquatic and the illegal roads from the south (Olancho) and west (Colón) are for social use by third party invaders (and drug traffickers) and serve to perpetuate the cultural use of cattle ranching. For this reason, during the field work, priority was given to improving communication in the lagoon system by dredging canals, most of which were pre-existing, as a strategy to oppose an indigenous model of communication opposed to that of the invaders and drug traffickers.



Images 17: indigenous physical media

<sup>29</sup> In the case of Gunayala tourism in Panama, tourism was restricted to Guna ventures, without accepting external partners or ventures.

<sup>30</sup> One possibility that was discussed was the management of the market for carbon and environmental services on the forests, waters and cultural landscapes of indigenous territories. The revenues from TK could be used, on the one hand, to strengthen indigenous governance, monitoring and care of their forests and water sources; and on the other hand, to promote indigenous entrepreneurship in their communities.

## Migration

**Internal migration** is mostly from rural to urban areas and occurs both within the Moskitia to urbanized areas such as Puerto Lempira or Brus Laguna, as well as to other parts of the country outside of the Moskitia. The following table from the 2013 national census shows the distribution of IPs for these areas:

PI	Total at level national	Rural	Urban	Dept. Thanks to God	Rural	Urban
Miskitu	<b>60,765</b>	50,707	29,300	<b>72,367</b>	48,346	24,021
Garifuna	<b>43,111</b>	17,192	25,919	<b>758</b>	675	83
Pech	<b>6,024</b>	4,826	1,198	<b>143</b>	135	8
Tawahka	<b>2,660</b>	1,732	957	<b>862</b>	839	23

Table 1: Miskitu, Garifuna, Pech and Tawahka population at the national level and in the department of Gracias a Dios. Data from the 2013 census

The interpretation of these figures shows that 19% of these IP live outside the Department of Gracias a Dios<sup>31</sup> and at least 18% live in urban areas (including the urban areas of the Moskitia). The Tawahka have the highest percentage in this urban-rural relationship, with 35% living in cities, followed by the Miskitu with 32%, and for the Garifuna and Pech, if only those living in the department of Gracias a Dios are considered, 11% and 5% are urban, respectively. The places where the indigenous people are more concentrated outside the Moskitia are the department of Cortes for the Miskitu with 1,729 people, Francisco Morazán for the Tawahka and Pech<sup>32</sup> with 424 and 271 respectively and Atlántida with 13,503 Garifunas.

These migrations are economic in nature, as people are attracted to urban centers in search of paid employment, which ends up being informal and underemployed. This is the case of indigenous women who come to the cities as domestic servants or work in the kitchen area of restaurants, while men seek employment as security guards and in construction.

Also in recent years, young people have begun to pursue their aspirations to become professionals and are leaving to study in the cities. This has generated economic pressure in their homes and as parents find themselves with few options to finance this process, they end up selling land to finance them. The other effect that these migrations of young students have had is that they lose interest in returning to their communities and returning to the traditional way of life. In Tawahka communities it was said that they looked to their young professionals as the new generation of indigenous leaders. However, there has been little or no interest on their part.

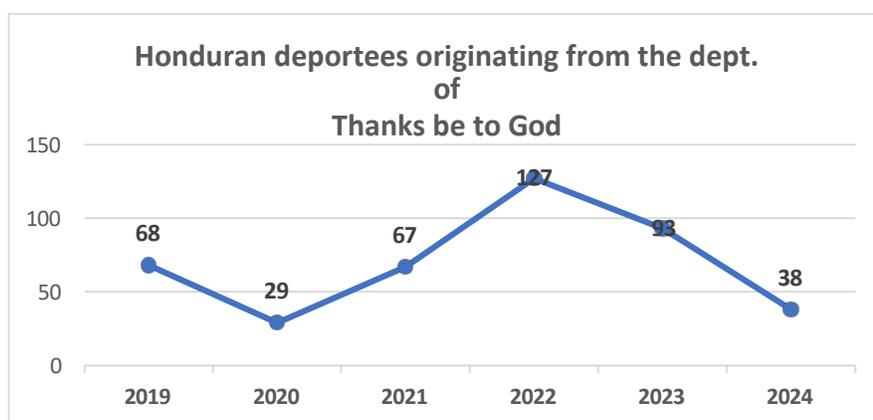
<sup>31</sup> The percentage is mainly elevated by the Garifuna and the Pech whose population concentration is outside the department of Gracias a Dios.

<sup>32</sup> Not taking into account the department of Olancho, which has 3683 pech.

of them have been part of the problem, because their interests are not in line with the collective interests of the people, opening the way to the loss of the territory and the affectation of its resources.

**Irregular international migration** has been a phenomenon that has positioned itself as one of the main problems of Honduran society; but on this national scale, emigration from the Moskitia appears almost invisible due to its very low figures, compared to the other departments.

Although Gracias a Dios is one of the departments with the smallest population and, consequently, these low emigration quotas could be expected, it is significant that no deportations were reported during the years 2015 to 2018 of people originating from this department<sup>33</sup>. The following table shows the deportation data of migrants from this department from 2019 to the middle of the current year 2024.



Graph 3: Honduran deportees 2019 - 2024. Prepared by the authors with data from the National Institute of Migration.

A total of 422 people are reported to have been deported during the 10 years, which is equivalent to 0.1% nationally, out of a total of 402,100 deportees. The figures might suggest that the migration phenomenon is not a relevant issue for the Moskitia. However, when focused on a more particular scale such as at the community level, we find that migration has permeated and is part of the reality in this region.

For the four IPs, two situations are outlined: on the one hand, migration is incipient for the Miskitu, Pech and Tawahka peoples, and on the other, intergenerational migration is relevant for the Garifuna. In the first case we find IPs who have not considered migration as an alternative or as a necessity. When consulted about how common international migration is in their communities, the informants mentioned that in the past it was very uncommon, but that now there has been an incipient interest in leaving the country and seeking the "American dream" in the United States. They also indicated that since the year 2022 "we have started to see people leaving for the North"; which coincides with the increase in the number of deportees reflected in the graph of the last 10 years.

<sup>33</sup> The IOM in its 2021 publication: "Analysis of the Miskitu context around living conditions, discrimination, stigma and xenophobia from the migratory dynamics and social practices of their community" also reports the low amount of international migration from the Moskitia.

The precise figures for the various IPs and their communities were: Tawahka = 30 (Krausirpi, Krautara, Yapuwas, Miskitu = 2 (Tikiuraya), Pech = 15 (Las Marias); for the other communities such as Brus Laguna and Wampusirpi, the informants could not specify a number since these are communities with much larger populations. Even so, they affirmed the exacerbated presence of migration in these communities. Although the phenomenon is recent, the women residents stated that this is the first time they have witnessed so much interest in emigration in their communities. The low numbers mask another key aspect, which is the intention to migrate. Most of the young people consulted about their interest in staying in the community or trying to go to the United States or another country, said that migrating out of the country is an aspiration and that if circumstances are favorable<sup>34</sup> they would do it. Teachers and parents attested to this position of the indigenous youth, but from their perception they saw migration as something negative and would prefer not to leave because of the inherent risk of losing their lives on the journey.

A Miskitu mother from Tikiuraya reported that one of her sons is currently in Tijuana trying to legally enter the United States by applying for refugee status. Her son decided to migrate because he wanted to help his single mother and younger siblings, who subsist on agriculture for family consumption, but lack the income to meet other needs. Like this example, the causes of migration due to economic factors cut across the Tawahka and Pech peoples; however, for the Pech there are already cases of migration due to forced displacement. Informants from Las Marias reported that some people have left for fear of losing their lives at the hands of settlers from the neighboring community of El Carrizal, with whom they have land conflicts. Also in Brus Laguna, Miskito leaders have suffered attacks at the hands of hired killers for denouncing land invasion by criminal groups to the authorities. As a result of this, the leaders entered a protection program and 3 of them were granted asylum in Canada<sup>35</sup>.

For their part, the Garífunas present particular conditions related to having a long past linked to migration<sup>36</sup>. This has led them to form an important diaspora living abroad<sup>37</sup>, which is why they have come to be considered a transnational people. In addition, being an intergenerational migration, among their motivations to emigrate is the factor of family reunification, also facilitated by mobility networks, whether through legal or irregular channels. Similarly, Plaplaya concentrates a good part of its native inhabitants living in the United States. Such is their number that it was not possible to determine a precise figure during the fieldwork. Informants estimated that practically every household has at least one member who lives abroad or who has migrated and returned. In fact, Plaplaya maintains a cyclical migration pattern. Another migration modality is that of choosing to travel with the entire family group. For this reason, it was possible to observe the abandonment of houses and houses that are temporarily closed, but maintained. It is also evident that the population of older adults and infants are very numerous in proportion to the rest of the age groups of productive age.

In terms of **remittances** and their effects, Gracias a Dios is the department with the lowest remittance intake, during the period of 2017-2022 it received US\$55 million, which represents only 0.15% of all

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<sup>34</sup> Migrants, as well as those who aspire to migrate, constantly monitor the situation of the migratory route to evaluate the moments they consider most favorable to make it and arrive successfully, now are not favorable because of so much migration coming from South America, explained a young Tawahka. In addition, of course, to have enough money for the trip.

<sup>35</sup> See Press Release: <https://revistazo.com/vacas-de-cocaina-las-narco-fincas-que-destruyen-la-biosfera-del-rio-platano/>

<sup>36</sup> Castillo (2020) speaks of six stages throughout the history of Garifuna migration, being to the United States since the first half of the 20th century.

<sup>37</sup> It has been estimated that at least 100,000 Garifuna live abroad, mainly in the United States, however it is believed that the number may be even higher than the number of Garifuna in Honduras. See: Agudelo 2011.

remittances at the national level for that time period. For IPs, with the exception of the Garifuna, one of the following situations occurs: (i) there is no effect, because they are recent migrations and the migrants have not been able to settle down; (ii) the migrants are already working, but do not earn enough to send remittances or the remittances they send are very few and sporadic, (iii) they decide not to send remittances; and (iv) they decide not to send remittances.

(iv) send remittances for their families and for investment, but these are isolated cases in the community.

In any of the cases, in the Miskitu, Pech and Tawahka communities there was no significant effect of emigration on the general population, as was the case in Plaplaya, where remittances are received in two ways. On the one hand, there are family remittances, which make up part of the current income of the majority of households<sup>38</sup>, which are used to support the household and on other occasions are also used for the construction of houses with modern materials. The other form of remittances are community remittances, which go to projects for collective benefit. These are sent by the Plaplaya diaspora and have been used to support the dance club and community center, among other actions.



Images 18: effects of remittances on housing in the Garifuna *ubudu* of Plaplaya

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<sup>38</sup> At least 80% of Plaplaya households have a form of income, and remittances are part of this income, either as a supplement or as the main income.

## ***Cultural survival and ethnic identity***

The Moskitia is a multicultural and multiethnic area with indigenous Miskitu, Garifuna, Pech and Tawahka populations, but also with a Ladino population and to a lesser extent other indigenous peoples such as the English-speaking Blacks of Payabila. The diversity of its populations even manifests itself intra-ethnically with the Miskitu, because of the way they call themselves according to their ecological niche: *salwina* for those of the coast and *klawina* for those of the river. The diversity of its inhabitants generates a cultural dynamism by the interaction between the groups, because even though each one lives in its ancestral limits, their ethnic-territorial borders are permeable and the inhabitants are in constant interaction between them by means of commercial, matrimonial, subjection or dispute relations.

In view of these conditions, two questions need to be answered: What is the state of cultural conservation and how can cultural changes affect the ethnic identity of these IP and, consequently, the possibility of their disappearance? A scheme to orient the type of relationships and the transformations that can arise from the influence of one group over another is Cardoso de Oliveira's scheme; originally used in the Amazonian Alto Solimões, it shows the following type of relationships:

<b>Interethnic systems matrix<sup>36</sup></b>		
	<i>Intertribals</i>	<i>Interethnic</i>
Symmetry	(1) Equal relationships	(4) Equal relationships
Asymmetry	(2) Hierarchical relationships	(3) Relations of subjection-domination

Table 2: matrix of inter-ethnic relations according to Cardoso (2007)

In the context of the Moskitia, at least two of these systems are present, one of them corresponds to *number three*, being the one between the ladinos and all the IP. As the ladinos are the holders of the hegemonic culture, they enter into a hierarchical relationship with the IP through various forms of contact and domination, such as: invasions and their consequent harassment of the indigenous, the relationship of employer and employee when they are hired as laborers on their farms, ladino-indigenous marriages (sometimes adding ladino relatives who are incorporated as "relatives" to the indigenous communities) and since decades ago the establishment of churches to the detriment of indigenous religiosity.

Some important examples of the latter are the disappearance of figures in charge of the magical-religious plane, such as the *ditalyan* among the Tawahka and the *wata* of the Pech; while for the Garifuna of Plaplaya, although they had a *buyei*, he decided not to serve as such because the Catholic Church disapproved of him; and for the Miskitu, only in remote communities such as Tikiuraya and Auka was the existence of sukias who still practice rituals confirmed.

<sup>39</sup> Taken from Cardoso (2007) p. 113.

Assimilation also occurs when blood is mixed with Ladinos. Young men and women show a predisposition to marry Ladino settlers, and this affects their ethnic group affiliation. Especially among the Tawahka and Pech, but not among the Miskitu, whose identity always prevails despite mixing with Ladinos, as Conzemius pointed out:

The Miskitu have no qualms about being genetically confused with foreigners. They assimilate all races. The children always speak the mother's language and are raised as Miskitu, no matter whether their father was a Creole, Ladino, Carib, Negro, Sumu, Rama or Paya, North American, European, Syrian or Chinese (...) Consequently, the pure Indian tribes, such as the Sumu, Paya and Rama, are rapidly diminishing in number in favor of the Miskitu, who, because of the influx of new blood, are being preserved (1984, p. 42).

This particularity of the ethnic prevalence of the Miskitu leads to the other typology of the matrix, corresponding to system *number two*, which is that of inter-tribal hierarchical relations. The Miskitu are the people with the greatest demographic, cultural, linguistic and territorial impact in the area and maintain an influence over the other peoples, particularly the Pech and Tawahka who have adopted the Miskitu language, largely ceasing to practice their vernacular language. Today, very few speakers can be found in Krausirpi or Las Marías who speak their respective languages. Since Miskitu is a lingua franca throughout the territory, the other IPs justify that it is more useful to learn to speak this language.

In addition, the Miskitu, being the majority IP, have been spreading from the coast to the interior over the years, so today you can see Miskitu neighborhoods in Pech, Garifuna and Tawahka communities, even the toponymy of several places has been renamed with Miskitu language. Pech informants say that they consider themselves to have a shy personality while the Miskitu have a strong and imposing character, so they end up being culturally eclipsed in front of them. While the Garífunas of Plaplaya are the group that least affects their cultural system, although they maintain close ties with Ladinos and Miskitu, they prefer to marry among Garífunas, which makes them better able to preserve their traditions.

In this way, it is difficult to dissociate the other IPs from the Miskitu element as well as from the Ladino element. Hybridity can generate in some a weakening in defining ethnic boundaries, causing some people to hesitate to define themselves to a specific group when asked how they identify themselves. In the last national census of 2013, the question "How do you identify yourself and what people do you belong to?" was asked, the following table shows the answers in Gracias a Dios<sup>40</sup> :

<i>Indigenous People</i>	<i>Dept. Thanks to God</i>
Miskitu	72,367

<sup>40</sup> However, these figures should be problematized under the following considerations: i) according to the opinion of informants, the census was full of flaws in its survey phase, since the surveyors did not cover the communities in their entirety.

ii) Community census figures from more recent years show a larger number of people for each of their respective indigenous communities. In the case of the Pech, community censuses report 1205 inhabitants for the community of Las Marías; around 1900 inhabitants for the Tawahka communities of Krausirpi, Krautara, Yapuwas and Parawas; and 1,160 inhabitants for the Garifuna community of Plaplaya. But these censuses do not disaggregate the inhabitants of other ethnic groups, so the number could be lower, but in any case somewhat higher than that of the national census.

<b>Garifuna</b>	<b>758</b>
<b>Tawahka</b>	<b>862</b>
<b>Pech</b>	<b>143</b>

Table 3: Ethnic self-identification in Gracias A Dios in the 2013 Census.

The table shows for some IPs a decreasing number while others, such as the Miskitu, show a high population growth. In any case, the workshops were asked about the possible disappearance of each of them as IPs. The Miskitu responded that although they have adopted many Ladino idioms, they still maintain their language as a diacritical feature, which identifies them and unites them as a people. The difficulties faced by the Miskitu as a people are more about their physical survival, due to external threats that limit them from fully exercising their traditional lifestyle. The others also face this type of difficulties, but it is aggravated even more by the fact of losing their diacritical features, that is to say, the elements that are most representative of them as a differentiated collective.

On the part of the Garifuna of Plaplaya, although their representation as IPs of the Moskitia may be diminished, they are actually part of a broader circuit of Garifuna communities located westward outside of the Moskitia. They maintain their links as an ethnic group with populations such as Cusuna and Cocalito with whom they reinforce their cultural practices by jointly organizing ritual, sporting, political and other events. This keeps them as an ethnically well-defined group without major assimilations, despite their small numbers.

For the Pech and Tawahaka, in addition to the vulnerability of having a small population, they face the loss of their cultural elements. However, this is not necessarily a factor of disappearance, since in its place appear other elements, no longer of cultural character, but of social character, such as their political organization, which cohesively unites them under institutions that represent them in their struggle for their collective interests, the FETRIPH for the Pech and FITH for the Tawahka. Thus, these peoples would exist in a similar way to other culturally assimilated groups but who, apart from this, prevail as IPs, accepting their changes but maintaining clear ethnic boundaries between those who are considered part of their group and those who are not, for the purposes of their collective interests.

## 2. Sociocultural impact analysis of changes in cultural land use and governance:

Since 1992, the indigenous peoples of the Moskitia have experienced two changes. The first is the titling of the Miskitu, Pech and Garífuna indigenous territories. The second, the intensification of the confrontation between two ways of life, represented by two different models of cultural use of land, forests and waters. The first, the cultural use model of the indigenous peoples based on a vision of harmonious coexistence in harmony with the environment; and the cattle-raising model of third parties, based on a vision of profit.

This section of the study presents an analysis of the impact of these two changes on the indigenous peoples of the Moskitia, the first positive and the second negative, for which a series of variables and indicators of socio-cultural impacts have been identified, grouped into five thematic areas: physical survival, territory, economy, social organization and cultural survival.

Given the qualitative nature of the sociocultural impacts identified, a Leopold matrix has been used to quantitatively assess them.

A matrix is presented below in which the variables and indicators are identified for each thematic area and assigned a valuation. For these purposes, due to space and time limitations, an exercise of accumulation of the impacts identified in the workshops with the communities, interviews with key actors and observations of the field tour of all the communities in the sample has been carried out in a single matrix. For example, for the indicator "Maintenance/decrease in the use of indigenous languages" the impact was rated as positive because of the exceptional level of maintenance of indigenous languages in the Moskitia (which gives it a score of four, persistent, in its reversibility), but its intensity was rated only with a value of one out of three, because the Miskitu is displacing the Tawhka and Pech languages.

### *Socio-cultural impact assessment matrix*

Matrix of impacts of changes in cultural land use and governance in indigenous peoples of the Moskitia.											
Thematic Area	Variable	Indicator	Valuation Criteria							TOTAL	
			Nature	Magnitude	Importance	Reversibility	Duration	Certainty	Type		Weather
	Biodiversity	Increase / decrease of flora	-	3	3	3	4	C	D	M	-16
		Increase / decrease of fauna	-	2	3	2	2	C	D	M	-10
		<i>Total weighted biodiversity</i>									-13
	Food safety	Increase / decrease in protein consumption	-	1	2	1	2	P	Ac	L	-5
		Increase / decrease in corn, bean and rice consumption	+	3	3	3	4	C	D	C	+16
		Increase / decrease in food sovereignty	-	2	2	2	1	C	In	M	-7
<b>Physical</b>		<i>Weighted total food safety</i>								-1.33	

Super- vivencia	Violence	Unintentional displacement	-	3	3	3	4	P		C	-16	
		Increase / decrease in homicides / injuries / threats	-	3	3	2	4	P	Sn	M	-15	
		<i>Total weighted violence</i>										-15.5
	Security	Increased / decreased perception of security	-	3	3	2	4	C	Sn	M	-15	
		Increase / decrease in theft / property crimes	-	2	3	1	2	P	In	M	-9	
		Increased / decreased risk of water transport accidents	-	2	3	1	1	P	D	C	-8	
		<i>Total weighted safety</i>										-10.66
	Health	Increased / decreased access to drinking water	+	1	2	2	2	P	In	L	+6	
		Increase / decrease in basic sanitation	+	1	1	2	2	P	D	L	+5	
		Increase/decrease of mental illness (PTS/panic/fear)	-	3	3	3	4	C	D	C	-16	
		Increase/decrease in attention to snake bites	-	1	3	1	2	P	In	L	-6	
		Increase / decrease in drug addiction among young people	-	2	3	2	4	C	Sn	M	-12	
		<i>Total weighted biodiversity</i>										-4.4
	<b>Weighted total physical survival</b>											<b>-6.6</b>
	Territory	Territorial integrity	Increase/decrease in legal security (Indigenous Territories titled)	+	3	3	3	4	C	D	C	+16
Coincidence of the titles of indigenous territories with ancestral territories			-	1	2	3	4	C	D	C	-9	
Coincidence of the Moskitia titration. with the integrity of cultural uses & biodiversity			+	3	3	3	4	P	D	C	+16	
Increase/decrease in physical security of the territory			-	3	3	3	4	C	D	M	-16	
Maintaining / affecting customary land tenure			-	3	2	2	2	C	Sn	C	-10	
Improvement/improvement of natural hazards and climate change management			-	3	2	2	4	P	Sn	L	-12	
		<i>Weighted total territorial integrity</i>										-2.5
Cultural Uses of the Land		Increase/decrease in access to land for cultivation	-	3	3	2	2	C	D	C	-13	
		Increased/decreased access to collection plants	-	2	2	1	2	C	In	C	-7	
		Increased / decreased access to hunting land	-	3	2	2	4	C	In	C	-12	
		Increased/decreased access to fishing areas	-	2	3	2	2	C	In	C	-10	
		Changes in land management rules due to traditional knowledge	-	2	3	1	2	P	Sn	L	-9	
	<i>Weighted total cultural land use</i>										-10.2	
<b>Total weighted territory</b>											<b>-6.35</b>	
Economy	Traditional Indigenous Economy (TIE)	Maintenance / transformation of traditional production systems resilient (food / other)	+	2	3	3	4	P	D	C	+13	
		Strengthening / weakening of reciprocity mechanisms of labor and goods and services ( <i>biribiri tawahka; pana pana</i> miskitu)	-	2	2	1	1	P	In	L	-6	
		Strengthening / weakening of redistribution mechanisms	-	2	2	1	1	P	In	L	-6	
		Increase / decrease in migration	-	2	3	2	4	C	In	M	-12	
		Maintenance / decrease of complementarity	+	1	1	2	2	P	In	M	+5	
		<i>Total weighted ETI</i>										-1.2
	m	Improved/improved linkage to the market economy	+	1	2	2	2	P	Sn	L	+6	
		Improved/improved salaried working conditions	+	1	2	2	2	P	Ac	L	+6	
		Increase/decrease in family fixed assets	+	1	3	2	4	P	Ac	L	+9	
	Economy	Increased / decreased risk to climate change and resilience of ETI with production projects for the market	-	2	2	1	4	C	Sn	C	-9	

	arket economy	Increase/decrease in the contribution of remittances to household economy	+	1	2	2	4	P	Ac	M	+9	
		<i>Total weighted market</i>									+4.2	
	<b>Total weighted economy</b>										<b>+1.5</b>	
<b>Social organization</b>	Social structure	Improvement/improvement of the role of the authorities from matrilineages in society	-	1	1	1	2	P	Sn	L	-4	
		Improvement/impairment of women's land tenure rights	-	2	3	1	2	C	D	C	-9	
		Increase / decrease in child labor	+	2	1	3	2	P	Ac	L	-7	
		<i>Total weighted social structure</i>										-6.6
	Governance	Formalization of indigenous territorial government bodies (Territorial Councils).	+	3	3	3	4	C	D	C	+16	
		Strengthening/weakening of indigenous territorial governance bodies.	+	1	3	2	2	P	Ac	L	+7	
		Capacity of Territorial Councils to enforce their life plans / bylaws	-	3	3	2	2	C	In	C	-13	
		Entities with/without resources to fulfill their territorial administration functions	-	3	3	3	4	C	D	C	-16	
		Strengths/weaknesses of coordination of the Territorial Councils with State entities (national/regional/local). municipal)	-	2	3	1	2	P	Sn	C	-9	
		Strengthening/weakening of articulation with traditional authorities (Councils of Elders) and organizations. of women	+	2	3	3	4	P	Ac	M	+13	
		<i>Total weighted governance</i>										-0.33
	Social conflicts	Increase/decrease of divisions in the community	-	1	2	1	2	P	Ac	L	-5	
		Increase / decrease in conflicts with young people	-	2	2	2	4	P	Ac	L	-10	
		Increase / decrease of conflicts with external stakeholders	-	3	3	3	4	C	D	C	-16	
		<i>Weighted total social conflicts</i>										-10.33
	Common law	Increase / decrease in internal resolution of intra-community disputes	-	1	3	1	1	P	In	M	-5	
		Increase / decrease in intercommunity conflicts	+	2	3	3	4	C	D	M	+13	
		Strengthening / weakening of indigenous jurisdiction	-	1	2	1	2	P	Ac	L	-5	
		<i>Weighted total customary law</i>										+1
		<b>Weighted total social organization</b>										<b>-4.06</b>
	<b>Cultural survival</b>	Language	Maintenancet / decrease in the use of native languages	+	1	3	3	4	P	Sn	C	+10
Increase/decrease in bilingual education			+	2	3	2	2	C	Ac	M	+10	
<i>Total weighted language</i>												+10
Identity		Loss / recovery of ethnic identity	+	2	2	3	4	P	Sn	M	+11	
		Increased / decreased acculturation	-	2	2	2	4	P	Sn	L	-10	
		<i>Total weighted identity</i>										+0.5
Rituality		Increased/decreased ceremonies and ritual practices	-	1	2	1	1	P	In	L	-4	
		<i>Total weighted rituality</i>										-4
Traditional health		Strengthening / weakening of the traditional health system	-	1	3	1	2	P	Ac	L	-6	
		<i>Total weighted traditional health</i>										-6
Traditional knowledge systems		Increased / decreased intergenerational transfer of traditional knowledge	-	1	3	1	1	P	Sn	L	-5	
		Increase / decrease in the use of traditional seeds	-	1	2	1	1	P	D	M	-4	
		<i>Total weighted traditional knowledge</i>										-4.5
	<b>Total weighted cultural survival</b>										<b>-0.8</b>	
	<b>Total weighted valuation: sum of areas / number of areas</b>										<b>-3.26</b>	

Formula for weighting impacts: [(magnitude x importance) + Reversibility + Duration]. Maximum score = 16; minimum = 3.  
 Ranges: low: 0-5; moderate: 6-9; high: 10-16.

Table 4: Identification and valuation of the sociocultural impacts of the sample and its valuation formula.

The criteria for assessing the sociocultural impacts of the sample are presented in the following table:

<b>Naturaleza</b>	Positivo	+	<b>Magnitud (intensidad)</b>	Baja	1	<b>Importancia</b>	Sin importancia	0
	Negativo	-		Moderada	2		Menor	1
	No significativo	n		Alta	3		Moderada	2
	Previsible	x					Importante	3
<b>Reversibilidad</b>	Reversible	1	<b>Duración (temporal)</b>	Fugaz	1	<b>Certeza</b>	Cierto	c
	Irreversible	2		Temporal	2		Probable	p
	Irrecuperable	3		Pertinaz	4		Improbable	i
							Desconocido	d
<b>Tipo</b>	Directo	D	<b>Tiempo en aparecer (plazo)</b>	Corto	C	<b>Relevancia para el monitoreo</b>	Baja	↓
	Indirecto	In		Mediano	M		Media	⇒
	Acumulativo	Ac		Largo	L		Alta	↑
	Sinérgico	Sn						

Table 5: criteria used to assess the sociocultural impacts of the sample

### Impact analysis

Despite the highly positive perception found in the communities in the sample regarding the titling of indigenous territories and the adoption of functional governance structures for their management and administration, **the overall impact assessment** was negative, although in the low-high range. Of the five areas assessed, only the economic area was positive, although in the low-low range, which is an indicator that the positive impacts of the economic area have room for improvement.

The valuation of the other areas was negative. Two of them, physical survival and territory, had particularly high weighted values, which, in order to reduce them, require special mitigation measures, whose viability, due to their nature and magnitude, cannot be the responsibility of the indigenous peoples or of cooperation, but of the State.

For this mitigation, legal framework reform and institutional strengthening actions are needed to comply with legislation (especially sanitation regulations) and pre-existing public policies, in order to strengthen the rule of the State, whose presence and effectiveness are extremely weak in the Moskitia and denote a lack of political will to implement them.

The other two areas, social organization and cultural survival, were moderately negative, allowing for more programmatic mitigations, for which, although certain adjustments to the legal framework are required (such as the regulation of the competencies and resources of the Territorial Councils), they leave room for the actions of indigenous governance and cooperation.

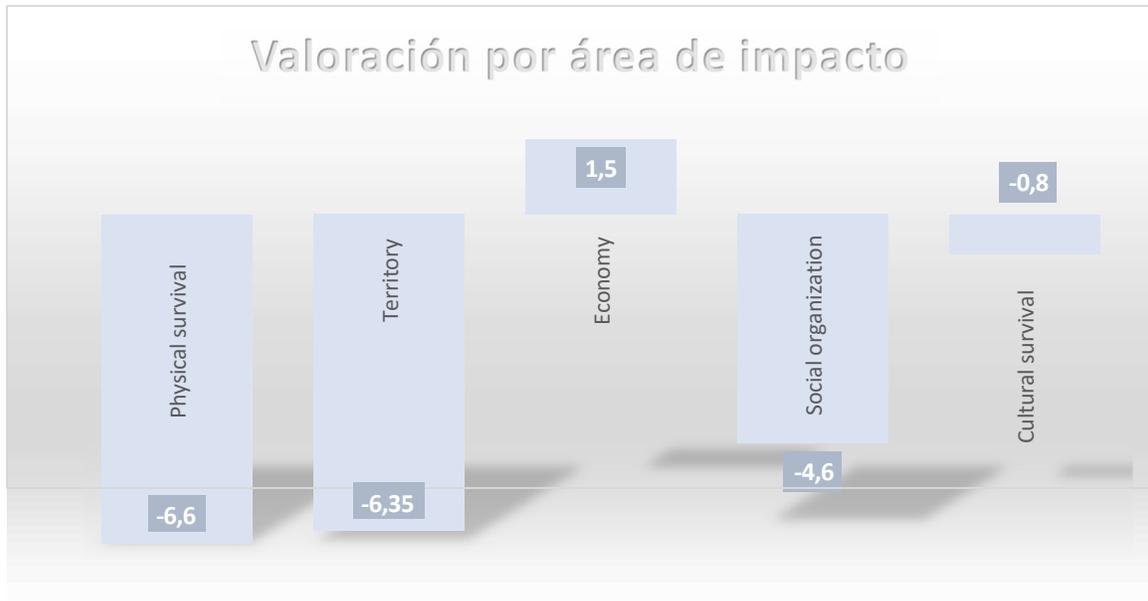


Figure 4: Assessment of the sociocultural impacts of the sample by thematic area

The following tables show the valuation of the variables and indicators selected for each of the five thematic areas of the sociocultural impact analysis carried out by the consultancy:

In the thematic area of **physical survival**, only three positive impacts were assessed: the increase in grain consumption, at the highest level of assessment, and moderate increases in access to drinking water and low increases in sanitation.

The other impacts were negative. Of these, three indicators received the highest negative rating: the decrease in flora (due to debris), forced displacement (especially the Tawahka), and the increase in mental illness due to the anxiety in which indigenous peoples live in the face of third parties (armed) and drug traffickers.

Next in the high range of negative impacts are the increase in crimes and threats against the physical integrity of indigenous people, the perception of increased violence, the increase in drug addiction among young people, and the decrease in wildlife. In the moderate negative range, the increase in theft, the risk of aquatic accidents, loss of food sovereignty, fear of snake bites and the decrease in protein in the diet.

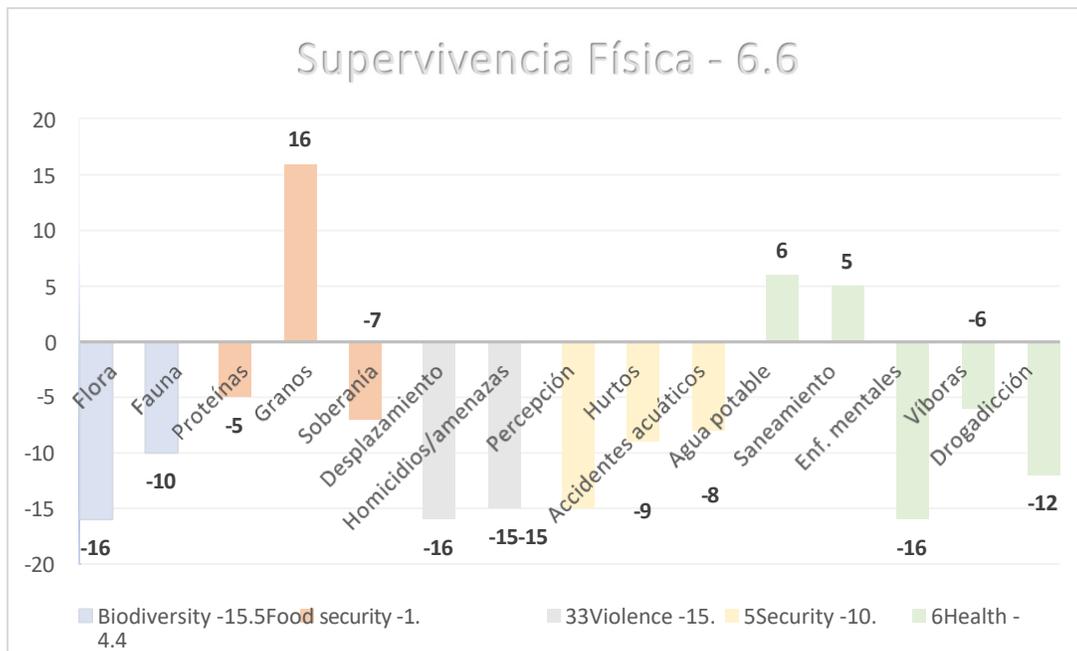


Figure 5: Assessment of the sociocultural impacts of the sample by variables and indicators of the thematic area of physical survival

In the thematic area of **territory**, the legal security of the indigenous territories obtained through the titling process was positively evaluated with the highest score. The fact that the cultural indigenous territories incorporate the totality of the cultural uses of the land of these groups and the biodiversity they contain was also positively valued. These were the only positive evaluations of the territory. However, with the same valuation, but negative, the loss of enjoyment of access to cultural uses and biodiversity due to encroachment by third parties was estimated.

As for the rest of the negative impacts, the following were rated in the high range: loss of access to the cultural uses of agriculture (due to the invasion of meadows and mountain foothills and flat forests), hunting (due to the invasion and logging of forests by third parties and the restrictions of protected areas) and fishing (due to the bad fishing practices of third parties, the restriction of indigenous movement in rivers and streams due to threats from third parties, the presence of large engines in the rivers and fishing by industrial boats in the areas of indigenous artisanal fishing cultural use); and the violation of the rules of customary land tenure, which have especially affected the rights of women over matrilineal possessions, being the male sellers.

In the moderate range, the negative impacts were due to restrictions on cultural uses for harvesting (especially timber for construction, due to the invasion of savannas, the establishment of wire fences that prevent passage and ICF forest concessions without prior consultation) and the effects on the adaptations of indigenous cultural uses to the "llenas", due to invasions by third parties, which affect the resilience of indigenous peoples to climate change and contaminate the lagoon system.

In the moderate-high range, the changes to the rules of territorial management by traditional knowledge that affected the sustainability of cultural uses in several cases, especially in the rules of hunting and fishing management in some cases, were considered as negative impacts (see Annex 2, matrix of sustainability of cultural land uses), and the fact that for the Tawahka, Pech and Miskitu *Salwina* (in this case because the titles did not include the keys), the titled territories did not coincide with their ancestral territories or with their cultural territories (Miskitu *Klawina* of the Kruta River).

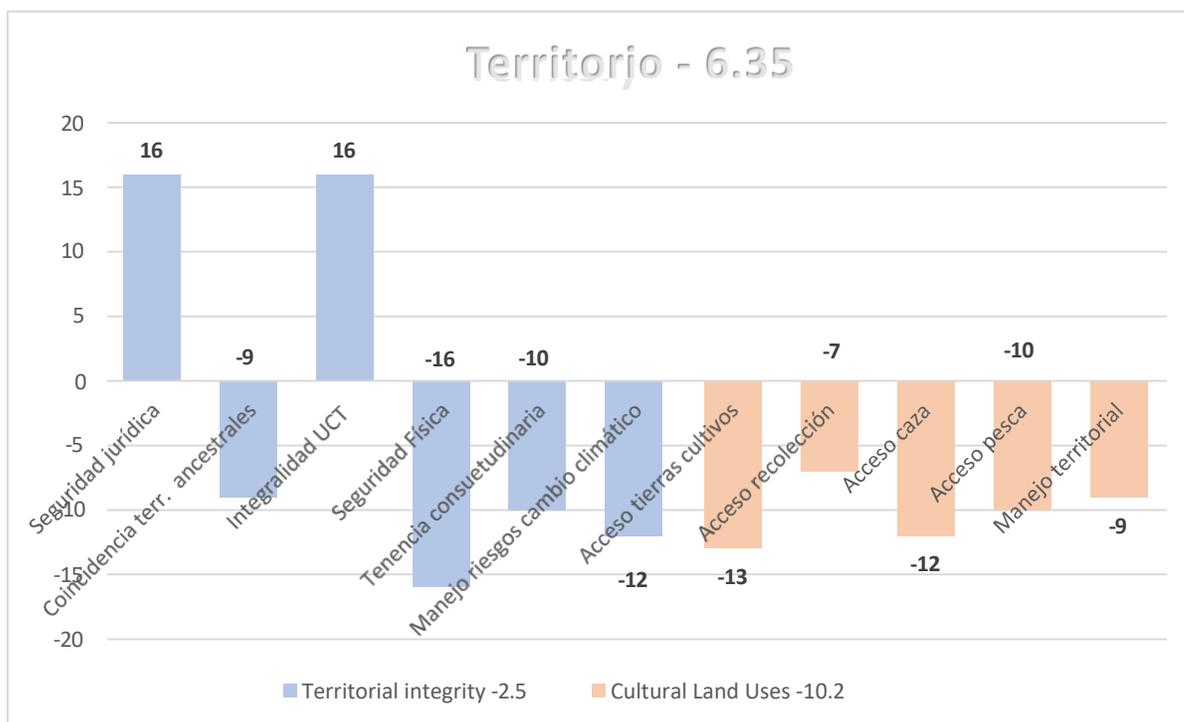


Figure 5: Evaluation of the sociocultural impacts of the sample by variables and indicators of the thematic area of territory.

In the thematic area of **economy**, for the traditional indigenous economy (TIE), the maintenance of traditional production systems was rated positively at the high level and the survival of vertical complementarity at the low-high level, while the weakening of reciprocity and redistribution systems was rated negatively at the moderate-low level. The increase in migration was negatively evaluated at the high level.

In the field of market economy, the increase in family assets and income from remittances and subsidies was positively evaluated at a high to low level; at a moderate level, the improvement in the articulation to the market and in labor employment (due to the efforts in investment for secondary, technical and professional education made by the families and the opportunities offered by the growth of the fleet of Miskitu boats and launches) was positively evaluated at a moderate level. The risk indicator of the enterprises (especially monocultures) in the face of the "llenas" and climate change and the occupation by monocultures of areas dedicated to cultural uses of the traditional indigenous economy (which affect food sovereignty) was the only indicator of the market economy that was evaluated negatively, in the moderate-high range.

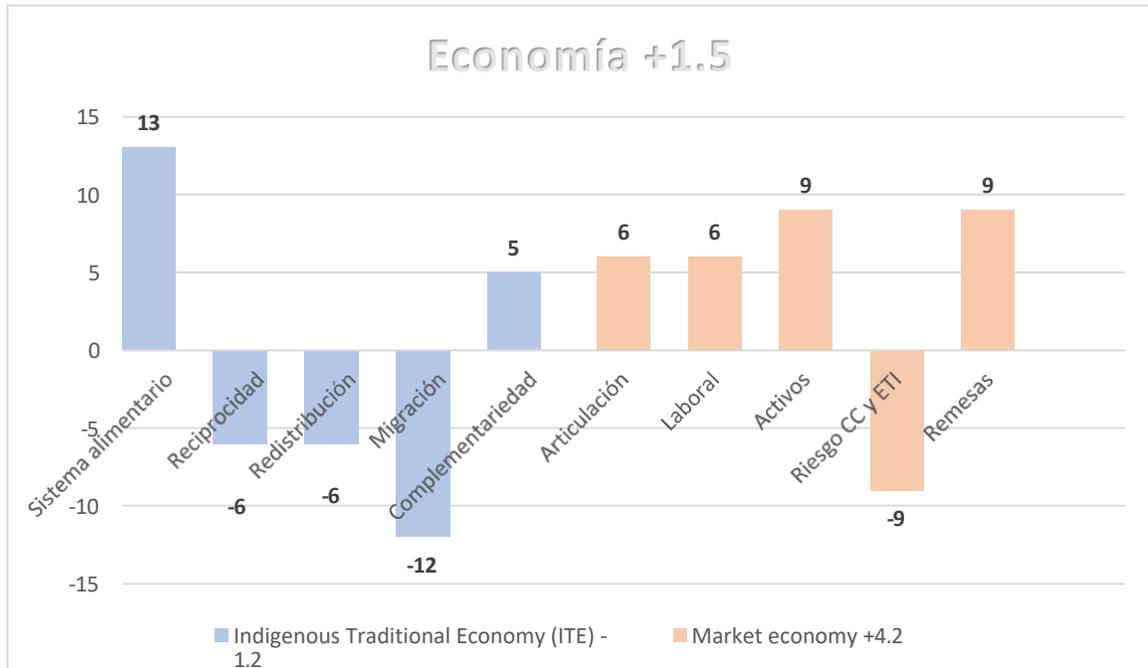


Figure 6: Assessment of the sociocultural impacts of the sample by variables and indicators of the thematic area of economics

In the thematic area of **social organization**, the three indicators of the social structure variable were negatively evaluated, due to the weakening of the role of women in decision-making (especially with respect to land tenure arrangements), which was in the moderate high range, the maintenance of child labor (moderate range) and the weakening of the role of traditional authorities (male and female matrilineage chiefs), which was affected at the low level. For the governance variable, three indicators were rated positively and three negatively.

The formation and formalization of the Territorial Councils was given the highest rating, and the integration of the Councils of Elders (as a form of grouping of traditional authorities) into the functional governance structure of the Territorial Councils was given a high rating. Likewise, it was positively considered, at the moderate level, that this arrangement strengthened indigenous governance in general.

A contrario sensu, the fact that the Territorial Councils did not have the resources to execute their competencies, nor the capacity to enforce their decisions and mandates, expressed in their life plans, regulations and development plans (high rank), was considered as a negative impact, of maximum valuation; as well as their weak coordination with the State (institutions, mayors' offices and the judicial system), which was not their fault, but due to the legal system.

We found increases in intra-community social conflicts (in the low range), especially as a result of land sales, with young people (drug addiction, theft and their association with third parties who use them as "chapeadores"), in the moderate range, and conflicts with external actors, due to usurpation by third parties, a conflict that received the highest negative rating.

In the field of customary law, the weakening of indigenous jurisdiction and the capacity of the segmentary system to resolve intracommunity conflicts was negatively evaluated in the low-high range, while the capacity of traditional (segmentary) authorities to resolve intercommunity conflicts was positively evaluated in the high range, as in the cases of the agreement on the tripartite area between Miskitu *Salwina* (from Brus Laguna), *Klawina* (from Wampusirpi) and *Twi* (from Wawina and Ahuas) and the agreement between Miskitu *Salwina* (from Belen) and Garifuna (from Plaplaya) for the multicultural titling of the plains of Baltimore.

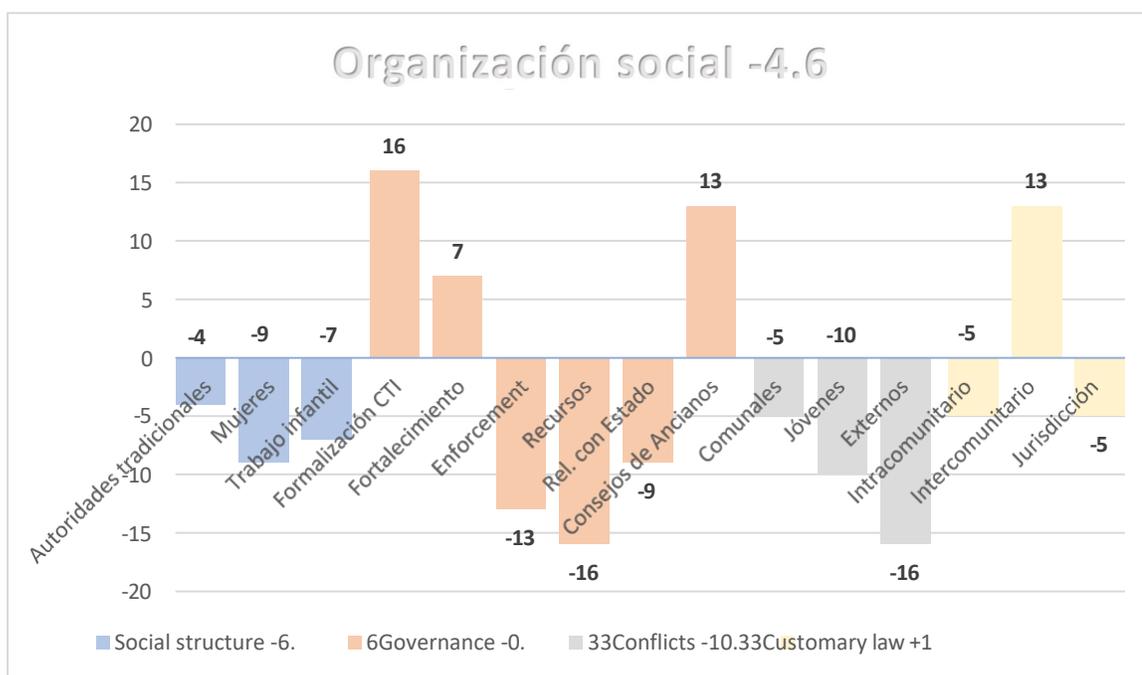


Figure 7: Evaluation of sociocultural impacts of the sample by variables and indicators of the thematic area of social organization

In the thematic area of **cultural survival**, for language, the survival of native languages in the Moskitia (despite the advance of Miskitu over the Pech and Tawahka languages) and the increase in bilingual education programs were positively evaluated in the medium-high range. In the area of identity, in the high-low range, the current reaffirmation of ethnic identities was positively valued, but the increase in acculturation was deplored (in the moderate-high range).

The indicators of the decrease in ceremonies and ritual practices, the intergenerational transfer of traditional knowledge and the use of traditional seeds were negatively evaluated in the low range. Finally, it was estimated that there was a moderate weakening of traditional health systems (especially due to the loss of *ditalyan* specialists among the Tawahka, *watá* among the Pech and *sukias* in some Miskitu communities, not sobanderos, midwives, healers and snakebite healers).

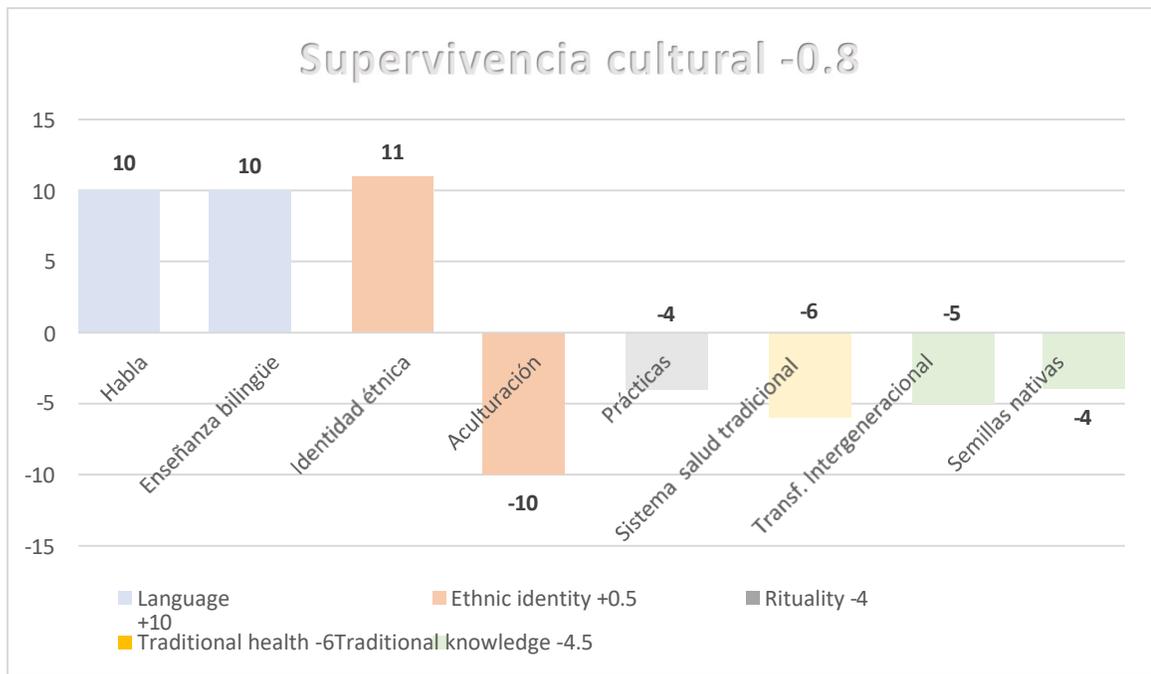


Figure 8: Assessment of the sociocultural impacts of the sample by variables and indicators of the thematic area of cultural survival

The measures proposed to mitigate the negative impacts and those to enhance the positive impacts that are in the low and moderate ranges are listed in Annex 3.

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## Annex 1: ethnohistory

### *Pech*

The Pech define themselves as "the people" and refer to the rest of the population as *Pech-Akuá*, "the other people"<sup>41</sup>. Ethnohistorical studies on the Pech position them as one of the oldest groups in Honduras, by archaeological and linguistic evidence, which show their appearance in the territory at least 5000 years ago<sup>42</sup>. Like the other Macro Chibcha groups, some authors presume their point of diffusion from the Magdalena River valley in Colombia, from where they would have begun their migration towards the northwest, becoming the Pech the northernmost enclave of the Macro Chibcha family<sup>43</sup> (Constela 43-44, Flores and Griffin 1991, p. 17).

As for the oral tradition, the Pech, from their cosmogony, have generated various myths and legends about their origin, which especially narrate their origin from who they identify as their "primordial grandfather" who for them is the lightning bolt (in fact both words sound the same in Pech)<sup>44</sup>. Griffin and Flores collect several variants of this myth, one is that of the creation of the pech from nine rays thrown to the earth, which became brothers and thus men emerged; then nine rays were thrown from which nine sisters were configured giving rise to women<sup>45</sup>. The myths described are collected among the Pech of Olancho. For those of Las Marías, the informants were unaware of these myths of origin; and their stories of their emergence as a people are located in a more modern time, already configured as an ethnic group and not in the mythical era of the deities<sup>46</sup>.

Regarding their ancestral territory, although today as a people the Pech are reduced to small settlements in the interior of Olancho and Gracias a Dios, in the past they covered much of northeastern Honduras. They are mentioned in the historical record at a very early stage of the colonial period. In the fourth voyage of Columbus in 1502 the chroniclers describe that they found indigenous people in the Bay Islands, which today, under the archaeological and historical evidence, are credited as Pech<sup>47</sup>. The Pech had been coastal populations, covering a territory on the coast from Trujillo, including the Bay Islands, to the vicinity of the Tinto River; and inland, from the east of the Aguan River to the south of the Patuca River, covering the Aguan Valley, Sico, Paulaya, and part of Olancho (Ibidem, p. 212).

With the impact of European colonization, the Pech territory was drastically reduced. According to Davidson, the neighboring coasts and islands were easily accessible to foreign navigators,

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<sup>41</sup> In the colonial past they were called payas, poyas, poyers, polyers, pahayas (Conzemius 245), which was a derogatory form related to a wild character.

<sup>42</sup> See: Constenla, A. (1995) Sobre el estudio diacrónico de las lenguas chibchenses y su contribución al conocimiento del pasado de sus hablantes. Boletín Museo del Oro, No. 38-39, Pages 11-55.

<sup>43</sup> Constenla, (1995) pp. 43-44. However, this unidirectionality from south to north has been challenged by genetic studies using mitochondrial and chromosomal DNA markers. Comparative analyses between Chibchas from the north of the isthmus and those from the South American region reveal important genetic divergences between the two. With this evidence, it has been suggested that the Chibcha populations developed endogenously in Central America, diverging from southern populations due to climatic changes that created an interoceanic corridor that isolated them geographically. For this reason, although linguistically and culturally they are classified as Chibchas, their genetics place them closer to the Amerindians of the Central and North American region. See: Melton, P. (2008) *Genetic history and pre-Columbian Diaspora of Chibchan speaking populations: Molecular genetic evidence*. Kansas University.

<sup>44</sup> From: Flores L. and Griffin W. (1991) *Dioses, Héroes y Hombres en el Universo Mítico Pech*. Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> However, if they had in their oral tradition stories like that of the yellow bearded snake, this myth shows a similar structure to that of the creation myths and the mythical time of the appearance of gods like the Patakako. In this story, the informants of Las Marías narrate that when a person is poisoned by a bite, he/she should be locked up for 9 days and be fed only by women, not eat achote because it is yellow and another series of elements that match with the myths of creator deities.

<sup>47</sup> Geographical perspectives on Spanish-Pech (paya) Indian relations, northeastern Honduras, sixteenth century" by William V. Davidson.

These sites were therefore the best places to capture slaves; hence they were depopulated as the Pech retreated inland<sup>48</sup>. In addition, the Pech were harassed by the Miskitu, who also captured them in order to enslave them. In addition, the spread of exogenous diseases was a factor that contributed to the decimation of their population (Griffin, Martinez, Hernandez 2009: 25).

The Pech of Las Marias seem to represent these populations that in the past took refuge by isolating themselves in lands that were difficult to access. In the historical memory of the inhabitants, an old man said that his grandparents told him that in the past the Pech people came from inland to the Swan Islands where they settled, but later returned to the interior of the Moskitia, sailing rafts on the Río Plátano. Another story describes what happened with these inland populations: the informants tell a story in which their ancestors lived hidden in the headwaters of the Banana River. This place of origin is called *Chilmeca* and it is an area with ravines that make navigation difficult, so one must continue walking overland for at least three days to reach this place<sup>49</sup>. This form of refuge in the headwaters of the rivers is a characteristic of peoples in voluntary isolation, so the first Pech of Las Marias could be classified as an indigenous people of initial contact.

According to its inhabitants, the community has been called Las Marias since 1919<sup>50</sup>. However, in historical records it is mentioned by several names, one of them is *Puskira*, which is registered by Conzemius in 1921, when it had a population of 45 people, detailed in 41 Pech, two Miskitu and two Ladinos<sup>51</sup>. Another name by which it has been known is *Baltituk* or Ciudad Paya<sup>52</sup>. When Conzemius documented this population more than a century ago, he was already warning about how quickly they were assimilating with the Miskitu, stating that "the Paya of the Banana River will soon be absorbed by their neighbors"<sup>53</sup>. Today, 80% of the speech in Las Marias is in Miskitu, not Pech<sup>54</sup>. This may be due to a characteristic of peoples in initial contact, which is that of mimicry (Perafán and Azcárate, 1996).

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<sup>48</sup> Davidson, William "La Costa Caribe de Honduras, su geografía, historia y etnología" in *Colón y la Costa Caribe de Centroamérica, V Centenario, 1502-2002*, pp. Edited by Jaime Incer B. Managua: Fundación VIDA. PP83

<sup>49</sup> See Annex: narration of the pech

<sup>50</sup> Pech Las Marias Tribal Council Life Plan (2017)

<sup>51</sup> See: Conzemius, E. (1921) *Los Indios Payas de Honduras, Estudio geográfico, histórico, etnográfico y lingüístico*. In: *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*. Tome 19, 1927. pp. 245-302.

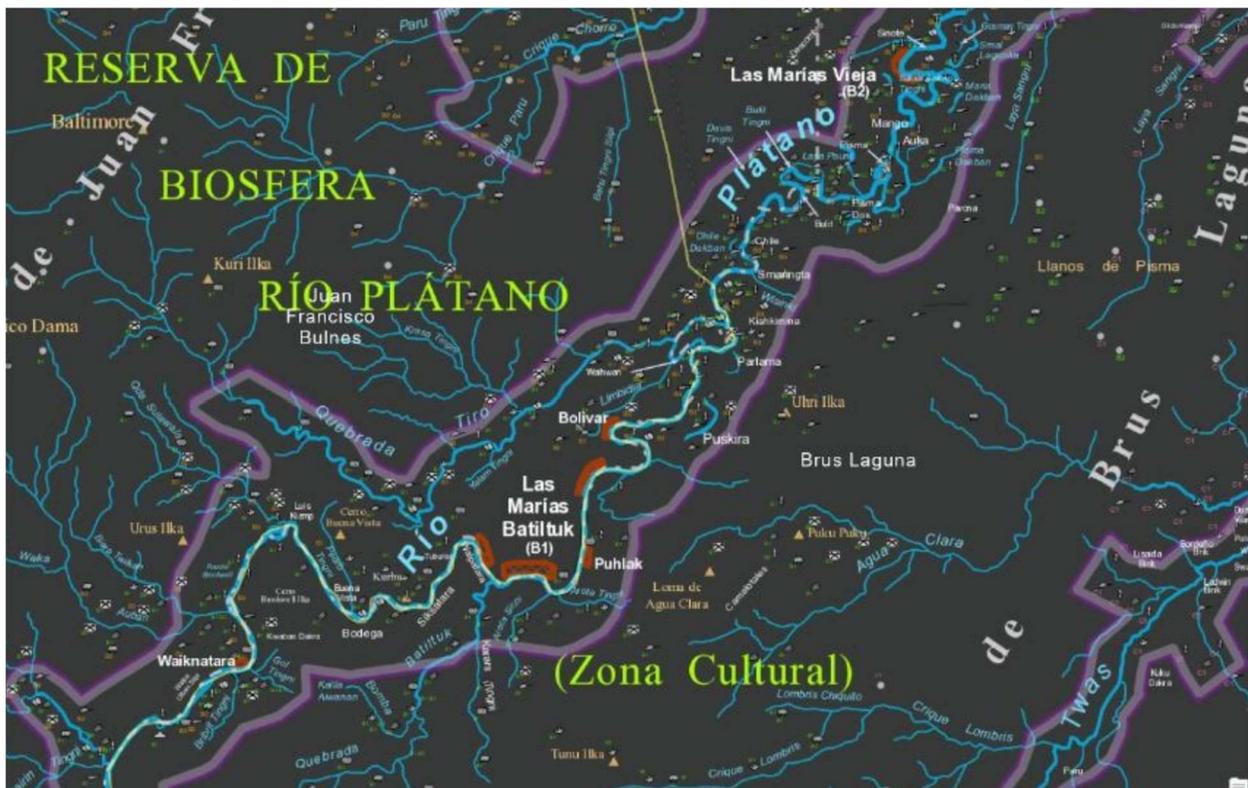
Other key notes of Conzemius is the description of the situation of isolation of these Pech, not relating to other Indian tribes because of the isolation of their territory, and then adds that their place of origin is even more isolated and this is Chalmeca, a name that the Mosquitoes have corrupted in Silmica (hammock) (page 263), being this the same Chilmeca which they describe today.

<sup>52</sup>See Griffin page 1.

It should be remembered that before their settlement pattern was dispersed, it was not until recent times that they came to consolidate as a pablado, so that each hamlet could have the name given to it by its inhabitants. According to the local account, before they were configured in *fratrias*, each family lived in isolation in the area where they worked the land, people came to settle together "when they already felt like people, they had their little house like this and the workers apart".

<sup>53</sup> Conzemius 263.

<sup>54</sup> Plan de Vida de Las Marias pp 18.



According to one of the Pech elders of Las Mariás, "at the headwaters of the Río Plátano there is a place called Chilmecca, which is the place of origin of the Pech of Las Mariás. Those people lived in a cave, at that time there was no shirt, there were no pants, people dressed only in tunics. That place is about four days away from here. One day some fishermen arrived, they were Miskitu and terceros, they were looking for cuyamel and that's how they got upriver. For us the favorite fish is the cuyamel, when these people arrived they found traces of people, they were surprised to find people in such a distant place. But they were passing by on the move and could not locate them. So they left shirts and clothes on the beach to wait to see if there were people living there. The pech went down and took clothes and a hat, but they did not know what it was. The people remained hidden, seeing with surprise that they were people. It was then that they decided to capture one, they did not understand what he was talking about. That captured pech was taken far away to a country. The other pech that were left began to descend and came closer and closer until they reached the stone of Walpuntara. This family stayed there, they were relatives of the kidnapped pech. Later they founded a settlement called Buena Vista. At that time all these people lived poorly, they walked shaggy and lived from the bush, they got everything that way. After Buena Vista, many years later they arrived at Kiahkimina, which is about half an hour from Las Marias. From Kiahkimina they dispersed along the river and Las Marias was founded, from here they began to tame, they already had relationships with other people, with Indians and with Miskitu as well". This story describes the practice of "silent trade", which is typical of the relations of peoples in voluntary isolation with other human groups. Rapture would have been the reason for seeking initial contact.

The Pech community of Las Mariás was part of the sample for this study.

## **Tawahka**

The Tawahka are an indigenous people who appear in historical references commonly under the denomination of sumo<sup>55</sup>. The term was taken by colonial chroniclers, who heard the Miskitu refer to the indigenous populations of the mountainous interior of the Nicaraguan Moskitia (Newson 2020: 62). However, the word sumo is considered a negative appellative, because it is associated with the concept of submissive or servile, so that today the various groups that include the sumo are subscribed under the term mayangna, which means "we" (von Houwald p. 29).

The Tawahka represent the subgroup of the Honduran part, while in Nicaragua there are: the Ulwa, the Panamaka; and the Bawihka (Arguedas 1986: 53; Fabre 2005:15)<sup>56</sup>; and between all of them they form the Mayangna nation<sup>57</sup>. They have an ethnic and linguistic unity because their dialectical variants are mutually intelligible (Conzemius 1984: 45), belonging to the Macro Chibcha linguistic family of Misumalpa, which also includes the Miskitu and Matagalpa<sup>58</sup>.

The Tawahka were recognized by their own name as early as the 17th century (von Houwald 2003:181). The first reports date from 1604, when ecclesiastical missions reported contact with "Taguaca" Indians and later in 1610 reported their presence in the Guayape River (Herlihy and Leake 1988: 127). In Miskitu the word tawakya means, "first born", as parents call their first child (Conzemius 1984: 49). The name tawahka is inferred to come from the myth of their ethnogenesis which alludes to their "appearance" on earth: *"On the hill of Kaunapa, on the left bank of the Patuca River, a few miles downstream from the confluence with the Guampú River, there is a rock showing the sign of a human umbilical cord, from which the ancestors of the tribe were born: the Great Father (Maisahana, "he, who begot us") and the Great Mother (Itwana or Itoki). Miskitu and Sumus are the descendants of these two primitive ancestors. The first to be born were the Miskitu who, disobedient and stubborn as they are to this day, disregarded the advice of their ancestors and escaped to the coast. Then the Twahka were born, who are considered to this day as the nobility among the Sumus"* (Conzemius 1984: 48).<sup>59</sup>

This story allows us to glimpse the link between the Tawahka and the Miskitu, as both share a common origin, which is relatively true since the latter are descended from Sumo groups. At the same time, it is possible to appreciate the perception of the Tawahka towards the Miskitu as a conflictive and erratic group. Another element to point out is that of the figure of the "father" of the Tawahka, who is represented in the cuyamel fish, being this one of great value for their survival, reason why it is not surprising that they have elevated it to category of creator deity of life. Nowadays, the Tawahka have lost access to the

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<sup>55</sup>Before the name sumo, they were given other generic names such as *jicaque*, which included all the "savage" or infidel Indians of the Taguzagalpa region, today Moskitia (von Howbald 2003: 339-40); also under the term "Chondal" or "Chontales", a Mexican word that simply means "stranger" or "foreigner", applied by the Nahua (Conzemius 1984:47). Later in documents the Sumus are mentioned as "Caribes", "Chatos", "Albatuinas" and by a number of other denominations (Conzemius 1984: 47).

<sup>56</sup> Other subtribus sumus, now disappeared, were the Yuskú, Prinzu, Boa, Silam and Kum and Kukra (Conzemius 1984:46).

<sup>57</sup> In Krausirpi, the intention of Tawahka leaders to remain united with these other groups of Nicaragua under the denomination of Mayangna Nation was known. The intention is to strengthen themselves as an ethnic group by holding periodic meetings.

<sup>58</sup> See: Alain Fabre 2005- Ethnolinguistic dictionary and bibliographic guide of South American indigenous peoples. MISUMALPA.

Together, some authors assume a macro-Chibcha filiation for the Misumalpa family, or at least leave open the possibility of a relationship between the languages of the Misumalpa and Chibcha families (Ibidem).

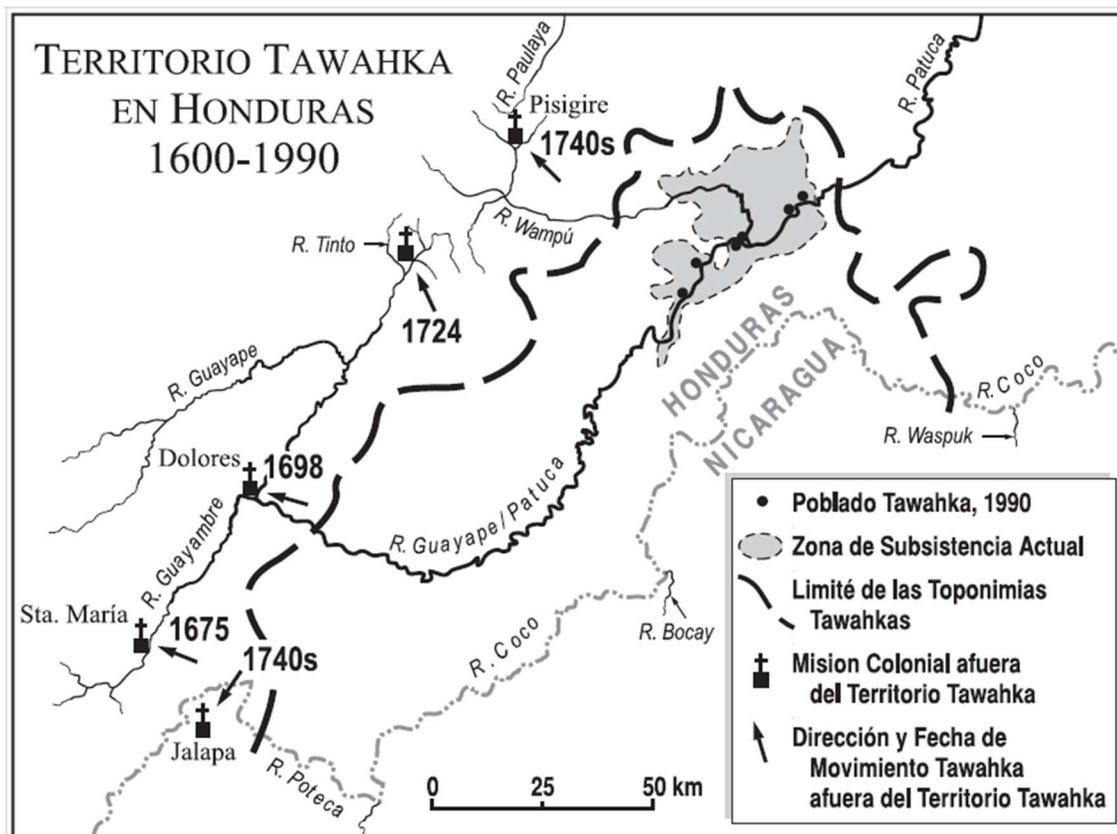
<sup>59</sup> The account is first presented by Lehman, who collected it from a Moravian missionary in 1094 and published by Lehman in 1910.

The Tawahka are now living in the headwaters of the rivers where the cuyamel spawns and where they used to fish for it, due to the occupation by third parties of the banks of the Patuca River and the criques. A circumstance that generates serious concern among the Tawahka, not only because of the loss of this basic resource for their food sovereignty, but also because of its mythical, ontological and cultural significance.

Regarding their ancestral territory, the myth also shows the occupation of the interior by the Tawahka, leaving the coastal area to the Miskitu. According to various sources from the colonial period, the Sumo group with all its subgroups is described as one of the largest indigenous peoples in Central America, extending southward from the Patuca River in Honduras, through the central highlands of Nicaragua to the Rama River, westward to southern Honduras and bordering in Nicaragua with the Matagalpas and Lake Nicaragua (Newson 2020: 61). The Tawahka maintained their epicenter in the middle part of the Patuca River at the interception with the Wampu River (von Houwald 2003: 180, Lara 2002: 22). However, there is multiple documentation showing that the area of Tawahka influence extended beyond that part of the Patuca. An important characteristic is that the Tawahka, more than a "jungle" people, are a river people; since for them the riverbanks are their true environment and not so much the forest in their interior (4). In this way the rivers have been their means of subsistence but also their means of transportation that has allowed them to travel to more distant areas in their transhumance journeys.

Thus, they reached an area of influence that reached the upper reaches of the Plátano River, Cuyamel, Wampu, Sikre and Patuca (Gomez 2002:196). For the northern part, the presence of Sumu is described in the Rio Negro, in the vicinity of the Atlantic coast, including the Karataska lagoon system; it is reasonable to conjecture that this was an extensive area of itinerant fishing, rather than permanent sites (Davidson 2008). However, starting in the 17th century with the settlement of the English and their alliance with the Miskitu, the Tawahka gradually lost the ability to move freely throughout these territories, being reduced to the middle Patuca River and its tributaries.

Davidson drew up a map of the ancestral borders of the Tawahka territory based on the toponymies of this people, showing a dispersion, mainly along the Patuca River; and as a natural border to the southeast, the Rio Coco:



Map1: taken from Davidson (2008) *The Caribbean Coast of Honduras its geography, history and ethnology*.

Although they have been in the region for a long time, the current communities are of recent origin. They were formed from the loss of territories caused by the arrival of Nicaraguans fleeing Sandino's First War in 1930, added to the more recent entry of Ladino settlers, which resulted in the displacement of the communities of Santa Marta, Corozales, Guapin, Pañaparan and Cuyamel. From that first displacement the communities of Parawas, Yapuwas and Kamakasna were founded (Gómez 2002: 196), from where today they have also been displaced to Krautara and Krausirpi. The latter community was part of the sample for this study.

### **Miskitu**

When referring to the origin of the Miskitu, one must speak of a series of events that led to their configuration as the indigenous people we know today, since the Miskitu, like the Garífuna, are a group that arose from the mixture of indigenous people and black Africans during the colonial era.

Their pre-Hispanic past is not precisely known, but linguistic evidence places them in the Macro Chibcha stock with affiliation to the Misumalpa family, which also includes the Sumo and Matagalpa (Fabre 2005, Herranz 1995).

The link of origin of the Miskitu as a Sumo group is also seen in the primordial history of the Tawahka, in which it is related that they share the same origin, since before their African hybridization, it is conjectured that the Miskitu were in fact a Sumo subgroup that predominantly inhabited the Nicaraguan coast<sup>60</sup>. It has been pointed to the Brawihka as the possible protomiskitu, this for being those who previously occupied the region more adjacent to the Atlantic coast, place where the Miskitu were initially described in the European chronicles of the end of the XVII century (Conzemius 1984: 50). It is also noted that both peoples shared 50% of their words (von Houwald 2003: 215). As another element to take into account, brawihka showed more compatibility with the Miskitu by distancing themselves from the other sumo, being the only ones that did not make the cranial deformation, characteristic that would become a generic appellative when being denominated the sumo as *albawina* (flattened head), name that the Miskitu used for all the sumo with the exception of the brahikka (Conzemius 1984: 71). (Conzemius 1984: 71).

According to historical records, the mixing of these indigenous people with Africans would have begun in 1641 when a slave ship was shipwrecked on the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua, somewhere between the mouth of the San Juan River and Trujillo. At least a third of the slave cargo was captured, while the others escaped to the coast and nearby mountains (Davidson 2002).

Of the ethnonym, its origin has several versions, it is believed that this name alludes to the numerous mosquitoes found in the region, while others assume that the fact that the small islands off the coast are "as abundant as mosquitoes", may have been the reason for the appellation (Conzemius 1984:24). The name appears referenced in different ways, the English buccaneers call them moskite and mosquito, while the French call them mousique and moustiquais and the Spanish were the ones who ended up giving the gentilicio of mosquitos (Herranz 1995: 103); For their part, the Miskitu called themselves *waikna*, which translates as man or person (von Houwald 2003: 18), hence they also appear under the name guayanes which is a derived form of *waikna*, (Davidson 2008).

Another way of naming them was zambos, this name being especially relevant because beyond being a colonial term that refers to the indigenous and black (Afro-descendant) crossbreeding, it also highlights the intra-ethnic variables that arose from this crossbreeding. Although both meanings, zambo and miskitu, could refer to all the indigenous people, it is thought that the denomination zambo was originally used for those miskitu with a more Negroid phenotype than indigenous (Herranz 1995: 102). Hybridization was not homogeneous, leaving some Miskitu almost in their "pure state", that is to say, without mixing with Afro-descendants. These subgroups have been known as the *Tawira* and it is described that they have lived a little inside Sandy Bay and the Wawa River, that they have refused to mix their blood with African blood and that only recently they have begun to mix with the Miskitu (Conzemius 1984: 51, Wood 2008: 21). The Rio Coco or Segovia served as a boundary between the Miskitu to the south and the Zambos, who lived north to Cape Cameron (Davidson 2008: 93)<sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>60</sup> Presented in the section on Tawahka ethnogenesis.

The Miskitu do not have any creation myths in their collective memory, due to their relatively late conformation as a people and later due to the strong influence of the Moravian church that has permeated their cosmivision. What is present in their collective memory is that in the past they were a people that survived in nature, "like animals". Today this remnant manifests itself by calling themselves today are and live as people, while the Miskitu in a situation of extreme poverty and with difficulties for their survival live as t h e y did in the past, that is to say, as animals.

<sup>61</sup> During the tour through the different villages you could see the heterogeneity, even indigenous leaders came to suggest that the name of Miskitu should be changed to *insil*, which means straight hair, referring to its pre-Hispanic characteristics.

Regarding the configuration of their territory, in the past the Miskitu, thanks to their relationship with the English<sup>62</sup> reached an extensive area of influence (Davidson 2002: 95), from Belize to Panama. However, their expeditions were aimed at pillaging and they never settled outside the northwestern coast of Honduras and Nicaragua. Where they did penetrate and had subsequent occupation was in the interior of the Taguzgalpa region, terrorizing the Pech and Sumo populations, killing them, capturing them as slaves and destroying the incipient Catholic reductions of the time (Herranz 1995).

Conzemius (1984) pointed out at the beginning of the last century that the Miskitu population was growing, a fact that is undoubtedly conspicuous today, being the predominant indigenous people in the territory of the Moskitia and not threatened with extinction, as could be the case of the Pech or the Tawahka, due to the small number of people belonging to these peoples.

According to Davidson, for the early Miskitu, the savannas of the interior were unfavorable for settlement, as they believed that the sun dried out the soil so much that it became sterile and would not produce maize or fruit. Only around the margins of the grasslands, where large rivers flowed, were Miskitu villages established and occupied only seasonally (Davidson 2002). Today it can be seen that they have adapted to living inland, both in the plains and rivers, as well as on the coasts and in the lagoon system, even mixing with other indigenous peoples, but prioritizing the Miskitu culture and identity.

From this new adaptation arises the difference between miskitu *salwina* (saltwater or coastal and lagoon system), *klawina* (river or freshwater) and *twi* (savanna). The sample of this study included two *klawina* communities, Wampusirpi on the Patuca River, with strong influence from third party occupation, and Tikiuraya, on the Kruta River, more traditional; one *salwina*, Brus Laguna; and the visit (not initially included in the sample) to a *Twi* community, Aukas.

## Garifuna

The Garífuna or *Garinagu* ethnogenesis is perhaps the best documented among the ethnic groups of Honduras because it appears in great detail in the records of the colonial era, and the key milestones of its history can be chronologically dated. The island of San Vicente<sup>63</sup> has been established as the point of origin, where in 1635 shipwrecked sailors from two slave ships arrived. Their survivors took refuge among the Arawak-speaking indigenous people of Amazonian cultural tradition who inhabited the island and eventually merged culturally and genetically with them, giving rise to the Garífuna people, also known as "Black Caribs" (Gonzales 2008: 61)<sup>64</sup>.

The new diversity on the island generated ethnic and political conflicts and between 1763 and 1796 there were several clashes between the Garifuna and the British colonizers, culminating in the Anglo-Caribbean War.

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<sup>62</sup> Davidson (2002) 95.

In addition, the English institutionalized their friendship with the Zambos-Miskitos and annexed the territory of the Mosquitia to their vast empire. For this purpose they named, probably in 1687, in Jamaica, the chief of the Cape as king of the Misquitoes with the name of Jeremy I (1687-1690). Later they created authorities inferior to the king, such as a general in Black River, a governor in Laguna Taupi and an admiral in Pearl Lagoon. With these positions, the English tried and succeeded in palliating the small racial differences between Zambos and Misquitos (Herranz 1995: 107).

<sup>63</sup> Even the Garifuna use the Garifuna flag as a representative symbol of their ethnic identity.

<sup>64</sup> However, according to other authors, the mixture between Africans and Arawak Caribs was not an immediate or neat fact, the first approaches between the two were mostly violent, since the African slaves were not well received by the natives, and they even wanted to

eliminate each other. See: Castiilo, Andoni (2021) *La Resistencia Insurreccional de la revolución Garífuna "Los elegidos de Yorumen"*. pag. 20-21.

(Ibidem). The defeat of the Garífuna in 1796 led to their mass deportation to Baliceaux Island, where many died due to the harsh conditions. Subsequently, in 1797, the survivors were taken by the English to the island of Roatán, off the coast of Honduras, marking the beginning of their presence in Central America (Gonzales 2008: 48).

<sup>66</sup>On April 12, 1797<sup>65</sup>, approximately 1800 Garifuna arrived on the island of Roatán. However, the part of Roatán where they settled did not have good soils nor did it provide enough resources to sustain the newcomers (Gonzales 2008: 81-83), so they decided to move to Trujillo<sup>67</sup>, thus entering a Spanish jurisdiction. On the mainland they founded the community of Cristales and successfully expanded to settle in more than 40 villages and occupy the entire north coast of the country, as well as other countries such as Belize, Guatemala and Nicaragua. In addition, they provided labor for the mahogany extraction industry, which expanded along the coast east of Trujillo in the mid-19th century (Davidson 2008: 101-103).

According to Davidson (2008), the full details of the Garifuna migration eastward are not yet known, but from oral histories and travelers' writings it is known that the 'Caribs' had reached the coasts and passed beyond the Rio Tinto or Negro in 1804, to reach the Patuca River in 1820. From this expansion into the Moskitia region Plaplaya was founded, which today is the main Garifuna settlement in the region. Informants from Plaplaya mention that it was founded in 1835 by Victoriano Martinez and Julia Green. In the beginning the settlement was called Blagariba, derived from Black River (Rio Tinto), also known by the Spanish name La Criba.

According to Travieso, this couple had been part of a group of Garifuna who left Trujillo to try to settle in Barra Patuca, where they were unlucky enough to have their crops destroyed by a hurricane. In view of the fact that Barra Patuca was a vulnerable place, they were forced to return and look for a suitable place to settle and work, which was Plaplaya (Travieso 2016). Today Barra Patuca has the singularity of being referred to as the community with the most Negroid phenotype population in the entire Moskitia, although its inhabitants are not Garifuna, being most likely genetically influenced by the outpost that arrived from Trujillo<sup>68</sup>; and Plaplaya is the community that demarcates the limit of the Miskitu Garifuna ethnic border (Davidson 2008: 105).

The Garífuna presence in the Moskitia was facilitated by the *open territory* character maintained by the indigenous peoples of the Moskitia. According to Travieso, the functional habitats of various communities could overlap, establishing patterns of occupation of the territory and its shared resources (interethnic radial land tenure) where, even if a community established a territoriality, this would not result in an exclusive right of possession (Travieso 2016: 21). This scheme was in force since the arrival of the Garifuna to the Moskitia until the end of the last century. However, the historically good relations between Garifuna and Miskitu were affected by land grabbing by settlers from Colón and the interior of the country and by drug traffickers, increasing the

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<sup>65</sup> Commemorative date which is celebrated as "African Heritage Day" in the country.

<sup>66</sup> The figure is discussed by Davidson who cites different sources among which a minimum of 1600 and a maximum of 5000 are mentioned. See: Davidson, William (1983) *Etnohistoria hondureña: la llegada de los garífuna a Honduras, 1797*.

<sup>67</sup> For Davidson this is the first "home" of the Garífuna and can be considered their capital (1983: 100).

<sup>68</sup> Scott Wood deepened about this Garifuna scope in Barra Patuca by means of the oral registry to Miskitu elders, from here the following description arises "...the black African presence appears because in certain epoch that the oral history does not specify date, in a good morning, when certain villagers went down to the beach they found some big tracks of people that after being lying down in the beach had walked towards the wild grapes that normally grow in the beaches. The gentlemen who discovered the footprints, amazed by the size of the footprints, both of the feet and of the body, began to look for them among the forests of wild grapes (beach grapes), finding them and inviting them to enter the village, possibly using sign language; in this way, several surnames appeared in Barra Patuca that are not Miskitu surnames". In: Wood (2018) (2018) *The Moskitia From Within. Historical, Anthropological, Linguistic and Cultural Aspects*, p. 22.

pressure on the lands (and their cultural uses) and generating profound changes in the relationship between the peoples and their territories (Idem), which was reflected in a conflict between the Miskitu communities of Lake Ibans and the Garífuna community of Plaplaya, which was part of the sample for this study.

## Annex 2: Cultural Land Use Sustainability Analysis Matrices

This annex presents the identification of the categories of cultural use of land, forests and water bodies (UCT) of the four indigenous peoples of the Honduran Moskitia; their rules of access and management for each category; a diagnosis of the current sustainability of each category; their vulnerability; the factors of such vulnerability; and the proposals of the communities, gathered in the sample workshops and interviews with key actors, to adjust the sustainability of each affected cultural use.

The identification of the categories of cultural use collected in the matrices presented below is not exhaustive, that there is an additional number of them, especially in the forests; that in order to identify them, the Councils of Elders stated that they could take on this task (see recommendations), as well as to recover the rules of customary law for their access and management. The categories presented were those that the informants considered most important for the analysis of change (sustainability). On the other hand, there is an important series of norms for the management of agricultural cultural uses that were not reviewed, because they exceeded the scope of this work and due to time limitations of the field work.

### 1. Tawahka

Area	Cultural use category	Access Rules	Management rules	Current sustainability	Vulnerability	Vulnerability Factor	Suggested Sustainability Adjustment
Asan Iau. Highlands	<b>Kidara pan</b> , rocky high part, where the "posts" of game animals are located, such as Wami pan, turkey site; Kalu pan, jagüilla (wild pig) caves and others.	Radial, all hunters have access. Presence of the and of the "owners" of the game animals. Permission must be sought from these spirits and the owners of the animals (and some trees, such as mahogany). Hunting in limited quantities for subsistence consumption, and practicing the custom of sharing game. Collection of medicinal plants by the panbas - talian (the one who knows about plants).	Logging prohibition, Traditional hunting with a draw and with bow and arrow. Restriction on the number of hunting pieces per game (for family consumption, not for sale). Rituals to ask permission from the owners of the animals and of the mahogany, which is used for the construction of pipantes and should not be cut down for sale.	Sustainable in the mountains on the right bank of the Patuca River (Cordillera Wimpi and Sierras de Warunta), unsustainable in the mountains on the left bank (Tawahka - Asangni Biosphere Reserve Core Zone). Hunting is restricted to the Wimpi Range and Warunta Sierras. On the left bank, Tawahka hunters only have access to a short distance upstream of the Unawas, Dapawás and Malawas Creeks, before encountering third parties that have invaded the core zone of the Tawahka Biosphere Reserve. Changes in hunting weapons (with the tunera, came the 22 single - shot rifle, then the 12/16 shotgun). Some hunters no longer respect the restriction on the amount of game hunted. During the fur trade boom, lizards were decimated and jaguars were hunted.	Medium in the mountains on the right bank, high in the mountains on the left bank (Tawahka Biosphere Reserve - Tawahka Asangni)	Presence of third parties that have invaded the Tawahka Biosphere Reserve and impede the passage of Tawahka hunters. Changes in hunting, logging and gathering practices, especially since the extractive boom of the 1960s (tuno, chicle, skins, gold) and the consequent monetarization of the kidara pan forest.	Sanitation of the Tawahka - Asangni Biosphere Reserve.  Adoption by the Tawahka Indigenous Federation of Honduras (FITH) of a ban on the sale of land to third parties with its sanctions (the current directors and the auxiliary mayor's office are accused of being involved in these businesses).
	<b>Tukru / Kaunapa / Asang Busna</b> , high hills	Restricted taboo. Houses of evil spirits: Sisimiti (hairy body with pig face) Ulak, goblin and Nawahsan, tiger.	Prohibition of hunting and logging in these hills (Tukru in Pimienta, Kaunapa	Currently sustainable, apart from the fact that there is no longer a ditalian to protect the community from the flying spirits, which on stormy nights would take the children's hearts to their homes.	Download	No	Contact the Sumo-Mayangna people of Nicaragua to recover the presence of

			Range -				
		black (panther); and animal owners. Consequently, the Tawahka did not kill jaguars. On stormy days it is feared that the spirits will descend on the communities and cause illnesses in the children.	Asang Busna - burned hill in Wimpu) with various taboos. For example, when passing under the Pimienta hill, one cannot look at the hill. When crossing these hills to go hunting in Warunta, one must not shout.	caves of the Wimpi, Asangbusna and Wampu hills. The last ditilians, Libia and Rosana, have already passed away.  During the extractive boom of the 1960's jaguars (and panthers) were hunted, as can be seen in this photo of a feline trap: 			a ditilian.
<b>Malam</b> , place where the tawahka go after death.	Mandatory, all the spirits of the living beings when they die, go to give to the Malam. Located possibly in the high hills of Warunta, it is visualized as a cave with a circular mouth that projects a cone of light to its floor, where the spirits of the deceased tawahka and of the diverse species of animals are arranged.	The spirits of the tawahka who have complied with the patterns of behavior, especially hunting, are located within the light projected by the cone. Those who have mistreated the animals or hunted more than allowed, are located in the shadow. From there, they can see the animals, but neither the animals nor the spirits of the ancestors can see them. This is the punishment of invisibility (common in the Amazon).	Moderately sustainable  Although the awareness of ethnic identity is perceived as strong among the Tawahka of Krausirpi, factors that weaken it are also recognized, such as the loss of the physical security of their territory; the influence of "commerce", which has monetarized their society and awakened the ambition to sell land; miscegenation with the Miskitu; the loss of the ditalyan; the preponderance of the Christian religion (Catholic and Moravian) and the tendency to break the rules of territorial management, especially those of hunting,  In the face of these circumstances, Malam's vision stands as a reminder of the underlying ethics of this hunter society and the after-death consequences of people's behavior in their lives. 	Media	The desire to obtain money. The Tawahka society of the Patuca River began its monetarization process with the annual trip to Belize to cut mahogany, the extractive boom in the forest and work in the banana plantations. Once the bust was over, there were few options left to obtain cash (only the gold battling, from which they were displaced). Once the Tawahka Federation was formed, a cohort of young people was sent to study abroad, but they did not return. The integration expected from the bilingual teachers did not work out; "every man for himself". The sale of game and the (illegal) sale of land became options for obtaining income. money	Some Tawahka visualize the Malán as a cultural landmark, around whose imaginary an effort could be made to strengthen the Tawahka cultural identity in order to recover the ethics of their original patterns of behavior.	

	<b>Saupan</b> , low hill	Perimetral, extended family, seen as an actual or potential upward projection of the family boundaries	Tawahka agriculture was concentrated on the waslamni plains, but with the hurricane Mitch	Unsustainable  The (illegal) sale of Tawahka land to third parties has been massive, intensifying in the last five years. The Tawahka sell their possessions in the	High	Illegal sale of land, establishment of pastures in Saupan.	Adoption of measures by the Tawahka Federation to prohibit the use of the sale of
		of occupation of the vegas was lamni.	and its consequent grazing, increased the occupation of the lower Saupan hillside for shifting cultivation. However, this occupation is limited	The third parties extend their occupation to the neighboring lowlands, where they have established extensive pastures through debris with Tawahka and Miskitu labor as "chapeadores" (cutters). The purchases have been endorsed by the Tawahka Federation authorities. Many sellers are men absent from the matrilineages, selling recessive rights or claiming inheritance through the paternal line, causing internal conflicts within the Tawahka. matrilineages			and the establishment of paddocks in the saupan.  Rehabilitation of lands under Tawahka land titles and the core zone of the Tawahka Agni Reserve.
	<b>Sau minit</b> , high forest	Radial. For the time being, the Waranta mountain range is free from third party occupation.	It is considered as "land to take care of for the future".	Partially sustainable  Third-party occupations in the lower hill threaten to extend into the upper Warunta mountain range	Media	Threat of de facto occupation by third parties with neighboring pastures on the lower hill.	Land sale ban, change of Tawahka Federation directives.
	<b>Asang launa</b> , high hills, located above the outcrops of the limestone rocks kidara pihni, difficult to access.	Restricted taboo. Houses of benign spirits or animal owners.	Activities with permission of benign spirits or animal owners. Wood is not exploited because of the difficulty of getting it down.	Partially sustainable  Although hunting rules are still observed in subsistence hunting activities, the sale of game has increased and reciprocity has decreased. Some hunters overexploit the resource  	High	Marketing of hunting products	Adoption by the Tawahka Federation of a special protection statute for asang launa sites, with corresponding sanctions for cases of overexploitation.
	<b>Watak Panpas</b> , medicinal plant stand	Radial, anyone can access these places to collect medicinal plants, but this access is preferential for the pambas watna healers.	Collection of medicinal plants	Sustainable, but limited  The Sica Pan in the Warunta Mountains remain, but the Tawahka have restricted access to the wetlands on the left bank of the Patuca River and have lost harvesting access to the core zone of the Patuca River Biosphere Reserve. There has been an increase in the cultivation of medicinal plants in the Watak home gardens.	Media	Occupation of the third wetlands and criques on the left bank of the Patuca River.	Sanitation of the core of the Tawahka Asangni Reserve.

	<b>Tikam pani</b> , place of the tuno tree (Castilla elástica)	Radial, anyone can access to extract non-forest resources from the forest).	Bark used for traditional clothing, bedding, blankets and handbags	Currently sustainable  With the rubber boom, the tuno (like chicle) was overexploited for trade. With the withdrawal of the buyers, this activity ceased. Traditional clothing is no longer used and the h o u s e s are of a Moravian model, with beds and mattresses or hammocks. The tuno is used for market crafts.  	Download	Marketing of forest products (mahogany, chicle, lizard, otter and jaguar skins) that are no longer used due to lack of buyers.	No
	<b>Uh Pihni</b> , Casa/Ciudad Blanca	Radial, anyone can access to hunt or to extract non-forest resources from the forest (tuno, chicle).  However, the Tawahka no longer have access to Kidara Pihni.	The general rules of the hunter apply.  The collection of f tuno and chewing gum, without rules	Sustainable, but no current use for the Tawahka.  The Tawahka, unlike the Pech, do not consider Uh Pihni in the core zone of the Banana River Biosphere Reserve as their place of origin, but they know it well as hunters, distinguishing in Uh Pihni the sites of the Kiwatak, place of metates; and , Siwiwas, place of jagüillas.	Download	Hunters cannot pass through because they encounter third-party farms on the road and because of current restrictions in the Core Zone of the Río Plátano Biosphere Reserve.	No
Was, bodies of water	<b>Kumawas</b> , sea	Radial  The Tawahka have a vague recollection of ancient times when they had access to the sea. for fishing and harvesting	They applied the rules of fishing	Unsustainable  The Tawahka may have had access to the sea in pre-Columbian times, before the Miskitu expansion, but no longer do.	No	The Miskitu expansion of the 17th Century	No
Was, bodies of water Sau lahni. Lowlands	<b>Was</b> , river (Patuca and Wampu)	Radial, freely accessible to everyone, for fishing, washing clothes, bathing and transportation, with taboos due to the presence of the mermaid and the water tiger.	Place of habitation of wasyal, water woman or mermaid and wasnawah, water tiger, which require ditalian rituals to protect against them.	Partially sustainable  The river is still used for fishing (although limited, in cayuco), washing clothes and recreation. Pipeline transportation is not controlled by the Tawahka. President Simon Ortiz Gonzalez of the Tawahka Federation was killed by a third party from behind in a pipante. The cayucos and small Tawahka pipantes can no longer be left with their engines (15hp) at the piers, because thefts have increased.  	Media	The Tawahka do not control transportation on the Patuca River, have been expelled from two of their four titled territories and face competition from third parties in fishing. Ditalian is no longer available	Restitution and restitution to the Tawahka of their lands under the titles of Parawas and Yapuwas.  Construction of docks for Tawahka settlements

<p><b>Was Tunun,</b> headwaters of the rivers, nana's spawning place, cuyamel ( Joturus pichardi)</p>	<p>Radial, with free access to fishermen.</p> <p>However, the Tawahka no longer have access to the headwaters of the rivers where the cuyamel spawn.</p>	<p>Harpoon and bow and arrow fishing.</p> <p>Reciprocity in the capture of cuyameles</p>	<p>Unsustainable</p> <p>The Was Tunun are located upstream from the territories titled to the Tawahka, in the headwaters of the Patuca River.</p> <p>The third parties do not allow the Tawahka to fish in those places, since they extensively occupy the Patuca River upstream,</p> 	<p>High</p>	<p>The extensive occupation by third parties (Olanchanos) of the buffer zone of the Patuca River Reserve and the core, buffer and multiple-use zones of the Tawahka-Asangni Biosphere Reserve.</p>	<p>Negotiation of rights-of-way with third parties and the government</p>
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<p><b>Wasbin,</b> crique or creek, are located near the agricultural work sites of the communities.</p>	<p>Radial, freely accessible to fishermen and hunters</p> <p>Perimetral matrilineage, in the tawahka work sites on the margins of streams or creeks.</p>	<p>Hunting and fishing rules are followed (hunting and fishing only for subsistence economy; products subject to reciprocal exchanges and family redistribution).</p>	<p>Partially unsustainable</p> <p>A good part of the Tawahka possessions on the margins of the Unawas, Dapawas and Malaiwas Creeks have either been usurped by third parties or sold by the Tawahka to them.</p>  <p>Third parties prevent the use of the criques for hunting and fishing. The Tawahka only retain access to the course near the mouth of these criques in the Patuca River.</p> <p>There is a trend towards the monetarization of hunting and fishing products, although they are still distributed on a family basis and the Tawahka reciprocity networks include the Tawahka and Miskitu settlements of Ahuasbila, Panzana, Pimienta, Tukrun, Kurhpa, Awastingni, Bodega, Raya and Wampusirpi.</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>Usurpation and illegal purchase of land by third parties</p>	<p>Land reclamation under Tawahka title deeds</p>
<p><b>Yapuwás,</b> place of the lizard (Crocodylus acutus). Bank of the river where gold is mined, around the confluence of the Wampu River in the Patuca River, where turtles and iguanas are hunted and river shrimp are fished.</p>	<p>Radial, free access for Tawahka and Miskitu artisanal miners AND free access for turtle and iguana hunting and river shrimp fishing.</p>	<p>Limitation of mining activities to gold panning on Yapuwás benches, with a ban on the use of dredges and pumps.</p>	<p>Unsustainable</p> <p>The Tawahka were expelled from their lands in Parawasito, Parawas, Kamakasma, Kungkungwas and Yapuwás, through interventions and threats by illegal miners, who installed dredges and pumps to exploit gold in the Patuca and Wampu rivers. The displaced people were resettled in Krautara and Krausirpi. In Yapuwás there are only three Tawahka families left, "very ladinized" (no longer participating in the collective Tawahka objectives).</p> <p>In their cultural use of the pastures, third parties clear the riverbanks and criques for their cattle to go down to drink water, affecting the homes of turtles and iguanas and the spawning grounds of river shrimp.</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>Forced displacement of the Tawahka of Parawas and Yapuwás by illegal miners.</p> <p>Debris removal by third parties from river banks and criques</p> 	<p>Restitution and restitution to the Tawahka of their lands under the titles of Parawas and Yapuwás.</p>
<p><b>Wasmak,</b> swamp, wetland, limited to the left bank of the Patuca River and its tributaries.</p>	<p>Radial, freely accessible to fishermen and hunters.</p> <p>Perimeter, in some cases, when the wetland is located within a matrilineage farm.</p>	<p>The rules of hunting and fishing are followed, with rituals of asking permission from the mermaid wasyal and the wasnawah, the water tiger.</p> <p>A permit is required from the matrilineage that may own one of these wetlands.</p>	<p>Unsustainable</p> <p>The wetlands are either already occupied by the third parties' cattle farms, or the third parties prevent the Tawahka from accessing them.</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>Occupation by third parties of the Unawas, Dapawas, Malaiwas and Pimienta criques.</p>	<p>Land reclamation under the four Tawahka titles and the core zone of the Tawahka - Asangni Reserve.</p>
<p><b>Was kadawi,</b></p>	<p>Radial, free access to</p>	<p>The rules of the</p>	<p>Unsustainable</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>Occupancy by</p>	<p>Land reclamation</p>

	river						
	dry, lagoons originating in the madrevejas of the rivers, which are scarce and limited to the left bank of the Patuca River and the Wampu River.	fishermen and hunters  Perimeter, in some cases, when the lagoon is located within a matrilineage possession.	hunting and fishing, with rituals of asking permission from the wasyal, mermaid, and the wasnawah, water tiger.  Permission is required from the matrilineage that may possess one of these madrevejas.	The madrevejas <i>was kadawi</i> are either already occupied by the cattle farms of third parties, or the latter prevent the Tawahka from accessing them.		third of the Unawas, Dapawas, Malaiwas and Pimienta crypts.	under the four Tawahka titles and the core zone of the Tawahka - Asangni Reserve.
	<b>Sau Lahni</b> , river meadows ( right bank of the Patuca river, Wampu river)	Perimetral matrilineage.  The Tawahka gradually settled along the middle Patuca and Wampu rivers in fratrics (2, 4 matrilineages that intermarried) and divided the vegas among themselves.    Above: founding matrilineage chiefs of Krausirpi, circa: ?	River floodplains are used for shifting cultivation yamak pan; for semi-permanent agriculture waki yamak; and for permanent canopy polycultures yamak mahsan.	Moderately sustainable.  At the time of their occupation of the middle Patuca River, the Tawaka were hunter-gatherers who only planted malanga in the wetlands. In the meadows there was endemic guineo ( <i>kuhtu</i> ), which they harvested. They acquired agriculture from their Miskitu neighbors, installing it in the vegas. The vegas.  Wetlands are subject to (full) flooding due to the effects of climate change.  	Media	Risk of flooding due to the effects of climate change	Encouragement of cultural uses of <i>sau lahmi</i> that are more resilient to floods (polycultures, reforestation with commercial species) and restriction of food crops to food security, not to the market.

Sau lahni. Lowlands	<b>Yamak pan</b> , a place for itinerant agriculture or guamil	Perimeter of matrilineage	Sweet cassava ( <i>Manihot utilissima</i> ) is grown by slash-and-burn cultivation; rice and beans by slash-and-burn cultivation. The frequency of fallow in the vegas is two to three years. Most of these crops are located in the vegas, but also in the low hills, especially cassava, which requires drainage and withstands less fertile soils, with a frequency of four years. Subsistence crops	Moderately unsustainable  In order for shifting cultivation to be sustainable, it is necessary to comply with the appropriate frequency to allow the soil to rest and the stubble to grow, before planting again in the same place. This possibility is associated with a type of land tenure in which, within an extended family, growers can be assigned plots in different parts of the farm in order to carry out rotations.  With the boom in the sale of land to third parties, individuals have had their private holdings recognized in order to be able to sell them, which has led to a de facto subdivision of the matrilineage's overall landholdings, preventing the rotation necessary for the <i>yamak pan</i> system to function.  In addition, the loss of land has resulted in a lack of space to reproduce the system of itinerant agriculture, encouraging migration and informal employment with third parties for shading and clearing the forest to plant grass and expand their paddocks, which is the preferential and exclusive cultural use of third parties.	Media	The individualization of matrilineage holdings and the atomization of plots of land	Prohibition for the Tawahka Federation and the communal councils to certify the possession of individual plots in the <i>yamak pan</i> cultural use.
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<p><b>Waki yamak</b>, banana; <b>sinak yamak</b>, bean; <b>uhbin uknin yamak</b>, rice; <b>kakau yamak</b>, cocoa; <b>Am yamak</b>, corn; Am <b>yamak</b>, cornfield.</p> <p>Associate d crops</p>	<p>Perimetral of nuclear family</p>	<p>Musaceae is a type of semi-permanent crop grown in the meadows, generally in fallow fields, combined with corn; beans are combined with squash and cocoa is part of the <i>yamak mahsan</i> canopy polycultures.</p>	<p>Moderately sustainable with increased risk from climate change</p> <p>International cooperation and government programs have introduced a vision of monoculture production with monocultures destined for the market, as in the case of cocoa, which used to be part of the <i>yamak mahsan</i> canopy polyculture and began to be planted in monoculture for the market. The programs work as long as the cooperation or government investment lasts and then they are abandoned, showing that they are not sustainable.</p> <p>State subsidies have focused on the delivery of bean seeds for the purpose of improving food security, but have created dependency and weakened Yamak Mahsan cultural use and food sovereignty.</p> <p>Monocultures present high risks of flooding and flooding, and climate change</p>	<p>Media</p>	<p>High risk of monoculture plantations in wetlands</p> <p>Change from polycultures and associated crops to monocultures</p>	<p>Change of strategy towards the strengthening of food sovereignty, promotion of canopy polycultures and associated crops with consideration of traditional knowledge and participation of traditional knowledge holders and community councils of elders.</p>
<p><b>Yamak mahsan</b>, place of "shade crops" or canopy polycultures where several species are planted with different canopies, such as sugar cane, pineapple, malanga, cassava, beans, yams, avocado, sapote, guama, pejibaye, cocoa, coconut, mahogany, and cedar</p>	<p>Perimetral of nuclear family</p>	<p>Canopy polycultures are the last step in the transformation of areas from shifting to permanent agriculture. Construction and subsistence crops, which are the basis for food sovereignty and carbon sequestration in soils.</p>	<p>Moderately sustainable</p> <p>Canopy polycultures, which include forest species, mitigate the risk of flooding. However, they have been invisible to the government and international cooperation agencies, which promote monoculture (cocoa, rice, beans) in production schemes for the market, not for food sovereignty.</p> <p>Investments by international cooperation in market monocultures and dependence on government subsidies (in the form of rice and especially bean seed) have discouraged the planting and care of yamak mahsan polycultures.</p>	<p>Media</p>	<p>Invisible cultural use for the government and technical cooperation, which has promoted monocultures for the market and subsidized bean and rice monocultures as a solution to food security.</p>	<p>Shift in focus from external support and government subsidies, from monoculture to polycultures and associated crops.</p>
<p><b>Tiriski pan</b>, place where pastures arise</p>	<p>Perimetral, matrilineage, refers to areas where grass grows naturally, such as the pasturing of the meadows as a consequence of Hurricane Mitch in 1998,</p>	<p>Unlike the Miskitu, the Tawahka do not have natural grasslands, the Tiriski pan are the result of the grazing of the guamiles by reseeding without complying with the fallow rest time (frequency) and as a result of the fullness and reduction of the terrain</p>	<p>Sustainable</p> <p>The lands that have been grazed due to the effects of floods caused by climate change and those resulting from the grazing of the guamiles are very difficult to convert back to stubble, but for the limited number of cattle in the Tawahka's possession, they seem to be sufficient to make their grazing sustainable.</p> <p>Livestock is important to the Tawahka for food security because of the milk it produces (in some cases it is processed into cheese) and because of the capitalization it implies for the families, who can monetize this asset when they must cover</p>	<p>Download</p>	<p>Pasturing of guamiles due to reduced fallow frequency; flooding of floodplains due to the effects of climate change.</p>	<p>No</p>

		(often by sale). Pastoralism for subsistence (milk) and as capitalization for emergencies (health, travel, studies, etc.). children)	expenses and emergency or to meet other specific needs.			
<b>Turuh pan</b> , place of cattle. Two categories are distinguished, turuh pan was lahni for paddocks in the meadows and turuh pan asang lau as generic for paddocks in the hills.	Perimeter of matrilineage and third parties	The Tawahka have few cattle, which originally grazed on the <i>Tiriski pan</i> . Most of the current paddocks are the result of debris from third parties.	Sustainable for third party cultural uses, unsustainable for Tawahka cultural uses.  Existence of a road to Krausirpi, 73 km starting from Dulce Nombre de Culmi. This has been the access road for ladino cattle ranchers.	High	Conversion by third parties of their usurpations into paddocks for cattle raising and breeding  Conflicts over the road, as it is used by criminal organizations and settlers. However, the Tawahkas also make use of it, as it is a more practical and economical route.	Land reclamation under the four Tawahka titles and the core zone of the Tawahka - Asangni Reserve.
<b>Uh</b> , dwelling house	Perimetral of nuclear family, but within matrilineage complexes.  The Tawahka settlements are home to the Miskitu population, with whom they are related by marriage alliances and some Ladinos, who manage the trade.	The Tawahka have a nucleated residence pattern, preferring the high bank areas along the river to avoid the risk of flooding of the meadows.	Sustainable  The traditional <i>suita</i> palm leaf-roofed house, cane walls and raised beds with <i>tuno</i> bedspreads have disappeared,    It was replaced by a model of palafitic construction encouraged by the Moravian missionaries with board walls and floors and a calamine roof, which is conspicuous throughout the Moskitia.  	Low, although without running water, with latrines and electricity generated by personal solar systems.	Absence of public utilities	Improvement of drinking water and power supply services
<b>Watak</b> , home garden	Perimetral of nuclear family or matrilineage.	The houses have home gardens.	Sustainable  As an effect of the existing flood risk, <i>yamak mahsan</i> canopy polycultures have been decreasing in the meadows, while home gardens have become more complex in the number of species planted in them,	Download	The risk of flooding in the vegas, which has led to the conversion of the watak into real <i>yamak mahsan</i> .	No

				<p>a phenomenon similar to that observed in the Miskitu community of Wampusirpi.</p> 			
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## 2. Miskitu

- a. **Miskitu *Klawina*, from upstream** (two communities are included, the Wampusirpi community presented in the upper division of the separated cells and Tikiuraya in the lower division).

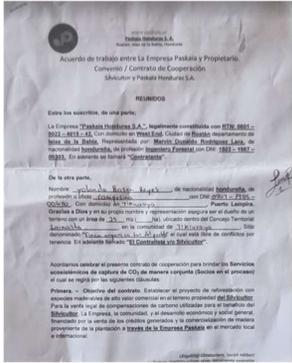
Area	Sub area	Cultural use category	Access Rules	Management rules	Current sustainability	Vulnerability	Vulnerability Factor	Suggested Sustainability Adjustment
Klawina, upstream	From Rio bravo/raudales (Awala aubirra)	<p><b>Awala</b> river. In Wampusirpi we distinguish: <i>walpatanhta</i>, rock in the middle of the river; <i>awala un</i>, rock wall and <i>dakura</i>, island or cay, in the middle of the river.</p>	<p>Radial, all have access to the river</p> <p>Walpatanhta, home of Liwa mairin, the mermaid; and of Li lamia, water tiger.</p> <p>Awala un, big shrimp house</p> <p>Dakura, perimetral, extended family.</p> <p>In Tikiuraya, the river is the artery of a horizontal complementarity: (i) several families used to go down to the Kruta bar to cook salt; and (ii) exchanges between the Kruta bar and Tikiuraya.</p>	<p>In Walpatanhta, liwa mairin, the mermaid, and li lamia, the water tiger, are housed, a place to be avoided.</p> <p>In dakura, shifting cultivation or guamil is practiced.</p> <p>Horizontal complementarity coast / river (exchanges of flour, sugar, salt, coffee, soap, clothes and fish for rice/beans at harvest time).</p> <p>Banana vs. coconut exchange between communities along the river</p> <p>Pupu, a type of small river fish, is fished using mosquito nets or savannas as nets.</p> <p>The Kruta River near Tikiuraya is slow-flowing, with the presence of waterbugs and a high proliferation of mosquitoes. Vector management by stilt houses and women who "remove the bite". High incidence of malaria</p>	<p>Deforestation of the riverbanks, use of poisons for fishing, contamination from illegal mining (gold dredging since '86), as a result of encroachment by third parties, called ispayul (sons of machetes and dogs). Ispayul (Ispa(ra)=machete and yul=dog)</p> <p>Presence of 22 divers crippled as a result of diving fishing in Wampusirpi, intensive fishing in Barra Patuca.</p> <p>The drug has been integrated into the vertical complementarity of the coast. / river in Tikiuraya</p> <p>Third party decompositions (Olanchanos<sup>69</sup> coming from Puerto Lempira) at the sources of the Kruta River (Wiswis, Corinto and Saulala). Fear of Olanchanos</p> <p>Full after Hurricane Mitch wiped out everything (crops, fertile lands of the vega was covered by sand and rocks, domestic animals, cattle, horses). Hurricane Eta and Iota decimated livestock.</p> <p>After Hurricane Greta (1978), tilapia arrived, which has been devastating for other fish species and has decreased the fishery.</p> <p>Barra Kruta is full of trawls and trammel nets all year round, so it is estimated that "these fish are not able to reproduce properly".</p> <p>Difficulty of transportation in Tikiuraya to sell surplus, since it is necessary to go down almost to the Kruta bar, to turn to Kaukira, before crossing the Karatasca lagoon, when dredging the Tuburus to Laka (Salhkan canal in Miskitu) the time and cost of transportation to Puerto Lempira would be reduced by approximately 2/3 parts.</p>	High	<p>Climate change, full</p> <p>Mercury contamination from illegal mining by third parties (Sicre River)</p> <p>Deforestation of riverbanks by third parties</p> <p>Presence of exotic fish species (tilapia)</p> <p>overexploitation of the rods (Patuca and kruta)</p> <p>Difficulty of transport through current channels</p>	<p>Prohibition of debris removal from riverbanks and reforestation program</p>  <p>Adoption of a tilapia control program</p> <p>Dredging of the Kanku canal in the Yamantha section up to the Kruta river, of vital importance to communicate Tikiuraya with Puerto Lempira.</p> <p>Implementation of the "Protocol for the Management of Natural Resources of the Coastal Territorial Councils" supported by IUCN/MASTA /MOPAWI, which was signed, among others, by the Lainasta Territorial Council.</p>
		<p><b>Lakun</b>, lagoon</p>	<p>Radial, free access for all.</p>	<p>Fishing for machaca, caguacha, catfish and guapote with</p>	<p>Third parties decompose the edges of the lagoons and use trammel nets and poisons to fish in the lagoons.</p>	High	<p>Debris removed from the banks of the lagoons by third parties</p>	<p>Prohibition of the use of trammel nets</p>

<sup>69</sup> The term olanchano does not necessarily refer to Olancho, it is in some cases a generic term for "invader, bad people, armed people".

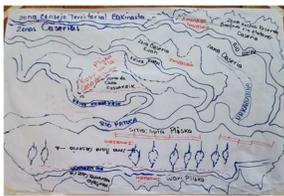
		In Wampusirpi, the lagoon (dakban, old mother) of Kahmi belongs to a matrilineage (perimeter), which gives access to it with permission.	spearguns, harpoons and hooks	Third parties do not ask permission to access the Kahmi Lagoon in Wampusirpi. 		Use of trammel nets and poisons for fishing in the lagoons by third parties	in the lagoons  Prohibition of debris removal from the banks of the lagoons.
	<b>Tingni</b> , crique, creek	Radial, all have access to the creeks or criques for hunting and fishing.	Hook fishing, and deer, turtle (culuco) and lizard (karas) hunting.  No cuyamel in the Kruta basin, lizard hunting is taboo in Tikiuraya	The Kahmi Creek, which flows into the Kahmi Lagoon in Wampusirpi, is a place for deer and fish, but third parties with encroachments on its sides "are spying on you to see if you are stealing cattle".  Caño Bratingni is the only accessible crique in Wampusirpi.	Discharge in Wampusirpi  Get off at Tikiuraya now	Usurpation and threats by third parties	Implementation of land reclamation in Bakinasta
	<b>Auhya</b> , sandy, turtle beach	Radial, for fishing with flashlight and machete  Turtles' house of desobe	Night fishing place, it is lighted and fish are killed with machetes.	No information 	No information	No information	No information
	<b>Krupi unta</b> , cacari caves in rivers.	House of the river prawn also known as cacarico (krupi)	Shrimp fishing site when they come out of their caves	Decrease in shrimp catch due to third parties damaging their homes by removing debris from the banks of the Patuca River so that their livestock can go down to drink water from the river.	High	Debris on riverbanks by third parties	Prohibition of debris removal from riverbanks and reforestation program
	<b>Dahpat</b> (wetland with permanent water mirror) and <b>swampo</b> (wetland without permanent water mirror), which in Wampusirpi are found in the twi savannah or near lagoons and rivers, while in Tikiuraya they are part of the untapped forest. tare.	Radial, everyone has access to the wetlands  Places of reeds, turtles, catfish, fish, deer come out to drink, planting of malanga in wetlands.	The deer has an owner, only one must be hunted at a time and exclusively for subsistence, otherwise, "you get the owner".  Hunting place, avoiding places of lizards and boas.	In the summer, the wetlands are burned to provide new grass for the cattle. 	Media	Burning of the dahpat in summer	Ban on summer burning of wetlands
From tame river (Awala Iammi)	<b>Awala un</b> , river plain	Perimeter, matrilineage and nuclear families, under the concept of <i>Silpdukiam</i> , private area.  Planted trees delimit the possessions of the meadows.  In Tikiuraya, the vegas remain	Kuhtu, wild guineo; and presence of uhun, palm tree from which the batana is extracted.  Semi-permanent (musaceae), shifting cultivation (rice, beans, corn, squash) and permanent crops (polycultures)	Vulnerability to climate change, hurricanes and "llenas" (in flood season, the Patuca can be several kilometers wide).  In the 1940s, the United Fruit Company, in its monopolistic stage, planted bananas in areas surrounding the Moskitia, where most likely some form of commercial exchanges were established, and smuggling with inhabitants of the	High	Climate change (hurricanes and floods)  Usurpation of third parties  Change in the way beans are planted, from agriculture	Implementation of Bakinasta's land titling by the State, based on the collective rights enshrined in the "Property Law property";

			<p>in the hands of the Miskitu. There is no third party employment, money comes from the batana, from some divers and lobster fishermen (30 people), from remittances from teachers, professionals, security and police employees and from the solidarity bonus (in December 2023 from four to eight thousand lempiras, depending on the socioeconomic data. Several went to Puerto Lempira and did not make the list, "some cried" (with this resource, the community "had a great time" in December). No migration out of the country is reported, except for two cases of young people who have not been able to enter the USA and are in Mexico.</p> 		<p>muskitia and that this allowed the arrival of banana variety plants in the area (and in the Kruta River, from Umrú to Tikiuraya).</p> <p>In Wampusirpi in 1991 "the invasion began", "today we have lost between 50-60% of the territory". The Bakinasta Territorial Council assigns "usufruct certificates" of land to men, who sell it illegally. "The third buyer then "jumps" to another place and says that he bought", "the lands are almost all in the municipal cadastre individualized in the name of men", in spite of being of the matrilineages; so the men (brothers in some cases or husbands come from other places to work in the land of their wives), "go around selling more what belongs to others than what belongs to them"; "sometimes, the daughter-in-law fights more for the land than the daughter herself". "The settlers also come with bibles to buy, with intermediaries".</p>  <p>Intimidating presence of third parties, armed and with radio communication systems between them.</p> <p>Theft of beans by young people to buy drugs.</p> <p>The land "has lost strength" due to the tendency to grow beans permanently in the same area, using the seed donated by government programs to support food security, with the consequence that "the year's (food) cycle is no longer closed with a bean crop."</p> 	<p>to permanent planting.</p> <p>Governmental paralysis for the implementation of the legal framework for sanitation by the Sanitation Subcommittee of the Moskitia ( Executive Decree PCM-035- 2019. 5 of July, 2019).</p> <p>Lack of confidence in the political will of the State to move forward with cleanup and the perception of the inability to achieve this through the indigenous governance (jurisdiction of the Territorial Councils): "Who puts their chest out"; "we must be cautious and wise, so that there is no "matancina".</p>	<p>Chapter III. Process of Regularization of Real Property for Indigenous and Afro-Honduran Peoples (Arts. 93 - 103)</p> <p>Prohibition to the Bakinasta Territorial Council to continue certifying possessions.</p> <p>Recovery of customary land tenure norms, recognizing the rights of women and matrilineages.</p>
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			 <p>the entire extended family works.</p> <p>Fallowing frequency is four years (it used to be 10 years but has decreased due to lack of land).</p> <hr/> <p>The bean/seed rice duo is known as "inglish pata" which means foreign food and arrived only 80 years ago.</p>	 <p>Fear of third parties, threat perception, post-traumatic syndrome.</p> <p>Increased migration "there is no more youth in Pimienta".</p> <p>There used to be "good food", "there w e r e no hospitals", "everything was grown".</p> <p>Increase in pests, which are attributed to transgenic seeds and bean monoculture (with seeds donated by the government).</p> <p>"We are working under the umbrella of official justice (which has no presence in Wampusirpi)," "with our indigenous jurisdiction weakened."</p>		<p>The custom of the territory; "This is the sadness that overwhelms us".</p>	<p>reticular: "if they leave it like this (removing the cattle), eventually the bush will come back". Recovering tradition - Council of Elders</p> <p>The presence of judicial bodies in the Moskitia to support the cleanup process and especially to prosecute environmental crimes committed by third parties.</p>	

		<p><b>Prata almuk</b>, (old crop) canopy polycultures</p>	<p>Perimetral of matrilineage or nuclear family</p>	<p>In Wampusirpi polycultures contain, among others, pejibaye, supa, avocado, orange, marzipan, sapote, mahogany, coconut and banana.</p> <p>In Tikiuraya, marzipan (britput), mahogany (yulu), pejibaye (supa), sapote (kuri), coconut (kuku), cocoa (kakau) and sugarcane (cayu) are planted "far apart" and are "the last thing we do" in the Miskitu agricultural cycle.</p>  <p>"men open the hole, women sow; in the harvest men cut and women gather."</p>	<p>Polycultures have decreased in Wampusirpi due to the loss of land in the awala un vegas and have been moving to the urban perimeter (waitla tasbaia, plots of land).</p> <p>In Tikiuraya there is an initiative for the planting of timber species, which has 21 members, who find the advantage that these species are more resilient to filling. However, the contract does not have a participation scheme for the growers in the final sale of the timber in the market and for the calculation of the profits (after deducting the investment of the company Paskaia, based in Roatan, to be divided 45% for the company, 45% for the grower, 5% for MASTA and 5% for the Territorial Council of Lainasta).</p> 	<p>Media in Wampusirpi</p> <p>Get off at Tikiura now</p>	<p>Reduction of the areas available for polyculture due to encroachment by third parties.</p>	<p>Implementation of land reclamation in Bakinasta</p>
		<p><b>Utla lata tasbaia</b>, solar</p>	<p>Perimetral of nuclear or extended families</p>	<p>Some staple foods are grown around the houses. need, plants</p>	<p>The <i>prata almuk</i> polycultures have been moving to the urban perimeter plots in Wampusirpi.</p>	<p>Download</p>	<p>Loss of land in the meadows</p>	<p>No information</p>
				<p>medicinal and fruit trees.</p> <p>"I plant cassava in my yard and beans, I give the surplus to neighbors."</p>				

	<b>Utla, house</b>	Perimeter of nuclear family, although several houses of the same extended family may be located in the same group.	<p>Construction with pine boards extracted from the twi of Wampusirpi and with a roof of palm leaves known as <i>suita</i> (originally).</p> <p>Widespread fear of the bite of the yellow bearded snake (<i>Bothrops asper</i>). There are healers specialized in the treatment of these bites.</p>  <p>In Tikiuraya with boards of broadleaf trees (cedro macho, San Juan, walnut).</p>	<p>Change of the settlement pattern to nucleated, both in Wampusirpi and Tikiuraya, encouraged by the churches, the concentrated supply of public services and commerce.</p> <p>The Wampusirpi Miskitu consider that they lived "nomadic times", hunted in posts in the unta tara, went down to Barra Patuca to fish and moved seasonally in canoes with sail to Belize (known as British Honduras) to exploit mahogany. In the 1950s, the war against Sandino in Nicaragua caused a Miskitu migration to Honduras, many of whom married women of the Twi of Awas and became sedentary, adopting agriculture and occupying free land in Wampusirpi.</p> <p>In Tikiuraya, there was a lack of drinking water and a health post without an antiophidic serum or a permanent doctor.</p> 	Download	Concentrated supply of public (schools, health centers) and religious services and commercial opportunities (stores, buyers, etc.).	Improvement of public services, aqueducts, permanent doctors in the health posts and provision of antiophidic suros (with cold chain), intensification of malaria control programs. For electric power, priority is given to housing solutions with solar energy.
	<b>Daiuri tasbaia, breeding place for minor species.</b>	Perimetral of nuclear family	Raising chickens and pigs, which are kept close to the houses in high places, for fear of flooding.	<p>For communities with a predominance of plain (twi) such as Auka, the <i>daiuri tasbaia</i> has special adaptations due to a higher proportion of animal husbandry such as pigs and goats. The houses try to have a greater separation to increase the area of the <i>daiuri tasbaia</i>. In addition, it is necessary to implement fences in home gardens to prevent pigs or goats from eating them.</p> 	Download	No	No
Del bosque bravo	<b>Umpa untika, localized broadleaf gallery forests</b>	Perimetral, matrilineage	The following are considered as reserve areas for itinerant agriculture <i>insla prata</i> and a protection site	In Wampusirpi, problems of access to the <i>umpa untika</i> due to the wire fences of the third parties in the Twi savannah.	Media	To access Warunta, you have to cross the twi, the	Ban on wire fences in the twi
	on the banks of rivers and streams, especially in the Twi.		of the spirits of the ancestors of these matrilineages: "the ancestors take care of you".			third parties do not let pass	

	<p><b>Awas untika</b>, coniferous forest in the twi dakura savannah of Wampusirpi</p>	<p>Radial, everyone has access</p> <p>House of the diwindu (goblin)</p>	<p>Pine timber to extract boards for house construction and ocote for firewood, not for sale.</p>	<p>Limited access in Wampusirpi to the coniferous forests due to the wire fences installed by third parties in the twi</p> <p>It is preferred to buy the boards to build houses from lumberjacks (miskitus or third parties), rather than to extract the wood individually or as a family, increasing the monetarization of the traditional ETI economy.</p> 	<p>High</p>	<p>Third-party wiring in the twi</p>	<p>Implementation of the Bakinasta land reclamation program</p> <p>Ban on wire fences in the twi</p>
	<p><b>Tare spreader</b>, mountain.</p> <p>In the case of Wampusirpi, located on the Warunta river and mountain range</p> <p>In case of Tikiuraya, between the Kruta and Coconut rivers</p>	<p>Radial, all have access, with the permission of the spirits of the forest, the owners of the animals and with due care. Collection of medicinal plants</p> <p>Foundation of Tikiuraya; a fraternity from Kruta river down, for abundant hunting (turtle, jagüilla, lizard, deer). The sukia Ipiran, daughter of Mistrikel repelled the evil spirits of the jungle.</p> <p>They collected yams in the forest.</p> <p>Royal cedar (winkur), cedar (yalam), and mahogany (yulu) are harvested to build pipantes (duri).</p> <p>Extraction of cedar (swa), walnut (kiachki), yagüa (wauh) and San Juan (yamari) for construction purposes</p> <p>Animal houses, such as wari pliska, place of the jagüilla</p>	<p>Ask permission from the owners of the animals to hunt: Ulak, spirit, mahogany has owner, deer and jagüilla have owner (same for Tikiuraya).</p> <p>Hunting (antin), restricted to males and only for subsistence, under the rule of shared hunting, of "brotherhood at heart".</p> <p>Hunting with laghka and bow and arrow and now with shotgun, but without dogs that scare away hunting animals.</p> <p>Spirits of the forest inhabit the lianas (creepers) of large trees and do not like to be disturbed. "In the dream it appears that one is hunting in a forbidden area". You can also hear the "crackling" of the spirits that warn you of their presence.</p> <p>The forest spirits become angry (i) when their habitat, the large trees, is destroyed; (ii) when the trees are destroyed; (iii) when the forest spirits become angry when their habitat, the large trees, is destroyed; (iv) when the forest spirits become angry when the trees are destroyed.</p>	<p>Monetarization of forest resources: in Wampusirpi in the 50's an English company bought mahogany; in the 70's another company acquired the rubber of the tuno; in the 80's appeared buyers of gum, lizard and tiger skin, which also affected the Kruta River<sup>70</sup>.</p> <p>In Wampusirpi the unta tara of the Warunta River National Park is "socoleado". "We can't go there to hunt, because we can't get through." "The twi is wired".</p>  <p>Threats from third parties, fear in the community. One can only pass "if there is a close one". Warunta is today "a desert".</p>  <p>In Tikiuraya, hunting has become scarce and "we have to go further", because of the increase in population (400 houses, 2,000 inhabitants approx). There is a population upstream of a Tikiuraya fission, Lisagnipura),</p>	<p>Discharge in Wampusirpi.</p> <p>Get off at Tikiuraya now</p>	<p>In Wampusirpi, access difficulty to Warunta through the twi, which is fenced by third parties.</p> <p>Change in hunting patterns</p> <p>Sale of hunting parts</p> <p>Population growth</p> <p>Effects of climate change on game species.</p>	<p>Tikiuraya does not believe that we should return to traditional hunting tools, because the shotgun is more efficient, but we should maintain the prohibition of hunting with dogs, which belongs to third parties (ispayul, people of dogs and guns).</p>

<sup>70</sup> There, three types of "tiger" (limi tara) are distinguished: red (limi pauni), spotted (limi buhru) and black (limi siksa).

			<p>(iii) when the yabal steps are destroyed; and (iv) when menstruating women approach.</p> <p>In Tikiuraya 3 sukias bakul protect the community from evil spirits of the forests and water. Benign spirits tell them which plants to use for healing (others are the sukias pikis, cantor, who invokes spirits; and the sukias kualtaya, who transfers spirits to the distant world).</p> <p>One-day patrols (cayuco and then on foot). No overnight stays (large lizards in the swampos), no burning so as not to affect the animals' homes. Taboos: monkeys, lora, guara, tiger and lizard.</p> <p>Extraction of wood, it is dragged to the swamp or crique and is removed in the full</p>	<p>Logs of wood from the broadleaf forest of unta tara that are extracted are taken to Kaukira by raft and canaleta, but today they are no longer traded, because they are confiscated (there is a song that describes this situation, <i>Tadka Dakban</i> by Julio Flores).</p> <p>Hunting with shotguns, but without dogs, because they scare the deer away. Problem to get ammunition, the store in Puerto Lempira does not sell it to the Miskitu (only one cartridge per day).</p> <p>Today, some hunters "kill to make some money, too". After Hurricane Iota, "some took advantage of it to sell game meat".</p> <p>Hurricane Mitch "depleted the animals".</p>			
	<p><b>Unta tasbaia</b>, foot of hills in Wampusirpi</p> <p>In Tikiuraya there are no hills, but the boundary between the plains and the unta tara can be distinguished.</p>	<p>Perimeter, matrilineage,</p> <p>In Tikiuraya, on the border between the plains and the unta tara forest, the fruit of the uhum palm tree is harvested, from which kisuma batana oil, the cash crop of this community, is extracted.</p>	<p>Considered as a reserve area for the extension of shifting cultivation.</p> <p>The uhum, whose fruit used to be harvested, is now sown in the meadows.</p> 	<p>Third parties have bought possessions certified by the Bakinasta Territorial Council from individual men in the vegas, but from there they project trails over the foot of the hills, appropriating these areas.</p> 	<p>Discharge in Wampusirpi,</p> <p>Get off at Tikiura now</p>	<p>Usurpation of third parties in Wampusirpi</p>	<p>Implementation of the Bakinasta land reclamation program</p>
	<p><b>Walpa purara</b>, high hill in Wampusirpi</p>	<p>Radial, access to the unta purara, high forest in the rock, with rituals.</p>	<p>Fear of felling a tree without paying the <i>sisin dawanka</i>, spirits that react to strange people ("one must leave a machete").</p> <p>Royal cedar (<i>winkur</i>) is cut for pipante and mahogany for cayuco or planks. Permission must be requested from the spirits that own these species</p>	<p>The pipes are nowadays made with boards and fiberglass, since the real cedar and mahogany "are being used up", to make them from hollowed trunks.</p> 	<p>Media</p>	<p>Cedar and mahogany overharvesting</p>	<p>No</p>
	<p><b>Walpa unta</b>, cave</p>	<p>Radial, for hunting with rituals</p> <p>In the Paru ilka hill lived anthropophagous people, there was a war with the normal people.</p>	<p>Different types of caves, such as the <i>buksa dusunta</i>, cave of the quequeo (wild boar), You can hunt in them, asking permission to</p>	<p>Change in rules from subsistence hunting to trade, especially in Wampusirpi, hunting by third parties for trade.</p>	<p>Media in Wampusirpi.</p> <p>Low in</p>	<p>Sale of game in Wampusirpi (mostly by third parties)</p>	<p>Recovery of territorial management norms through traditional knowledge</p>

			sukia set fire and the smoke choked them.	the owners of the animals and only for subsistence purposes.	In 1930 came the Moravian religion, forbade to talk to sukia. There are no more singing sukia in Wampusirpi, only downstream in Waksma, but there are sukia healers.  In Tikiuraya the sukias are preserved.	Tikiuraya	Decrease in rituals and change in hunting rules	
From the savannah (twi)	<b>Twí</b> , savanna. The following categories are distinguished: (i) <i>twi sahsa</i> , muddy; (ii) <i>twi pauni</i> , reddish; (iii) <i>twi bila</i> , without forest; and (iv) <i>twi dakura</i> , with forest	Radial, all the neighbors of the Baniasta communities have access.  Change of twi tenure in Tikiuraya from radial (bakahnudukia, collective) to perimetral (silpdukiam, private); enclosing cattle, to prevent theft.	In Wampusirpi, communal grazing in their twi bila and collection of pine wood for construction, firewood and ocote, not for sale, in their <i>twi dakura</i> .  In Tikiuraya: in the twi sahsa, turtle trapping, fishing and deer hunting; in the twi pauni, cattle and equine grazing and deer hunting; in the twi bila, cattle and equine grazing; and in the twi bila, cattle and equine hunting. twi dakura, extraction of palm fronds for roofing of houses	In Tikiuraya, wire fences prevent access to the Warunta unta tara and its criques and limit access to coniferous timber harvesting.    In Tikiuraya, cattle rustling ( <i>bipraskan</i> , dragging dead cows) has increased since 2020. Young people (related boys) are charged for addiction to cocaine sulfate (stone). The secondary lineages (uxorilocal draggers) do not accept to compensate for these thefts through the <i>talamana</i> system, so a crisis of jurisdiction has been created before the council of elders and consequently the entrances of the twi to the west of the Kruta River have been closed to confine the cattle.	Registration in Wampusirpi.  Media in Tikiuraya already	Usurpation of third parties in Wampusirpi  Refusal of Miskitu relatives in Tikiuraya to accept the rules of the indigenous jurisdiction of the Council of Elders based on the institution of <i>talamana</i> compensation.	Implementation Bakinasta's land reclamation project  Support for the strengthening of the indigenous jurisdiction and the compensation system for the <i>talamana</i> system	

**b. Miskitu *salwina*, salt water**



Area	Cultural use category	Access Rules	Management rules	Current sustainability	Vulnerability	Vulnerability Factor	Suggested Sustainability Adjustment
Salwina, saltwater	Kabu, sea	Free access to any person  Transportation of cargo in ships, passengers in small boats (Jamaican boats and shark boats)	Industrial shrimp fishing;  Transportation between La Ceiba or Batalla and Moskitia.	In the 1930s, people traveled to Belize to work in the extraction of mahogany, in a <i>duritara</i> , a large cayuco made of ceibo, guanacaste or mahogany, from Belize, six feet wide, with a "azulón" ( <i>buksataya</i> ) sail. They did not stop on the coast on the way, because of the presence of Garifuna, whom they preferred to avoid.  The first activity of the Miskitu in the sea was the capture of sea turtles; later, shrimp fishing in the bars with a fishing line; and in '55 American traders introduced lobster fishing in Roatán, which began to incorporate the Miskitu as divers and cayuqueros.  Because of the impossibility of navigating along the lagoon system, small passenger boats often have to go out to sea, with serious risks for the passengers.	Media	Risk of shipwreck of passenger boats (Jamaican and shark boats) at sea	Adoption of a channel dredging program to interconnect the lagoon system.

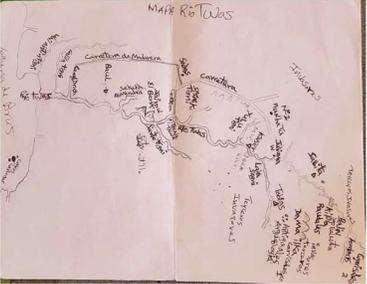
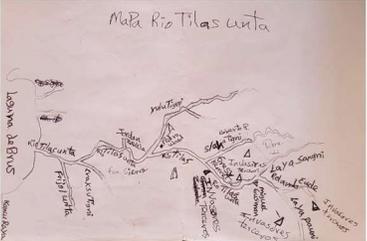
	<p><b>Bank</b>, reef, located approximately 200 nautical miles from the coast.</p> <p>Free access to any person to the reef banks (underwater).</p> <p>Four matrilineages (Goff, Paisano, Zavala and Eude) have industrial fishing boats.</p> <p>Most of the boats are from Roatan (caracoles) and La Ceiba (ladinos), which are associated with Americans and Chinese.</p> <p>Binationality with Nicaraguan vessels is permitted.</p>	<p>The Miskitu are the preferred divers for lobster fishing boats, and diving is the main source of income for the Miskitu Salwina.</p> <p>30 divers with immersion equipment, 30 and 10 crew members per boat.</p> <p>Cooperation between ships, no conflicts, except when there are armed attacks</p>	<p>Divers affected by decompression sickness, who do not receive timely hyperbaric chamber care.</p> <p>PAHO estimated in 2004 that 97% of the 9000 Miskitu divers (in Nicaragua and Honduras) had suffered from decompression sickness; and almost half of them developed a total or partial disability. The Honduran Association of Crippled Divers (AMHBLI) estimates that 500 have died.</p> <p>The IACHR ruling (Buzos Miskitus vs. Honduras) of August 31, 2021, only covered 42 divers.</p> <p>The Honduran government has supported the families of crippled divers in the past with housing (98 houses in six municipalities) and food programs, but not at present.</p> <p>Manifestation of payment to divers with cocaine sulfate (stone) on boats</p>	High	<p>Inadequate diving equipment</p> <p>Lack of training and control for staggered decompression of divers</p> <p>Lack of availability of offshore hyperbaric chambers.</p> <p>Lack of control of the supply of cocaine sulfate to divers on ships</p>	<p>Financing of Miskitu matrilineages of ships equipped with single-seater hyperbaric chambers.</p> <p>Adoption of a legal framework for the regulation of lobster fishing.</p>
<p><b>Key</b>, small keys, located approximately 100 nautical miles from the coast.</p> <p>In the Brus Lagoon is located Cayo Cañones, Woodkika, headquarters of the pirate Brewers and later of the Wood matrilineage. A hotel operated there.</p>	<p>Radial, any Miskitu fisherman can access a key for fishing. The Miskitu understand the cays as part of their territory, for their exclusive use.</p> <p>Boats from the matrilineages haul boats to the cays so that sea cucumber (in the summer) and jellyfish (August and September) fishermen can settle there during those seasons.</p>	<p>Fishing in compliance with spawning closures</p> <p>Sea cucumber, snail, some lobster, king crab and red fish (suapa). Artisanal fishing.</p> <p>Family members help the artisanal fishermen by providing them with salt brought from La Ceiba (100 bags per boat). Sea cucumber, shark and red snapper are salted, especially for the Easter market.</p>	<p>With the support of Miskitu boat trawling to the keys, the dominant matrilineage families, especially the younger ones, have been able to increase their stock of boats and equipment, which in turn has allowed them to increase their catches and income.</p>  <p>However, these small cays, during the fishing season, are overused by the different fishing parties that take "posts" establishing themselves in binks, and are becoming more and more crowded. So far, no conflicts between Brus Laguna fishing parties have been reported.</p> 	Download	Overpopulation of Miskitu artisanal fishermen in the cays	Adoption of a protocol for the use of the cays by the Salwina territorial councils.
	<p><b>Raya</b>, lido</p> <p>Perimetral, from the owners of sectors of the rays. Some of the stripes contain settlements</p>	Reserve land is considered for settlement or future tourism developments	<p>On the border between Warta and Wauh in Brus Laguna operated a French coconut company, Tuksicocal, owned by a Mr. Lafitte, with 300 workers, who later sold those lands to Brus Laguna families.</p> <p>The prospects for the establishment of tourist facilities in the rays (some of which have beaches of up to 20 kilometers long) are low, both because of the risk of hurricanes and the perception of insecurity in the area. drug trafficking boom in the area.</p>	Download	Perception of insecurity due to the presence of drug traffickers	No

	<p><b>Auhya,</b> sandy beach</p>	<p>Radial, all fishermen have access to the beach (to build their <i>bink</i>) for artisanal marine and saltwater capture fishing activities from their shore.</p> 	<p>Fishing with cayuco, buoy with line of hooks, shark and red snapper.</p> <p>Bink, fisherman's hut</p>	<p>Conflict between artisanal fishermen and industrial shrimp boats, which damage the nets they set with buoys.</p> <p>Digepesca is considered "a figurehead"; "they don't even have an engine"; "they charge divers a license".</p> <p>Fishing activity intensifies between January and April, in preparation for Easter week, salting the catch. It is considered that with this activity the fishing families obtain adequate monetary resources to "make it through the year". The buyers are ladinos who enter through Batalla.</p>	Download	<p>Industrial shrimp trawlers do not comply with the five-mile restriction and affect artisanal fishermen's nets.</p>	<p>Control by Digepesca of the intrusion of industrial fishermen, especially shrimp fishermen, into the artisanal fishing protection area.</p>
	<p><b>Warta,</b> where the lagoon system communicates with the sea, a transit point to and from the shrimp mangroves and where fish are concentrated.</p>	<p>Radial, all fishermen have access to the rod.</p> <p>Fishing is concentrated on the bars, especially for mangrove shrimp, which, once developed, must pass through them to access the sea and then return for spawning.</p>	<p>Trap and spear fishing</p> <p>Shrimp fishing with a line</p>	<p>Two thieving businessmen (Lázaro Molina of Cortés and Rafael Gutierrez of Olancho) introduced trammel nets in the '79.</p> <p>Jellyfish processing plant at Brus Bar, now abandoned</p> <p>Due to the effect of the currents, the cocaine packages abandoned at sea by the boats of drug traffickers that are being pursued end up accumulating on the bars, where they are picked up by the local inhabitants, especially in Barra Patuca.</p> <p>In Barra Patuca, "which is more Afro than Miskitu", the manatee taboo is not respected.</p> <p>Industrial shrimp trawlers do not respect the five miles of protection for industrial fishing, they preferentially locate themselves on the bars and "take the nets of artisanal fishermen with their boats and nets".</p> 	Media	<p>Industrial shrimp trawlers do not comply with the five-mile restriction and affect artisanal fishermen's nets.</p> <p>Trammel fishing</p>	<p>Control by Digepesca of the intrusion of industrial fishermen, especially shrimp fishermen, into the artisanal fishing protection area.</p> <p>Regulation of trammel net mesh opening and supervision by Digepesca</p>
	<p><b>Lakun salkira,</b> salt lagoon</p>	<p>Radial, all Miskitu fishermen have access, which does not allow third party fishing in the Brus Lagoon.</p> <p>Free access for transportation.</p>	<p>Presence of <i>Liwa mairin</i>, the siren, which can affect those who do not comply with the management rules of the Brus lagoon and its mangroves.</p> <p>Artisanal fishing, bow, harpoon and arrow, atarraya and hook, (buoy with string). Shrimp, snook, caguacha, corvina, mullet, white catfish and machaca are caught.</p>	<p>Fishing in the lagoon is both subsistence and commercial. It is mainly done with dugout canoes.</p> <p>The pipantes are boats adapted to river navigation, but present a high risk when navigating in the lagoon, which is subject to swells. When the wind increases, pilots prefer to cross the lagoon through its center, rather than navigate along the mangrove or stingray banks, in order to save gasoline. Several fatal accidents have been reported due to sinking, when water from the swell enters the pipante, increasing its weight.</p> 	Media	<p>Presence of pipeline traffic in the Brus Lagoon.</p> 	<p>Establishment of closures during spawning seasons.</p> <p>Regulation and monitoring of boat traffic in the lagoon by Digepesca, in terms of prohibition of traffic when the lagoon is affected by winds, maximum load weight and the obligation to carry life jackets for passengers.</p>

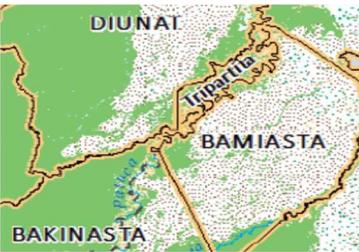
<p><b>Laulu pliska,</b> mangrove</p>	<p>Radial for the Miskitu. Third parties are not allowed to enter the mangroves for fishing and gathering (firewood, dyes, leaves and raicilla for traditional medicine).</p> <p>House of shrimp (tingni silpi)</p> <p>Mangrove is used to build bink, fishermen's huts.</p>	<p>Spawning and breeding grounds for red and black shrimp, shrimp are fished only from February to May for subsistence, when they make their way to the sea.</p> <p>Prohibition of manatee hunting.</p> <p>Humble people" are allowed to build their houses with mangrove.</p> <p>Fallen mangroves can be used for post-harvesting.</p>	<p>Industrial fishermen have tried to influence Digepeca to prohibit the capture of artisanal shrimp in Brus Lagoon.</p> <p>Brus Laguna's Twitanta neighborhood is home to shrimp trawlers.</p>  <p>Diunat's board believes that the increasing activity in the mangroves should be regulated by the board.</p>	<p>Download</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>
<p><b>Lakun kahula,</b> cold, fresh, freshwater lagoon.</p> <p>The Rapa Lagoon is the largest lagoon, connected by canals with the Brus Lagoon and the Patuca River.</p> 	<p>Radial for Miskitu fishermen; third parties are not allowed in the Rapa Lagoon.</p> <p>Perimeter fence for the banks of the Rapa Lagoon.</p>	<p>Snook and tilapia fishing with hooks, nets suspended on buoys and atarraya.</p> <p>Fishing mainly for subsistence, although surpluses are sold.</p> <p>Presence of the water tiger and ghost boats (<i>iwa butka</i>), which harm fishermen, when they overfish.</p> <p>Taboo for crocodile hunting</p> <p>Fishing families, especially those from the poorest neighborhoods of Brus Laguna, build their bink on the banks of the lagoon.</p>	<p>The fact that access to the lagoon is limited by canals and its remoteness from third party encroachment has allowed the Rapa lagoon to remain in the hands of the Miskitu.</p>  <p>However, the dominant matrilineages of Brus Laguna, associated with drug trafficking and the municipal administration, have been appropriating the western shore of the Rapa Lagoon, neighboring the Twi, by purchase and expansion, where they are developing African palm plantation projects.</p> <p>Today, "all of Rapa has an owner"; permission must be requested to access the lagoon by land, so free access from Brus Laguna is through the canals.</p> <p>In 1983, with Hurricane Gertz, tilapia appeared, which the local people perceive as "a blessing". From November to December, snook are caught; and from April to May, tilapia, which are the spawning months in the Rapa Nui Lagoon.</p> <p>The Duinat Territorial Council believes that regulation of the size of the networks is needed.</p> <p>According to the Duinat Territorial Council, the territory could produce the rice and beans consumed in the Moskitia. According to their calculation, "between four and five thousand arrobos of rice enter the Moskitia from La Ceiba, "which could be planted on the banks of the Rapa Lagoon".</p>	<p>It descends into the lagoon; average on its banks</p>	<p>Appropriation of the banks of the Rapa Lagoon by matrilineages that impede access to the lagoon and the twi</p> <p>Fishing with nets of inadequate size</p> <p>Lack of a closure system for the lagoon</p>	<p>Adoption of a protocol by the Duinat Territorial Council to regulate fishing and the occupation of the banks of the Rapa Lagoon.</p>
<p><b>Awala tasbaika,</b> broadleaved gallery forest along</p>	<p>Perimetral matrilineage.</p> <p>Each matrilineage was settled</p>	<p>The place where shifting cultivation is established, the cultivation of semi-crop musaceous</p>	<p>Third parties and people from the matrilineages with money, some of them associated with drug trafficking, have bought awala tasbaika and put pressure on neighbors who have not sold, especially along the banks of the Patuca River.</p>	<p>Media</p>	<p>Loss of matrilineage possessions due to purchase or</p>	<p>Diunat land reclamation</p> <p>Adoption of a legal framework</p>

			crops			
of rivers, streams and fresh water lagoons	<p>in "two, three laps" of the river.</p> <p>Within the matrilineage, lots are assigned to nuclear families.</p> <p>The boundaries of the properties are marked with mango, masapan, supa and coconut trees.</p> <p>Land conflicts between Miskitu are defined by the Council of Elders by segmentary method.</p>	<p>and permanent polycultures.</p> <p>The settlements in the Awala Tasbaika are not permanent, and are understood as "work sites" for families living in the Brus Laguna neighborhoods. During planting or harvesting seasons, families move to them.</p>	<p>Collaboration of Diunat's Territorial Council and the municipality's justice and land registry departments for evictions. "they have let them take out their harvest and then leave".</p> <p>Many families have been left without land, encouraging migration: "the women go to Spain, the men to the USA" and unemployment, which is worsening due to the addiction of young people to cocaine sulfate (stone). Brus Laguna, with 1,700 inhabitants, has 24 sales of this substance. At night, the streets surrounding these sales are filled with cipotes wandering in search of an opportunity to get a dose.</p> <p>For the purposes of boundary disputes of possessions in the awala tasbaika, the talamana (compensation between kinship segments) was being lost.</p>		<p>pressure from third parties and other "moneyed" matrilineages</p> <p>Unemployment and dependence among young people on cocaine sulfate use.</p> <p>Jurisdictional functions of territorial councils inoperative due to lack of sanctioning power</p>	<p>indigenous jurisdiction regulatory framework for the Territorial Councils</p>
<b>Swampo, wetland</b>	<p>Communal access radial.</p> <p>On the sahsa shore, between the swampo and the twi, livestock is kept</p>	<p>Hunting area due to the presence of deer and communal grazing site.</p>	<p>Change of tenure from radial to perimeter in several wetlands, especially those located in the twi, but also those near rivers.</p>  <p>An "internal regulation" of indigenous jurisdiction of DIUNAT has been prepared "on how to sanction", which has been submitted to the Government (Interior and Justice) "so that it does not rise up against it".</p>	High	<p>Appropriation of wetlands by dominant matrilineages</p>	<p>Adoption by the Diunat Territorial Council of the prohibition to affect wetlands.</p>
<b>Salhkan, channel</b>	<p>Free access for transportation between the lagoon system and the Patuca and Plátano rivers.</p>	<p>Communities use the pana pana system to deepen the canals, sometimes with contributions from the municipalities.</p>	<p>Depending on the fullness, the bodies of water and the canals that connect Brus Laguna with the Patuca River and the Rapa Lagoon have been modified, requiring modifications to the canals.</p> 	Media	<p>Channels that become clogged with sediments, especially in the "full" ones.</p>	<p>Adoption of a channel dredging program to interconnect the lagoon system with the rivers.</p>

	<b>Awa dakara</b> , pine forest, located in the twi.	Radial, for communal use	Wood for use in construction.  Logging by woodcutters	Appropriation of the <i>twi</i> by dominant matrilineages has made access to pine forests difficult, requiring permission to pass.	Download	Matrilinages that have been appropriating the twi, that access to the products and services.	Adoption of a protocol by the Territorial Council of Diunat for the
			miskitu, who sell the boards.			pine forests	regulation of twi use

<p><b>Insla</b>, farm. They are located in the <i>awala tasbaika</i> or in the headwaters of the <i>awala wihta</i> rivers.</p> <p>Depending on the crop, the areas are called <i>rais nasla</i>, rice cultivation; or <i>bins nasla</i>, bean cultivation.</p> <p>When it has permanent polycultures, it is given the category of "establecimiento de farm".</p>	<p>Perimetral, matrilineage or nuclear family</p>	<p>From December to March they "chapea", with itinerant agriculture (guamil), beans, corn and yucca; and from May to July, rice. Extended families, from grandparents to grandchildren, settle in <i>binkis</i> (up to 4 or 5 huts per extended family), where they also fish. They hunt iguanas. Half an apple of beans is enough for the year.</p> <p>The frequency of fallow is three years.</p> <p>The most common polycultures include coconut, marzipan, mango and licha.</p> <p>Before the usurpation of the third parties "each Miskitu had his plot of land", "if he killed a cow or hunted a deer or an iguana, he shared it out".</p>	<p>Media</p>  <p>The farther the islands are from Brus Laguna, the less control the Miskitu can maintain over them, due to third party invasions in the headwaters of the Sikre and Twas rivers.</p>  <p>Several matrilineages that had islands in the Twas River, Tilasunta, in the Tripartite Zone (middle Patuca River) and in the headwaters of the Sikre River have not been able to return to them due to invasions by third parties, some of them associated with drug trafficking.</p>   <p>While the invasions of the headwaters of the Sikre River and its tributaries come from the south and west (Colón),</p>	<p>Media</p>	<p>Third-party invasions have displaced the Miskitu from their islands in the Sikre, Twas and Tilasunta rivers.</p> <p>Illegal road to Las Marias</p> <p>Coexistence of the Municipality of Brus Laguna with third party invaders</p>	<p>Diunat land reclamation</p> <p>Support for the organization of indigenous cooperatives to generate jobs</p> <p>Support for the study of alternatives for obtaining revenues by the territorial councils</p> <p>Adoption of a legal framework regulating indigenous jurisdiction for the Territorial Councils.</p>
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<b>Tingni,</b> criques/qu ebradas	<p>Radial, accessible to all Miskitu fishermen and hunters.</p> <p>There are deer and jagüilla in Rapa's crique</p>	<p>Hunting for subsistence and for pana pana exchanges in the traditional Miskitu economy.</p>	<p>The ravines have been incorporated into the matrilineage possessions, so permission must be requested to hunt in them.</p> <p>Miskitu hunters can no longer enter the streams at the headwaters of the rivers and in the surrounding unta tara, due to the occupation of third parties in Carrizal and in the streams that feed the Sikre and Twas and Tilasunta rivers.</p> 	Media	<p>Occupation of the third streams in Carrizal and tributaries of the Sikre, Twas and Tilasunta rivers</p>	Diunat land reclamation	
<b>Unta tara,</b> mountain, forest.	<p>Radial, for access to hunters and gatherers</p> <p>Hunting of peacock, agouti, guatusa, quequeo, jagüilla, deer, danto, etc.</p>	<p>They go on the same day on horseback, from the bank (temporary posts) of the islands; and then they go on antin (hunting).</p> <p>Hunting for subsistence, if you hunt too much, "you get the owners of the animals".</p> <p>The ceibo "has an owner", the big ones cannot be cut".</p>	<p>They only hunt for subsistence, but this consumption and trade is restricted to the islands, "because if they take it to town, they confiscate the game".</p> <p>CAIFUL is a forestry cooperative that exports 100,000 ft3 per year, pays a fee to DIUNAT, has a forest management plan, has not complied with its reforestation obligations, and has been fined by the ICF.</p> <p>ICF continues to issue logging permits without taking into account the Territorial Council "and the municipality wants to continue charging".</p> <p>To the third party "a sacred site is not enough for him, his law is that of weapons", as in the case of the hill of dama ilka (hill of the grandfather or of the sukia Mikitrik Glaspat, who "walked in the fire"), which the third parties of Carrizales have occupied.</p>	Media	<p>Occupation and clearing of the unta tara forest and dama ilka hill of cultural significance for the Miskitu in the headwaters of the Sikre river.</p> <p>Occupation and clearing of third parties in the inter-river forests between the Sikre, Twas and Tilasunta rivers.</p> <p>Association of the</p>	Diunat land reclamation	

						third party invaders of the inter-riverine forests with the drug trafficking	
	<p><b>Awala</b>, river. The Diunat territory extends from Brus Laguna south to the headwaters of the Patuca and Uhra rivers.</p> <p>A sector of the middle Patuca River is tripartite, between the Diunat (Brus Laguna, Bamiasta (Awas), Bakinasta (Wampusir pi) and Batiasta (Barra Patuca) territories.</p>	<p>Radial, of free access for anyone for fishing and transportation, but whose banks and vegas awala un, are perimetral, of the matrilineages, where their headwaters belong to dominant matrilineages.</p> <p>The control of the Brus Laguna matrilineages over the headwaters of the Sikre and Tuskruwas rivers is precarious, which takes 14 hours of navigation to reach these headwaters.</p>	<p>Artisanal mining by panning is allowed in the Sikre River canyons.</p>	<p>In 2008, third party encroachment began in the headwaters of the Sikre and Tuskruwas rivers, where dredges and pumps have been installed for gold mining, contaminating the rivers with mercury and displacing Miskitu artisanal miners; and the unta tara forest has been cleared to establish cattle ranches, which will accelerate during the pandemic (2020-2021).</p> <p>A single person from Copán manages 100 workers clearing debris, there are more than 30 cattle ranchers in Ulakwas, Tambawas and in the Tripartita area, coming from Colón and Olancho.</p> <p>Mercury in the Sikre River has poisoned cattle, horses and tapirs; "three people have arrived at the hospital with sores on their arms and legs." "SENASA does nothing. The mercury content in the rivers and fish in the Brus Lagoon has not been investigated. Palaceños "do not like the fish from the Brus lagoon, they say that it gives them vomit, rashes and "bolencia" (dizziness)". In the crescent "the water from Brus reaches the Ibans lagoon", so it is presumed that it is also contaminating it.</p>  <p>Dominant matrilineages of Brus Laguna linked to drug trafficking, which have been appropriating the twi sold to third parties the southern tip of the Diunat twi bordering the unta tara, from where they have been usurping the meadows and forests of the foothills of the Sikre and Tuskruwas rivers, preventing access to the matrilineages that had established islands on those lands.</p> <p>An armed gang of Wawina, former garde du corps of a drug trafficker, extorts illegal miners and third party usurpers in that area and in the tripartite territory Diunat, Bamiasta, Bakinasta.</p>  <p>According to the Miskitu imaginary in Brus Laguna, "we live in the swamp, while the wealth (wood, gold) is above, in the swamp".</p>	High	<p>Illegal gold mining with dredges and pumps in the Sikre River.</p> <p>Contamination of the Sikre River and the salt lagoon system of the Diunat territory with mercury. "</p> <p>Government inaction to dislodge mining illegal-</p>	<p>Insist on repeated requests to the government to proceed with the eviction of illegal mining.</p> <p>Strengthening of the Banana River Biosphere Land Watch Committee</p> <p>Opposition to the road to Cañizales by the "Asociación de Ganaderos de Brus Laguna".</p>

How can we claim? With our representatives in Congress and international cooperation"; we have been taking care of our ancestors so that later others can come and get rich"; "We can be the granary of the Moskitia". "It is necessary to teach how to work, how to manage warehouses, purchase, sale, transport, seed management".

There are no protocols or funds for the operation of the sanitation commission created under decree PCM-042; "INA consults with third parties".

Third party usurpers organized in the "Asociación de Ganaderos de Brus Laguna", who lobby the municipal government for the legalization of their possessions with the arguments that they would pay land tax and generate employment; and the approval of new highways.

In Las Marías (which belongs to the Municipality of Brus Laguna), in one year the number of voters increased from 600 to 1,200, due to the vote of the ladinos from the invasion of Carrizal.

The Territorial Councils have been involved in the construction of these roads.



**CONSTANCIA DE INVALIDES A LA FIRMA DEL DOCUMENTO FIRMADO CON FECHA: 21 DIAS DEL MES DE MAYO DEL AÑO 2023, ENTRE LA ASOCIACIÓN DE GANADEROS DEL MUNICIPIO DE BRUS LAGUNA - AGABRUL Y EL CONCEJO TRIBU PECH DE LAS MARIAS**

Notificamos los concejos territoriales de la Biosfera de Rio Platano, (RAYAKA, DIUNAT, BAKINASTA, BARAUDA, BAMIASTA Y BATAIATA), con asiento en la Biosfera de Rio Platano, MANIFESTAMOS nuestra preocupación por la constancia de compromiso firmado entre la asociación de ganaderos del municipio de Brus Laguna -AGABRUL y el concejo Tribu Pech de las Marías. Con fecha 21 del mes de mayo del año 2023, con la justificación de que la carretera le servirá a la población del Tribu Pech de las Marías, para responder a Emergencia comunitaria: Traslado de enfermos, emergencia por salud, Mercadería y Transporte. Según documento fue Consentado con la comunidad PECH el 22 día del mes de abril 2023. Investigado en la comunidad y las de más miembros de la junta directiva el documento fue firmado solamente por el presidente, secretario y otros líderes comunarios que no pertenece a la junta directiva del concejo.

**SOLICITUD DE LOS CTI DE LA BIOSFERA DE RIO PLATANO AL CTI PECH DE LAS MARIAS**

Los concejos territoriales de la Biosfera de Rio Platano a través de una comisión especial encabezado por el señor Rolando Eude presidente de DIUNAT de Brus Laguna y con el acompañamiento de la comisión MAB de la Biosfera de Rio Platano, el señor Jairo Wood Granwell, juntos concierne ante la junta directiva Tribu Pech de las Marías en una reunión de diálogo en donde solicita a nombre de los concejos territoriales para que **INVALIDE LA FIRMA DE LA CONSTANCIA FIRMADO CON FECHA: 21 DIAS DEL MES DE MAYO DEL AÑO 2023, ENTRE LA ASOCIACIÓN DE GANADEROS DEL MUNICIPIO DE BRUS LAGUNA -AGABRUL Y EL CONCEJO TRIBU PECH DE LAS MARIAS**

Esta solicitud se hace por las siguientes consideraciones:

1. No hubo consulta comunitaria sobre el tema
2. La propuesta de la posible carretera comienza en el territorio de Brus Laguna-DIUNAT y traspasa tierras del concejo territorial de RAYAKA, y nunca fue consultado CPLI
3. Los concejos territoriales RAYAKA y DIUNAT, no sedera acceso a utilizar tierra y brasa en su territorio
4. Según el polígono de las tierras a utilizar la mayor parte de la bracha estaría en las tierras de propiedad privada de los concejos territoriales vecino y por no respetar la CPLI, que es derecho indígena, exigimos al señor Bonifacio Mejía presidente-CTI DE LAS MARIAS, anular este documento, y dejar sin efecto legal alguna, caso contrario Los CTI,

realizara acciones de demanda nacional e internacional por la violación de los derechos indígenas y ocupación de sus tierras y territorios, sobre todo por la inconstitucionalidad a la CPLI.

**Acto de invalidación a la firma de la constancia**

Yo Bonifacio Mejía Martínez presidente del concejo Tribu Pech de las Marías y Luz Marías Edean Barnebas - secretario del mismo CTP DE LAS MARIAS, por todas las consideraciones de los concejos territoriales indígenas, RAYAKA, DIUNAT y con la solidaridad de los CTI, BAKINASTA, BAMIASTA, BATAIATA Y BARAUDA.

**HACEPTAMOS:**

Invalidar la firma en la constancia firmado con fecha: 21 días del mes de mayo del año 2023, entre la asociación de ganaderos del municipio de Brus Laguna -AGABRUL y el Concejo Tribu Pech de las Marías.

**LA RAZONES SON LAS SIGUIENTES**

- Primero:** Acepto y confirmamos que la consulta libre previo e informado no se realizó en el territorio y mucho menos la consulta inter territoriales
- Segundo:** No analizamos que la brecha se iba tocar tierras de propiedad de otros concejos territoriales.
- Tercero:** En el momento de la firma, no consideramos la importancia sobre la CPLI, entre los concejos territoriales, (RAYAKA, DIUNAT, BAKINASTA, BARAUDA Y BAMIASTA).
- Cuarto:** No contamos con ninguna constancia de consentimiento alcanzado de un concejo territorial
- Quinto:** También entendemos ahora los daños ecológicos y faunísticos que dejaría la brecha para la construcción de la carretera.

Dado en las Marías a los catorce días del mes de abril del año 2024

Jairo Wood Granwell  
Comisario de la BRP

José María López Méndez  
Abog. Yuridico Peña Turcios

VEEDORES  
Rolando Eude Lopez  
presidente - DIUNAT

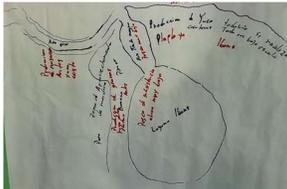
José Luis centeno  
presidente-RAYAKA

	<p><b>Twi</b>, savannah. The Diunat territory has a twi from Brus Laguna to the headwaters of the Sikre River and between the Patuca and Uhra rivers.</p>	<p>Radial, for community use, both for pine timber harvesting and for raising cattle and horses.</p>	<p>Wood is taken from the awas dakura pine forest up to 4.5 km from the rivers or lagoons to be transported by water in the full ones, to be used in construction. Fallen trees are preferred, when they are cut, it is done in the waning moon."</p>	<p>The twi is still collective, third parties have not occupied it "only bits and pieces"; but "everything has an owner", there are measures and fences, since families have been establishing individual paddocks bip pinska, for fear of theft and usurpation of land. The sawmillers have to ask for permission, and there are conflicts for that reason.</p> <p>Livestock is kept "to finance the children's studies".</p> <p>Third parties who log, "do not respect the moon".</p> <p>In 2010 drug trafficking entered, establishing tracks and taking over territorial control in 2016, with "loss of territory, flora and fauna", changes in lifestyle, presence of pack mules, change of attitude of young people, connivance of churches, construction of clandestine tracks, alliance of drug traffickers with municipal authorities and with dominant matrilineages of Brus Laguna. "Facing drug trafficking "we did not know what to do".</p> <p>Diunat has been seeking the guidance of the elderly through interviews, in 99' these consultations were going to be carried out, but the Territorial Council was threatened; "now, there is more freedom". In 2023, it was possible to four days with the elderly "revisiting the maps of Herlihy".</p>	<p>Media</p>	<p>Twi's encirclement from the Rapa Lagoon by dominant matrilineages associated with drug trafficking.</p> <p>Illegal runway construction</p>	<p>Adoption of an "Own Territorial Law".</p> <p>Cultural recovery and visibility campaigns (based on participatory mapping with Peter Herlihy of the U. of Kansas Department of Geography).</p> <p>Orientation of the elderly</p>
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### 3. Garifuna

Cultural use category	Access Rules	Management rule	Current sustainability	Vulnerability	Vulnerability Factor	Suggested Sustainability Adjustment
<b>Barana</b> , sea	Radial, free-standing  access for all, including the industrial fishing (which is not Garifuna)	Some families  Garifuna have cargo ships, but not of industrial fishing. Industrial sin  should not interfere with the artisanal fishing de laru laru bella	Sustainable.  Ship owners Garifuna preferred to sell them to avoid suspicions of association with drug trafficking. Industrial shrimpers do not respect the protection limits of artisanal fishing	Low	Presence of drug trafficking by shrimpers industrialists who do not respect the limits of the artisanal fishing.	Presence of DIGIPESCA to make comply the fishing limits handcrafted for the shrimp trawlers industrial.
<b>Laru laru bella</b> , the shore of the beach, after where the waves break	Radial, free access for artisanal fishing, but restricted to Garifuna only. 	Hook, spear, bow and arrow and atarray, fishing only for food sovereignty. Conservation of sea turtle nests (there is a Garifuna association dedicated to this protection). a Garifuna association dedicated to this protection). Fishing was shared through the eida turú (my neighbor shares).	Moderately sustainable. Decrease in artisanal fishing due to: Introduction of trammel nets since 1970. In 65" fishing began to sell dried fish during Holy Week (ladinos access Bacalar by road to buy fish).   With 10-15% of dried fish "the year is done". Some Garifuna go fishing as far as Barra Patuca). Competition from Palacios natives from the Bay Islands ("snails" who arrived in the 50's to set up a sawmill in Palacios). Decrease in the reciprocity of eida turú.	Medium	Lack of regulation of trammel netting. Presence of Palacian fishermen, Monetization of the traditional economy.	Regulation of trammel netting. Presence of DIGIPESCA to enforce compliance with trammel netting regulations.
<b>Leibaragun dune</b> , water that runs, channel that joins the lagoon of Bacalar with the lagoon of Ibans.	Radial, free-standing access for artisanal fishing. 	Hook, harpoon, bow and arrow and tended line, fishing only for food sovereignty.	Moderately sustainable. Decrease in fishing handcrafted by: Introduction of the trammel netting and competition of the palaceños with trawl nets. "Since there is no authority, the one who comes from outside comes to destroy and we to endure starvation." 	Medium	Fishing for palace inhabitants with trellises made of trawling	Prohibition of trammels of drag the channel and presence of DIGIPESCA to enforce the regulation
<b>Lidunai blagriva / sico</b> , Tinto rivers and Sico	Perimeter. Each family had its plot	Las vegas de these rivers were workplaces, where the planted beans, rice, cassava brave and musaceae that is the basis	Unsustainable. Third that were buying land and introducing beef cattle. No one was responsible for the damages of the livestock to the fields, the which increased sales to third parties. Some Garifuna were expelled. Remain little. The cultivation areas are moved to other locations, the	High	Presence of third parties and drug traffickers. Expulsion, hoarding and purchase of land. The vegas de los rivers went from be areas of	Implementation by the State of the sanitation of the territory Garifuna of Barauda and presence of the institutions of justice, for

			<p>cassava and musaceae to ahud (lido sand). Perception of defenselessness in the face of drug trafficking and third parties. Fear, panic, cases of post-traumatic stress.</p>	<p>cultivation of the use cultural nabunagun a livestock area viñare - duade.</p>	<p>pursue the crimes environmental and ensure the physical security</p>
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					Sensitive drop in safety food and crisis of emigration.	of the population Garifuna, from Council Territorial Barauda and de your authorities traditional
<b>Grig</b> , crique.	Radial, fishing for	Hook, harpoon, bow and arrow and tended line, fishing only for the sovereignty food.	Unsustainable. They fished in the and the bankruptcies, which are already little because they have dried up due to deforestation	High	Deforestation of third parties	Implementation by the State from sanitation of the territory Garifuna from Barauda
<b>Ladarahgun dune</b> , water open; or <b>lagunu</b> , lagoon	Radial, fishing for	Fishing livelihood to at from the lagoon from Ibans 	Moderately sustainable. Decrease in fishing in the Ibans lagoon, for the use of trawl gillnetting by the Palaceños. The Garifuna have also adopted trammel nets to be able to compete with the palaceños, contributing to the decline of the stock of fishing 	Media	Fishing trammels with from trawling	Regulation of the meshes of trammel nets. Presence of DIGIPESCA to make comply with the regulation of the mesh size of the trammel nets.
<b>Dihe lagunu</b> , lagoon swampy	House from animals, with presence of mangroves. Radial in summer on your margins, for grazing from cattle.	Dihe lagunu marshy area conservation (lizards, desobe)	Sustainable. The lagoon at Paptatiqui is preserved, but the palaceños fish in it with hook.	Download	Agreement customary to protect the wetlands	No
<b>Guruba le</b> , mangrove	House of animals, place of the shrimp, protected area	Prohibition of capture of shrimps in inside the mangrove	Sustainable. The mangrove of Paptatiqui is preserved by agreement with the palaceños	Download	Agreement between Garifuna and palace for preserve the mangrove of the wetland of Paptatiqui	No
<b>Sagadi le</b> , pasture	Radial in the plains of Baltimore, route average of the grazing seasonal cattle ("vagrancy") Garifuna (Plaplaya) and Miskitu (Ibans) surrounding the Ibans lagoon, from the dihe lagoon of Paptatiqui (summer, territory Barauda) to	Grazing transhumant and seasonal was of cattle property of the Garifuna of Plaplaya and the Miskitu of Evans.	Unsustainable. Grazing seasonal was interrupted 15 years ago years for the hoarding of land by third parties to the north of Baltimore Hill and up of the mouth of the river Bahanaka and of course diseases to children (according to the Ministry of Health) by stepping on the manure from the cows that are deposited in the ahud of Plaplaya and in the lido (stripe) of the Miskitu settlements of Ibans - Belen - Cocobila. Conflict between Plaplaya (Garifuna) and Ibans (Miskitu), for the titling of the southern shore-of Lake Ibans, which is located in the western be solved by an agreement	High	Usurpation of lands by part of third parties on the plains of Baltimore	Implementation by the State of the sanitation of the territory shared by Baltimore.

	the ahud of Plaplaya (winter), passing through the Ibans stripe (territory Rayaka)		between the family heads of the dominant matrilineages of Plaplaya and Belen and reflected in the issuance of two securities by ICT: 2,600 Has exclusively for Barauda and 6,000 ha shared between Miskitu and Garifuna in Baltimore.			
<b><i>Viñare duade,</i></b> livestock area	Perimeter, of owned by families extensive or	Prohibition to the grazing itinerant. Cattle must	Moderately sustainable. With the gradual reduction of areas for wawuru shifting cultivation wägü, because of the invasion of the	Downl oad	Change of a model of grazing transhumant and	Implementation by the State of the sanitation of

	nuclear. In Plaplaya there is an association of Garifuna cattle ranchers with 30 members.	in individualized paddocks.	third, in many guamil plots, the frequency of fallow has been reduced, causing grazing. Other families have been reducing their cultivated areas and sowing grass to make room for cattle that can no longer graze. itinerant shepherding		collective to a family one in individual paddocks.	the Tinto and Sico rivers, to recover the guamil wawuru wägü areas.
<b>Gudi gati</b> , pinal	Radial, permission from the local board of trustees is required for logging.	Use of pine trees for housing, not for sale	Sustainable. Regulation is maintained	Download	Regulation and monitoring of Plaplaya's board of trustees	Strengthening of local boards of trustees, which lack resources
<b>Dabia</b> , mountain, primary forest	Radial	Hunting and gathering activities	Unsustainable. The dabia forest has been reduced by third party occupation. It is no longer hunted.	High	Land encroachment and deforestation by third parties	Implementation by the State of the sanitation of the Garifuna territory of Barauda
<b>Ahud</b> , sandbank, lido; where inhabited places are located.	Perimeter. Nuclear family rights (homes, businesses) and extended family crop lots. Restricted to Garifuna and some Miskitu population	Both the construction of housing and the establishment of permanent crop plots (cassava and musaceae) require a permit from the permission of the local board of trustees	Sustainable. The dwellings are lined up along the ahud in its central part and on the channel that joins the Ibans lagoon with the Tinto river. The cultivate the central part and towards the beautiful laru laru laru beach. 	Download	Change of cultural use of the central part of the ahud, from wiye guati cattle ranching to permanent crops, Bunagüo	No
<b>Ubudu</b> , inhabited place	Restricted to Garifuna and some Miskitu.	Permission from the local patronage or Territorial Council is required to settle and build a house.	Moderately sustainable. With the loss of food sovereignty, the monetization of the traditional economy (65% market, 5% ETI) and the lack of employment and entrepreneurship opportunities, the most important monetary income is remittances. This is reflected in Ubudu in the abandonment of homes. Fear of third parties and drug trafficking has contributed to encourage Garifuna emigration (to La Ceiba, San Pedro Sula and the USA). 	Media	Emigration due to food sovereignty crisis and fear of third party actions and drug trafficking.	It is estimated that the way to reduce migration is to recover food sovereignty, which entails cleaning up the Tinto and Sico rivers and improving physical security (presence of justice institutions, since the Territorial Council feels threatened and lacks enforcement capacity).
<b>Wawuru wägü</b> , repeat, shifting agriculture	Perimetral, extended family, with allocations to nuclear families. The purchase and sale of lots is practiced among the Garifuna.	Planting of beans, cassava, musaceae, etc.	Unsustainable. Involuntary displacement of Garifuna from the banks of the Tinto and Sico rivers, relocation of guamiles to wetland areas, grazing of guamiles due to reduced fallow frequency. Loss of food sovereignty, reduction of food security, monetarization and emigration. 	High	Illegal usurpation and purchase of land by drug traffickers and third parties	Implementation by the State of the cleanup of the Tinto and Sique rivers in the Barahuda territory.
<b>Bunagüo</b> , semipermanent crops	Perimetral, extended or nuclear family.	Unlike the Tawaka, Pech, and Miskitu, the	Sustainable. Transfer of bunagüo cassava and plantain crops to the uhud of Plaplaya due to the	Download	Availability of areas for planting	No

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<p>s, cassava, musaceae, and coconut perms. Sweet potato is also included.</p>	<p>In the case of planting in the Plaplaya uhud, permission from the local patronage is required.</p>	<p>Garifuna do not have polycultures. They grow the musaceae and the yucca brava or bitter yucca (Manihot esculenta, different from the sweet yucca Manihot utilisima of the traditional Chibcha peoples) in monocultures, especially in the uhud of Plaplaya. The coconuts are located in the ubudu, around the houses of room.</p>	<p>land due to encroachment and the fact that the lido is no longer grazed.</p> <p>The yucca brava is grated to prepare cassava and the coconut is grated and cooked to reduce it into oil, for food security, eda turú reciprocity exchanges and for sale. There are two community projects of manioc and coconut graters in Plaplaya, which are operating.</p> 		<p>Bunagüo in the central part of the Plaplaya ahud, due to the prohibition of transhumant grazing.</p> 	
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#### 4. Pech

Cultural use category	Access Rules	Management rules	Current sustainability	Vulnerability	Vulnerability Factor	Suggested Sustainability Adjustment
<b>Asó</b> , river	Radial, free access. Upstream of Las Marías (Batiltuk, broken boat in Miskitu) there are four streams Brukuel, Kliapatara, Waalpauban Sirpe, Kaumakioz and Li Warbara (whirlpool in Miskitu, known as "Subterráneo") that prevent navigation. Beyond the streams is the ancestral territory of the Pech where they lived in isolation until about 1910, when by silent trade and abduction of women, they came down to start their relationship with the Miskitu.	Traditional fishing was with hook, arrow and rod. Fishing for redistribution. Redistribution is understood as an extension of the reciprocity system Yupi aya, reciprocity exchange, where Tainjhu wa, he gives me, is distinguished from Tash wisha wa, I give him.	Moderately sustainable. No daytime fishing due to third party traffic on the river. The third group fishes with hooks, dynamite and poison (pate), reducing fishing. Pech now fish in the river with a mask, water gun and harpoon (rubber rod), which is considered an adaptation, but not a change that affects the sustainability of fishing. Yupi aya is still practiced between Pech and Miskitu.	High	Presence of third parties, who occupy the banks of the Plátano River from its mouth to Las Marías, in the territories of Pech and Rayaka (Miskitu), with cattle ranching.  They have high horsepower boats (Jamaican and shark boats) and fish with poison. 	Prohibition of fishing with poison, regulation of boats (small boats, low-capacity boats). However, they believe that the authorities in their territory do not have the capacity to implement these measures and that there is no state authority willing or able to do so.
<b>Kasharaja</b> , large flow; and <b>aso kaura</b> , whereabouts of cuyamel	Radial, free access, with permission of the Territorial Council. Presence of Isha akati, the mother of the cuyamel. From the Klipatara stream up there is no people in the area  core, territory ancestral origin of the Pech, the city white in the crique de Guamalotal, site delighted, with "secret".	Fishing for cuyamel and hunting. Hunting traditional with and bow and stick arrow of supa.  Hunting parties of members of several families extensive. With the obligation to redistribute to the inside the families and practice of reciprocity of the yippee aya with other members of the community. There is to order permission to the board territorial for hunting and mother of the cuyamel for fishing. Fishing and hunting for the consumption of subsistence, not for the sale.	Unsustainable for the indigenous people.  Current hunt pech/miskitu with shotgun, but without dogs. Hunting has been reduced by the deforestation of the third parties, which also deny the right of way to indigenous people. Third parties hunt with firearms various (including AK-47) and with dogs. Hunting and fishing that previously practiced in consumption function of the economy traditional indigenous (ETI), not of the sale, is gone monetarizing. Third parties sell cuyamel and pieces of hunting the indigenous people.	High	Deforestation of third parties has reduced hunting areas and the use of dogs has scaring off the fauna. Indigenous perception that "there is no longer where to hunt". Third parties do not request permit; Decrease of the cuyamel fishing (from 20 to 3-4 catches per day fishing) by the overexploitation of third parties and their use of poison for fishing.	Prohibition of logging, hunting and fishing for cuyamel without permission of the Council Territorial
<b>Szawiata/Sza flee</b> , stone large/small s with hieroglyphs	Radial, free access. Hieroglyphs serve as upstream markers to the traditional territory of isolation.	Families pech/miskitu dedicated to tourism lead to their	Moderately sustainable. Although access to hieroglyphics follows being free, the	High	The depletion of the fauna for the passification ("now who are coming to see tourists, cows?")	Improvement of the security with presence of entities of the State or with

	Hieroglyphs are a milestone in ecotourism	customers to these hieroglyphs, which serve as reference for teach the	presence of the armed third parties and intercommunicated has increased the feeling of		and intimidation by armed presence of third parties. At an incident to end of 2023	extension of the competencies Battalion Green, which already
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		history of Pech contact with the Miskitu. Tourism in Las Marias boomed in 2009, prior to the coup d'état.	insecurity for tourists and indigenous families with tourism enterprises, who have been abandoning them. 		burned down the community hall where the Batlón Verde was housed.  The family that now houses it fears being a target for attack by third parties.	is present in the area
<b>Uri tora asoa</b> , house of the lizard and turtle	Radial, free access The banks of the river Bananas are recognized as the habitat of lizards and turtles, but there is no taboo to hunt turtles and iguanas.	Hunting for turtles e iguanas for the livelihood, not for the market.	Moderately sustainable, since the debris of third parties on the meadows and banks of the Plátano river, downstream of Las Marias have affected this habitat. Only the preserves upstream, on the banks that are still managed by the indigenous	High	Third-party debris on riverbanks  	Prohibition of deforestation riberin; obligation to reforestation in the farms in the which have been deforested.
<b>Waja huya</b> , large forest	Restricted. Corresponds to the forest of the ancestral territory of isolation (core zone). The houses of the animals (Kitaha kuka, of the jawia; chahju kuka, of the kekeo; isha kuka, of the deer; ykuhku ya, of the tiger, the nests of the birds, etc.) and the presence of their spirit owners are recognized. In White City inhabits a primitive man, a charm: Uhlag or Aruauilla.	If you go in to that area "you have to cover your head, not to see the places where the spiritual ones live", such as chokataja, cave; kuk akúa, bajjal; and kuk agiña, place with virgin.	Sustainable	Download	Fears that third parties could enter through the road to Ciudad Blanca. However, the threat is low due to the action of state authorities in controlling the invasions through the so-called Green Squadron, who have been in charge of removing the invaders from this core zone.	Participation of the Pech Territorial Council in the public policy for the management of Ciudad Blanca.  Creation of a museum of Ciudad Blanca in Las Marias, where there have been seizures of archaeological pieces. 
<b>Aso flee</b> , header of river (Chilmeca, that of the river Banana), waterfalls	Restricted. Place of significance four-day cultural upstream distance of the flows. Vive wi-asona, mermaid, taboo for activities of hunting and fishing.	No information	Sustainable	Download	No	No
<b>Waja cho flee</b> , hill grande	Site where feed and live spirits (aubia, owner of the mountains and the wetlands) and the animal owners hunting and fishing. jagüilla, deer, cuyamel have master spirits, such as la ceiba, higuero kwá. 	Hunting, fishing and logging only with permission of the Council Territorial and strictly for consumption of subsistence and construction of housing / pipantes The Board has demarcated 40 forest blocks for conservation	Sustainable until moment in Baltimore (south face) and Pico Dama, where the forest, since "everything else is peeled" through 15 years of deforestation.	High	Intervention of third parties (have cut down all the mahogany, the cedar, and the laurel). From dry river enter through Guajoguala. Promote a road (partnership of livestock farmers in Brus Laguna)	Support institutional for a plan of protection of the cultural use of the current forest, to prevent the progress of the deforestation. "what is ruined already ruined, but we want to protect what we have left, which is the core zone, Baltimore and Pico Dama".
<b>Wegnatará</b>	Radial, free access.	Extraction	Unsustainable for the	High	The presence of	Intervention of

gold panning	Gold mining with bat became in the cash crop of preference of the	handcrafted by mazamorreo with pans. Product	indigenous people, who have been displaced by third parties. For the past five years	illegal miners do not indigenous people. Currently, the account for 7	the authorities to eradicate illegal mining and plan for
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		pech/miskitu of Las Marías until they were displaced by the dredges.	obtained from individual / nuclear family ownership.	years, the latter have established seven dredges with motor pumps. The lack of money from artisanal mining and the limited land available has led young people to be employed with third parties as "chapeadores" on their farms. last		The Territorial Council does not have the capacity to control this illegal mining, nor is there any institution in charge of this control.	protection of artisanal mining
	<b>Aso pahka</b> , swampo, laguna	Radial, with free access to wetlands / lagoons that are not part of the "work sites" of the indigenous matrilineages.	The general rules of hunting and fishing are followed.	The lagoons have been drying up and there is no more fishing there.	High	Debris removal of third parties from the banks of wetlands and ponds for the purpose of to be used in livestock farming.	Prohibition of debris on the banks of wetlands and ponds, and reforestation plan
	<b>Asoa</b> , crique	Radial, of free access when the criques do not belong to the matrilineages and radial with permission of the corresponding family chiefs in times, when they are part of their work sites. Crique Atipane is not visited, because "the big snake bites".	In big fill it is fished in the creeks. The general rules of hunting and fishing are followed.	Somewhat sustainable, with difficulties of passage if access to the crique involves crossing the pastures of third parties, who only "give permission for one person to pass"; and with some criques being affected by the debris from the cattle ranching of third parties.	Media	The enclosure of third parties around the indigenous work sites, which entails asking their permission to access the resources of the indigenous territory; and the clearing of the banks of the criques by the indigenous people. third parties.	Prohibition of debris on creek banks and reforestation plan
Traditional System of Food Production (complex of plains, hills and crique; cultivation, hunting and fishing).	<b>Kanus wista</b> , river valley	Perimeter, matrilineage. The ends of the possession of the vegas mark the lines of projection of the "trabajaderos" towards the hill and behind these to the criques (complex vega, hill, crique; cycle of food sovereignty). Salawala, Kuyuska, Buena Vista and Weknatara were the first "trabajaderos".	Unlike the Tawahka and Miskitu, it is not used for shifting cultivation but for polyculture and grazing. The riverine flora is conserved for turtle and iguana hunting and shellfish gathering. 	Sustainable, with the exception of land sold to third parties by Culmi's pech guests. The use of the meadows only for livestock and polycultures of long and medium duration and for livestock can be interpreted as a strategy to prevent flooding ("llenas"), the effect of climate change ("está brava la nature for so much destruction").	Download	Third parties do not occupy the Pech indigenous lands upstream of Las Marías (the lands they occupy downstream of Las Marías are both Pech indigenous territory and Rayaka Miskitu indigenous territory), but have taken unoccupied lands in the hills, enclosing the possessions of the indigenous people.	Implementation by the State of Pech territory remediation
	<b>Kukatashka</b> , canopy polycultures	Perimetral, extended family or nuclear family	They contain a variety of permanent and semi-permanent crops, such as reeds, palm trees, cacao, cassava, malanga, musaceae and timber trees, especially mahogany and laurel.	Sustainable and, apart from the vegas, expanding in the nucleated settlement of Las Marías, as a possible response to the crisis of the food sovereignty cycle.	Download	Crisis of the food sovereignty cycle	Support plan for the expansion of the Kuk atashka, which up to now has been concentrated on monocultures (beans, rice).
	<b>Kuwashka</b> , livestock site	Perimetral, matrilineage, but each livestock is owned by a nuclear family.	They take the milk and use the cattle as capitalization "it's like a bank" for sickness, studies and travel expenses.	Sustainable	Download	No	No

<p><b>Waja cho wiata</b>, hill for cultivation</p>	<p>Perimetral, matrilineage; with assignments to nuclear families members of the pech matrilineage or of a pech / miskitu matrilineage alliance to establish their rotating prata tiska guamiles.</p>		<p>Moderately sustainable. Pech de Culmí (Torres, Martínez families) arrived as guests in 1988, were assigned land in Pico Dama, Wajawala and Zulawala. They sold it to third parties; "only the vega, but they took the neighboring hills" North face of Cerro Baltimore occupied by third parties. Pech keep its southern face. Cycle of food sovereignty has been broken; almost no hunting anymore, "pure pasture".</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>The appropriation by third parties of the hills for cultivation of the waja cho wiata cultural use (and of the criques), which have been converted into pastures. The road to Las Marias has contributed to the expansion of colonization. Third parties organized in the "Asociación de Ganaderos de Brus Laguna" lobby the municipality for the improvement and expansion of this road.</p>	<p>Implementation by the State of the cleanup of the Pech territory.</p>
<p><b>Prata tiska</b>, itinerant agriculture, guamil</p>	<p>Perimetral, extended family or nuclear family</p>	<p>Kuk patakua, hot soil; kuk seinwa, cold soil; Kuk son kwa, black soil is sought for guamil (rice, beans, corn, malanga). Kuk war kwá, bad soil, used for sugar cane and yucca. Frequency of fallow 2-3 years.</p>	<p>Sustainable but without expansion capacity for new indigenous families. The loss of the ability of matrilineages and Pech/Miskitu marriage alliances to allocate guamil areas to new young families.</p>	<p>Media</p>	<p>The enclosure of the prata tiska "from behind" with paddocks by the third parties.</p>	<p>Implementation by the State of Pech territory remediation</p>
<p><b>Tisa wiska</b> small broken</p>	<p>Perimetral, extended family</p>	<p>The criques located on the other side of the hills overlooking the river are used for fishing and hunting, in its surrounding forests.</p>	<p>The logging and grazing of the criques' environment has been diminishing their fishing and hunting resources.</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>The expansion of third party cattle ranching.</p>	<p>Implementation by the State of Pech territory remediation</p>
<p><b>Kuk peshka</b>, site for settlement</p>	<p>Perimetral, nucleated settlement pattern, Pech and Miskitu coexist, united by marriage alliances and some third parties.</p>	<p>Once contacts with the Miskitu began, the Pech began to descend and were located in Gualpún (1920), then in Wartara, and in Buena Vista (1950), then in Kiaskimina, and then in Batilituk, Las Marias ("they lived like the wild, they hid, until they were tamed"). circa 1920/30")</p>	<p>Moderately sustainable, but with two problems: indigenous population intimidated and afraid ("Maybe they -the third parties- are waiting for us all to die so they can take our territory. We don't know"); and vulnerability of the aqueduct due to debris in the Tiro crique Indigenous population intimidated and afraid.</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>The permanent presence of third parties on horseback in the village; and the debris in the Tiro crique.</p>	<p>Presence of justice, expansion of the functions of the Green Battalion for the protection of the indigenous population and protection of the crique Tiro with forest rangers.</p>
<p><b>Tasta cao</b>, house</p>	<p>Perimeter, nuclear family</p>	<p>Wooden dwelling houses, especially of laurel, most of them over piles, for</p>	<p>Moderately sustainable. Family businesses of ecotourism with lodging in annexes to the houses in</p>	<p>Media</p>	<p>The perception of insecurity of both the local population and the clientele.</p>	<p>Improving security with the presence of government entities or with the expansion of</p>

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		flooding and mosquito control (vectors)	crisis due to declining demand			competencies of the Green Battalion, which is already present in the area.
<b>Tasta kuk</b> , backyard	Perimeter, family nuclear	Huertas family members are have expanded in some homes to become true <b>Kuk</b> polycultures <b>atatashka</b> .	Sustainable 	Download	Response to the loss of the cycle of food sovereignty, to the exchange of gold cash crops for seasonal employment (chambeo) and to the lack of land was reserve for allocations to new families, which has led to a increase in the insecurity food "there is families that the pass with only one or two times of feeding"	No

### Annex 3: Recommendations

The recommendations, which respond to the analysis of the sustainability of the cultural uses of the land and the plans to mitigate adverse socio-cultural impacts and potentialize positive impacts, have been grouped into the following areas: legal framework, infrastructure, public services, security, sanitation, governance, traditional indigenous economy and market economy, which reflect the challenges, priorities and suggestions received from the communities during the field work of the consultancy in the indigenous territories of the sample.

For the presentation of the recommendations, the matrix proposed by the WB, contained in the MA of October 11, 2023, was used.

References to cultural uses have been limited, for economy of space, to those of the Miskitu people.

<i>Product 1: matrix of recommendations</i>								
<i>Area</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Challenge</i>	<i>Recommendation</i>	<i>Measure</i>	<i>Responsible</i>	<i>Priority</i>	<i>Deadline</i>	<i>Feasibility</i>
Legal Framework	Reform of the Municipalities Law, Decree 134 of 1990.	Territorial Councils (TC) considered as CSOs supervised by the State, not as autonomous entities for the management, administration and governance of IT. Parallelism of functions with the municipalities, subject to manipulation by third parties, corruption and with little interest in sustainable and sustainable management. IT development	Recognition of the TCs as autonomous entities for IT management, with planning, monitoring and execution functions/resources. Demarcation of functions between TCs and municipalities	Legal	SGJD / National Congress	High	Medium	Not feasible, unless there is a PBL
	Amendments to the Law of Fisheries and Agriculture DECREE No. 106-2015	Divers without protection from decompression sickness, IACHR ruling in favor of Miskitu divers with only partial compliance. IACHR case of the Miskitu divers (Lemoth Morris and others) vs. Honduras judgment of August 31, 2021	Ban on lobster fishing vessels without hyperbaric chamber on board	Legal	SEDH / CICSI / National Congress	High	Medium	Not feasible, unless there is a PBL

		Protected area (PA) management that overlaps with IT does not incorporate the right to sustainable cultural uses of IP, affecting activities	Inclusion of an <i>Indigenous Forest Model</i> , in line with the UCTs of IP forests, broadleaf (in the <i>unta tara</i> ) and gymnosperm (in the <i>twi</i> ).	Legal		High	Medium	Feasible only with PBL, prior and study of customary law rules of cultural management of forests and
Reform to the Forestry Law of Protected Areas and Wildlife, Decree No.156-2007.		traditional hunting, fishing and gathering / food sovereignty			SERNA / ICF / National Congress			consultation with TCs. Councils of Elders have offered to compile a compilation of the common law norms, which could be financed by TC resources
		PAs that overlap over IT, titled or ancestral, do not comply with Art. 15.a of ILO Convention 169. The co-management of PA exists in the property law (co-management of Art. 101), but it is not fulfilled.	Inclusion of the obligation to adopt the figure of co-management with the TK of the protected areas that overlap with IT or ancestral territories, under sanction to the ICF when it is not complied with.	Legal		High	Medium	Not feasible, unless there is a PBL
		Ciudad Blanca is part of the people's ancestral territory of Pech	Inclusion of the participation of the Pech Territorial Council in the public policy of management of Ciudad Blanca	Legal		Medium	Medium	Not feasible, unless there is a PBL
		Need for <i>outreach</i> of PI Pech's origin; and promotion of tourism cultural in Las Marias	Incorporation of the mandate to establish a Ciudad Blanca museum in Las Marias	Legal		Download	Medium	Not feasible, unless there is a PBL
		Forestry concessions without prior consultation / FPIC	Inclusion of the prohibition of forest concessions without prior consultation and FPIC of the indigenous territory (IT) where they are located. Obligation to use the IPs' autonomous protocols, when they exist (such as the <i>IPs' Biocultural Protocol</i> ). <i>Miskitu</i> )	Legal		High	Medium	Not feasible, unless there is a PBL
Penal Code Reform	Illegal sale of TI land endorsed by TC and public officials	Inclusion of criminal penalties for state officials or TC authorities who facilitate the illegal sale of land rights to third parties in collective IT protected by the figure of inalienability (Law	Legal	National Defense and Security Council (CNDS), <i>Commission for Zero Deforestation by 2029</i> / National Congress	High	Short	Feasible only with the extension of the Mandate to the Legislative Power of the CNDS; by virtue of the declaration of <i>Environmental Emergency of the forests of Honduras</i> , Res. of May 22, 2024 at Mocerón.	

		TC with life plans, but without resources to implement them; with diverse protocols and regulations, but without the capacity to enforce them; without coordination with the judiciary and law enforcement agencies; various conflicts with the municipalities; TC with overreach of	Regulation of TCs in matters of conformation, registration, functions, planning/execution of public expenditure, public resources for the fulfillment of these competencies; coordination with public entities; and limitations on the issuance of possession certificates, which take into account the following aspects counts the right	Legal		High	Long	Feasible only with a PBL, after study of alternatives and consultation with the TCs.
	Issuance of an IT governance regulation law.	functions (certification of possessions to individual men, but not to matrilineages and in disregard of women's rights).	customary in the land tenure		SEDS / CONAPOA / SGJD National Congress			
		Decision-making and conflict resolution mechanisms and jurisdictional functions of traditional authorities (TA) protected by Art. 8 of ILO Convention No. 169, affected by parallelism with the national judicial system and the lack of knowledge of third parties	Alternative of conformation of the Moskitia in one or several autonomous territorial entities, in the manner of the Nicaraguan Moskitia.	Legal		Medi a	Long	Not very feasible, unless a PBL is available, after a study of alternatives and IT consultation
			Adoption of a regulatory framework for indigenous jurisdiction for the ITs of the Moskitia headed by matrilineage family chiefs (as Councils of Elders); including the rules for their articulation with the national judicial system.	Legal		High	Long	Not feasible, unless a PBL is in place, after study of indigenous legal systems of conflict resolution/decision making; and consultation with ITs.
Infrastructure	Support for the construction of river docks	Pech, Tawahka and Miskitu Kláwina (freshwater) indigenous communities without docks.	Adoption of a program to build docks for indigenous communities in rivers	Infrastructure	SOPTV / municipalities / possible TC by direct execution FHIS/SIT	High	Long	Feasible only with an infrastructure component of a multilateral loan
	Support for dredging for the interconnection of the Moskitia lagoon system.	Model of usurpation of IT and forest debris facilitated by illegal roads from Olancho and Colón to the Tawahka and Plátano River Biosphere Reserves; indigenous model of transportation is aquatic; but it is unsafe, costly and presents barriers due to the lack / clogging of canals of the interconnection of the lagoon system.	Adoption of a channel dredging program to interconnect the Moskitia lagoon system; Mukabita - Uri Tingni sections between Brus Laguna and Plátano river (15.7 km); Yaukra - Tanakunta between Plátano river and Karataska lagoon (16.9 km); Kanku channel in the Yamantha section to the Kruta river; small channels for access to Laguna de Rapa from Brus Laguna and for access of communities in the middle Kruta river to the Laguna de Karataska.	Infrastructure	SOPTV / municipalities / possibly TC by direct execution FHIS/SIT	High	Long	Feasible only with an infrastructure component of a multilateral loan

	Support for road improvement in the <i>twi</i> savanna	Roads to indigenous TIs of the <i>Twi</i> savannah in poor condition (roads, pontoons). MASTA prioritized the improvement of Tapamlaya - Auka and Brus Laguna - Ahuás in its fruitless negotiations in the prior consultation with the oil concessionaires CaribX and Azipetrol.	Adoption of a road improvement program for the interconnection of the indigenous communities that inhabit the <i>Twi</i> .	Infrastructure	SOPTV / municipalities / possibly TC by direct execution FHIS/SIT	High	Long	Feasible only with an infrastructure component of a multi-lateral loan, although MASTA continues to seek the agreement of CaribX and Azipetrol to finance these projects, with the dredging of Kuswa. Swamp - Stingray
Services	Provision of potable water to communities (community aqueducts),	The Moskitia has adequate freshwater resources, but the majority of indigenous communities no water	Adoption of a program to provide drinking water (community aqueducts) to IP communities in the Moskitia.	Endowment of drinking water	Secretary of Health / municipalities / eventual TC by	High	Long	Feasible only with an infrastructure or utility support component
		and piped water, increasing the risk of gastrointestinal diseases and contributing to morbidity and mortality. child malnutrition			direct execution			from a multi-million dollar loan.
	Support for solar energy solutions for homes, businesses and health centers	Community projects to provide energy from generators have failed (the population does not pay the household tariffs or does not contribute to the purchase of fuel). that the solution	Adoption of a program to provide solar energy to homes/businesses and health centers in the Moskitia.	Endowment of electric power	SERNAM / SOPTV / ENEE/municipalities / eventually TC by direct execution	High	Long	Feasible only with an infrastructure or utility support component of a multilateral loan.
	Support the improvement of health post services in indigenous communities. in indigenous communities.	No health posts in the indigenous communities of the Moskitia have antiophidic serum (population vulnerable to the bite of <i>Bothrops asper</i> ; <i>vulgaris barba amarilla</i> ). These health posts are staffed only by nurses, not by allopathic physicians.	Adoption of a program to improve services at existing health posts in the Moskitia, with funding for the provision of antiophidic serum for the viper <i>Bothrops asper</i> , with its cold chain by solar energy at the health posts; and for the increase of available medical personnel.	Improving the services of allopathic health	SENACIT / Secretary of Health	High	Medium for antiophidic serum; Long for medical staff increase	Feasible only with a utility support component of a multilateral loan. SENACIT has recently obtained limited resources for the "snakebite approach" (Science Fund). Catracha 2024)

	Supporting mental health care for indigenous communities	Indigenous population intimidated by the presence of armed usurpers; post-traumatic syndrome (PST) in threatened persons / victims' relatives / traditional governance. Increasing addiction of young people to cocaine sulfate ( <i>stone</i> ) consumption. In Brus Laguna (1700 inhab.) there are 24 stone shops. In the region there is an increase in thefts and a perception of insecurity in the face of theft. drug addicts.	Adoption of a mental health program in indigenous communities; to address PST, manage fear/panic; and to support TCs and families in managing youth drug addiction (motivational interviewing, strategy and interdisciplinary teams (psychiatry, nutrition, psychology, occupational therapy, incentive system, support network with families and churches, alcoholics anonymous).	Introduction of a mental health service	Secretary of Health, CT.	High	Long	Feasible as a long-term sustainable effort only with a utility support component of a multilateral credit.
	Support for fisheries control	Institutional weakness of DIGIPESCA to control shrimp boat fishing limits to protect artisanal fisheries; to control the size of trammel nets; to control the invasion of tilapia; and to support protocols and plans. of Aquaculture Management and	Institutional strengthening of DIGIPESCA for fisheries control and support for the implementation of lagoon management protocols and management plans for the Brus and Karataska lagoons.	Institutional strengthening	DIGIPESCA / SAG	High	Medium	Feasible only with an institutional strengthening component of a multilateral loan.
		Brus Fishing Laguna and Karataka						
	Support for accident prevention measures in water transportation	Institutional weakness of the DGMM to monitor the transit of pipantes in the lagoons, in terms of prohibition of transit when the lagoon is affected by winds, maximum load weight and the obligation to carry life jackets for passengers.	Institutional strengthening of the DGMM for the fulfillment of its competencies in the Moskitia lagoon system.	Institutional strengthening	Directorate General of Merchant Marine ( DGMM)	High	Long	Feasible only with an institutional strengthening component of a multilateral loan.
Security	Disarmament of third parties. Prohibition to carry weapons, except for hunting (shotguns, rifles).	Perception of insecurity, fear and impunity by third parties. Recent declaration of an <i>environmental emergency by the</i> The CNDS does not include the disarmament of third parties.	Support to the National Defense Council and Security for the implementation of the <i>Environmental Emergency for the forests of Honduras</i> and inclusion of measures to ensure the safety of IPs in the Moskitia. Establishment of a system to control the sale of arms and ammunition in Moskitia, preferably with the state monopoly of those sales.	Legal	National Defense and Security Council (CNDS)	High	Medium	Feasible only with expansion of measures protection measures for IPs of the declaration of <i>Environmental Emergency of the forests of Honduras</i> . Requires identification of hunting weapons used by IPs

Support to the Public Prosecutor's Office and the Armed Forces to neutralize illegal channels	Illegal roads encourage forest clearing and IT encroachment. The "Zero deforestation by 2029" Commission created by the CNDS has identified 17 illegal roads in the Olancho and Moskitia reserves, but it is not known if it has the necessary budget to make the measures for their sustainable management sustainable. neutralization	Strengthening the ICF / Armed Forces / Public Ministry to obtain the legal reforms required to prosecute environmental crimes and implement actions to neutralize the illegal roads that affect the Tawahka biosphere reserves, the Banana River Reserve and enable the usurpation of the IT of the Moskitia.	Institutional strengthening	National Council of Defense and Security (CNDS) / ICF / Armed Forces / Public Prosecutor's Office	High	Long	Feasible as a long-term sustainable effort with a component institutional support component of a multilateral credit
Improving security by expanding the competencies of the Green Battalion, which is already present in the area.	Green Battalion pursues drug trafficking and environmental crimes in the core zones of the reserves, but not land use change by third parties and associated environmental crimes in the ITs. Nor does it coordinate its actions with the TCs.	Expansion of Green Battalion's competencies to prosecute environmental crimes (debris environmental crimes (debris) and change of land use to extensive cattle ranching by third party usurpers of ITs and to coordinate with the TCs.	Legal, broadening of competencies	CNDS / Armed Forces (green battalion)/ICF /MP	High	Medium	Feasible only with expansion of measures protection measures for IPs of the declaration of <i>Environmental Emergency of the forests of Honduras</i> .
Institutional support for a plan for the protection of the cultural use of the forest	Customary law norms of sustainable management of the cultural uses (UCT) of the forest are not taken into account by the ICF. In an environment of action against the	Institutional support to the ICF and the TCs for the adoption of a plan for the protection of the cultural use of the <i>unta tara</i> forests, which requires prior support to the IT Councils of Elders for the recovery of the norms. of use management	Support for dialogue between the ICF y the TCs Recuperation	ICF / CT / Advice from Elders	Medium	Short	Feasible with resources technical cooperation
	land use change by third party encroachers, which affects forests, it is necessary to differentiate UCTs from forests from IP vs. those of the usurpers	cultural heritage of the <i>unta tara</i> forest (territorial management based on traditional knowledge)	of traditional knowledge				

	Support for the eradication of illegal mining and artisanal mining protection plan	The cultural uses of the river banks ( <i>yapuwatawahka</i> and <i>guegnatara</i> pech), in their artisanal mining, are important as a source of money for these peoples; but the <i>tawahka</i> suffered forced displacement, the <i>pech</i> had to abandon the activity and the <i>Sikre miskitu</i> river basin has been affected by illegal mining (dredges, pumps). The <i>Zero Deforestation Strategy</i> has committed to the destruction of illegal mining machinery, but only in the core zone of the reserves and without distinguishing between the activities of the <i>Pech</i> and those of the <i>Tawahka</i> . artisanal mining.	Institutional support to SERNAM for the eradication of illegal mining in the ITs, not only in the core zones of the <i>Tawahka</i> and <i>Río Plátano</i> reserves. Support for dialogue between the <i>Pech</i> and <i>Tawahka</i> TCs and SERNAM for the adoption of a plan for the protection of artisanal mining.	Institutional strengthening / regulation	SERNAM / CNDS / CT	High	Medium	Feasible only with an institutional strengthening component of a multilateral loan. Artisanal mining protection plan requires a participatory process with the <i>Pech</i> and <i>Tawahka</i> TCs.
	Support to justice institutions for prosecute environmental crimes and the illegal granting of property titles, which affect IT and the environment.	Indigenous population highly vulnerable to encroachment by third parties. Public Prosecutor's Office, environmental jurisdiction and Special Prosecutor's Office for the Protection of Ethnic Groups and Cultural Heritage with little or no presence in the <i>Moskitia</i> . <i>Zero Deforestation Strategy 2029</i> only contemplates the addition of three judges and three prosecutors of national jurisdiction, but for <i>Olancho</i> and <i>Gracias a Dios</i> , which are considered insufficient for the task at hand in the <i>Moskitia</i> . the <i>Moskitia</i>	Support for the strengthening and presence of Support for the strengthening and presence of environmental and ethnic justice institutions in the <i>Moskitia</i> , to prosecute environmental crimes and the illegal granting of titles in the ITs, protect indigenous collective rights and guarantee the physical security of the population. rights and guarantee the physical security of the population.	Institutional Strengthening	Public Prosecutor's Office	High	Long	Feasible only with an institutional strengthening component of a multilateral loan.
Sanitation	Support to the <i>Moskitia Subcommission</i> (Interinstitutional Subcommission on Titling, Expansion, Sanitation and Protection). of Territories and Resources Natural	Institutional framework for the reorganization of the <i>Moskitia</i> (following Arts. 93 to 101 of the Property Law) inoperative; technical and financial incapacity to census and classify third party occupants, a necessary step to be able to address the alternatives of sanitation in each IT	Support for the elaboration of surveys (cadastre or census) of third party occupants, to classify them.	Institutional strengthening	INA / ICF / Misquita Subcommission / CT/SGJD	High	Long	Not feasible with the current capacity of INA and ICF, without multilateral credit support (institutional strengthening component / sanitation support subcomponent).

	of the Honduran Moskitia Region) of the Executive Decree PCM-. 035-2019							
	Fund for indemnification of third parties in appropriate cases.	From the study of the files or surveys of third parties it will be possible to identify illegal occupants and transfer those who have committed environmental crimes to the Public Prosecutor's Office. Some occupants may be able to prove occupations prior to the collective titling of the IT. In these cases, if the TCs do not accept their permanence in the IT, they should be compensated. There is no budget foreseen for such cases. indemnities	Financing of a fund for the compensation required in the regulation process, in the cases of Art. 98 of the Property Law: "The third party who has received title to communal lands of these peoples, which, due to their characteristics, are not in the possession of a third party, shall not be entitled to receive any compensation. could be annulable, prior to the return of the lands to the affected communities will be compensated for their improvements".	Indemnity payments a third s	SGJD / SEFIN / Misquita Subcomission / TC	Medi a	Long	Not very feasible at present, since there is no budget allocation for this purpose, without a multi-lateral loan recovery component.
	Support to TCs for post-sanitation land-use planning	The impacts of third party occupation of ITs are diverse: the Tawahka suffered forced displacement of two of their four titles due to illegal mining and are unable to fish for cuyamel; in Bakinasta third parties occupy meadows, foothills and have fenced off the savannas, preventing hunting in the Warunta park; in Barauda the Garifuna have had to move their agriculture from the Tinto River to the canals and lidos; etc. Faced with the prospect of cleaning up their territories, there is the dilemma of what use to give to the recovered lands: To return them to those who sold them, to the new generations of their matrilineages? As most of these occupations are in pastures, maintain the cultural use of extensive cattle raising? Reforest? wait for the stubble to grow?	Support to the TCs to classify third party occupants in each territory (ladino cattle ranchers with extensive occupation after the titling of ITs; ladino peasants with occupation prior to the titling of ITs, some of them adapted to indigenous uses and customs or married to indigenous women; Nicaraguan Miskitu refugees; businessmen with activities, especially forestry, without community authorization); identify those who have committed environmental crimes or violated customary law in order to transfer them to environmental justice or indigenous jurisdiction; businessmen with activities, especially forestry, without authorization from the communities); identify those who have committed environmental crimes or violated customary law in order to transfer them to environmental justice or indigenous jurisdiction; and decide, on a case-by-case basis, the modalities of remediation (eviction, relocation, leasing, etc.). -The law contemplates the option of paying a fee and	Strengthening government. Support for territorial planning in the TCs.	Territorial Councils and Councils of Elders, in coordination with SCGG.	High	Short	Not feasible without resources to carry out participatory processes to carry out participatory processes within the IT sector for the the classification of third parties; case-by-case decision making on remediation options; and the study of remediation options; and the study of alternatives y take fro m decisions about what to do with the land land recovered in the future. This process is considered a priority for remediation; it could be financed with a a component sanitation component component of a

			peaceful coexistence); and decisions are made about the destination of the recovered occupations, obtaining the FPIC for these purposes from the indigenous population of each IT.					multilateral loan or with technical cooperation of donors-
	Support for the participation of IT in the	CT / Councils of the Elderly without Resources to meet their	Official carbon offset purchase program or market development	Markets of Carbon	SERNA / SEFIN / CT, bearing in mind	High	Medium	Unfeasible unless it is agree on a
	carbon markets / payments for environmental services from your forests	IT administration/regulatory functions. TI titled with threatened forests (conifers in the <i>twi</i> savannas and broadleaved in the <i>umpa untika</i> gallery forests or protected by customary law in the <i>unta tara</i> ). Forests generate environmental services (water, landscape, biodiversity protection).	(i) strengthening the governance of ITs including the capacity of TCs to monitor their own territorial regulations and sanction those who fail to comply with those mandates; and territorial regulations and sanctioning those who fail to comply with these mandates; and (ii) the creation of seed capital and/or micro-credit funds in the TCs to foster agricultural and livestock enterprises and non-agricultural ventures, especially those of young people and women	o / payments for services rendered. Strengthening governance	The "Special Law on Forest Carbon Transactions for Climate Justice". DECREE No. 54-2023			global carbon credit purchase program, or multilateral guarantees or climate change funds to support voluntary carbon markets (VCs) in the ITs of the Moskitia

Support the study of other alternatives for the obtaining of transfers / own revenues by the territorial councils	TCs and Councils of Elders without resources to fulfill their IT administration/regulatory functions.	Support for the study of alternatives of transfers of resources from the nation/municipalities and from own revenues for the fulfillment of administrative functions / regulation of IT by the indigenous governance (TCs and Councils of Elderly)	Decentralization. Strengthening governance	SEIP / SEFIN / CT	High	Long	Unfeasible unless the proposed IT governance regulation law is passed.
Support to local boards of trustees	Local boards of trustees perform local regulatory and administrative functions, but do not have their own resources to carry them out and only obtain sporadic support from the local governments. municipalities	Inclusion of support to local boards of trustees as a budgetary window of the TCs once the issue of obtaining resources (transfer of resources and/or generation of their own income) for the fulfillment of the functions of eos councils.	Strengthening governance	TC / local boards/SGJD	Download	Long	Unfeasible unless resource transfers from the nation to the ITs and/or a mechanism of own revenues for the TCs are ensured. mechanism for the TCs
Support for TCs, MASTA and OPIM for the adoption/implementation of land management regulations.	The communities do not have the capacity to enforce their own life plans and regulations, which are little known by the communities and even less implemented. There is a long list of challenges that should be addressed with mandates to ensure the sustainability of cultural uses of IT, among others: prohibition of wire fences in the <i>Twi</i> ; prohibition of hunting with dogs; regulation of fishing and occupation of the banks of the <i>lakun kahula</i> freshwater lagoons; prohibition of riparian deforestation; prohibition of debris in the	Logistical support and technical assistance to the TCs, MASTA and OPIM for meetings between them and consultation workshops with the ITs, leading to the adoption of a unified IT management regulation for the Moskitia, taking into account the role of the traditional authorities (family chiefs, Councils of Elders) and that includes a system of sanctions, as well as the means to put into implementation such regulations, including in addition coordination with the competent state authorities.	Strengthening governance	Indigenous organizations / TC / Councils of Elders/SG JD	High	Short	Feasible with technical cooperation or donor resources

		<p><i>dahpat</i> wetlands; the prohibition of illegal mining and the use of mercury; and the prohibition of logging, hunting and fishing of cuyamel without the permission of the TCs. It is believed that adopting these mandates and supporting their implementation requires a consensus of all indigenous organizations and territorial councils under the guidance of the elders, in the form of a <i>Territorial Law</i> that not only identifies the desired patterns of behavior, but also adopts the corresponding sanctions for non-compliance and its form of implementation.</p>						
	<p>Support for the implementation of pre-existing plans and protocols for the management of lagoon system resources.</p>	<p>Existence of several agreements between TCs for the sustainable management of the lagoon system's resources, such as: "Protocol for the Management of Natural Resources of the (five) Coastal Territorial Councils", 2018 such as: "Protocol for the Management of Natural Resources of the (five) Coastal Territorial Councils", 2018; "Brus Laguna Fisheries and Aquaculture Management Plan", 2020; and Karataska Fisheries and Aquaculture Management Plan", 2020.</p> <p>Plans and protocols with only partial implementation due to a lack of resources to execute them and low resources to implement them and low involvement of the regulatory agencies</p>	<p>Program to support the implementation of pre-existing management plans and protocols for the Moskitia lagoon system, identifying those agreements that could not be implemented so far and seeking funding for them.</p>	<p>Institutional strengthening / governance</p>	<p>Indigenous organizations / TC / NGOs / DIGIPESCA / General Directorate of Merchant Marine ( DGMM)</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>Media</p>	<p>Feasible only with a governance strengthening component of a multilateral loan.</p>

<p>Support for the adoption of a protocol by the Territorial Councils with grasslands (<i>twi</i>) for the regulation of their cultural use.</p>	<p><i>Tw</i>i forest resources with conifer logging concessions without prior consultation. Occupation of the <i>twi</i> by third party ranchers who prevent the indigenous people from passing through for timber harvesting. for construction and access to hunting, fishing and gathering grounds in the forests</p>	<p>Logistical support and technical assistance to TCs with territories incorporating <i>Tw</i>i savannas for meetings among them and consultation workshops with their ITs, leading to the adoption of a unified <i>Tw</i>i management regulation, taking into account customary law, the role of traditional authorities, etc. (heads of households, Councils</p>	<p>Strengthening governance</p>	<p>Indigenous organizations / CT with <i>twi</i>/SERNA/ICF sheets</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>Short</p>	<p>Feasible with resources technical cooperation of donor</p>
	<p>surrounding areas (<i>untatara</i>, mountain; <i>umpautika</i>, gallery forests; and <i>untatásbara</i>, foothill forests). Miskitu tendency to wire <i>twi</i> bags to protect livestock from matrilineage in the face of increased theft, which is considered to be a young drug addicts.</p>	<p>and that it includes a system of sanctions, as well as the means to put into practice the implementation of the said regulation, including, in addition, coordination with the competent state authorities.</p>					

<p>Support for the recovery of customary land tenure norms, recognizing the rights of women and matrilineages.</p>	<p>Participation of the TCs in the sale of land to third parties (through the certification of possessions by the TCs) is based on a concept of individual possession. of possessions by TCs) is based on a concept of individual possession that ignores customary land tenure based on that disregards customary land tenure based on customary rights. of matrilineage rights and affects women's rights. All sellers are men, a good part of them with only recessional rights on the lands of their own matrilineage on which they no longer live or work (brothers who have moved to live in other communities under the uxorilocal residence rule - husbands move to live in the residence of their wives and work on the land of their own matrilineage). their wives and to work on their wives' matrilineage lands) and in other cases they are husbands who have themselves certify possessions from their wives' families. The councils of elders propose to conduct a study of customary law to incorporate it into in order to incorporate it as a regulation of the territorial territorial councils. There is a consensus on the need to to obtain the "orientation of the elders".</p>	<p>Adoption of a program to support IT Councils of Elders in the recovery of cultural land use access norms (customary tenure) and inclusion of these results in the life plans and management protocols of each IT.</p>	<p>Strengthening governance  Recovering the right to customary right</p>	<p>TC / Councils of Elders/ Judiciary (through its access to justice and legal pluralism program)</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>Short</p>	<p>Feasible with technical cooperation or donor resources</p>
<p>Support for the strengthening of a jurisdiction indigenous and</p>	<p>The indigenous legal systems of the Moskitia are segmental (Pech, Tawahka, Garifuna) and</p>	<p>Adoption of a program to support IT Councils of Elders in the recovery of standards. of use management</p>	<p>Strengthening governance</p>	<p>Councils of the Elderly/ Judiciary (by means of of its</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>Short</p>	<p>Feasible only with a component to strengthen the governance of the credit</p>

	<p>system compensation system for the <i>talamana</i> system</p>	<p>compensation (in the case of the <i>talamana</i> miskitu); both based on the decision making of family chiefs of the social segments involved in a conflict; or on the decisions of the councils of elders; however these systems are weakened by different reasons (institutional parallelism, interference of the system of the national judicial system, acculturation, lack of knowledge / lack of acceptance of the decisions by those close to them (secondary matrilineages). (secondary matrilineages) or third parties or third parties married indigenous women.</p>	<p>(territorial management based on traditional knowledge) and customary forms of decision making and traditional knowledge) and customary forms of decision making and conflict resolution and inclusion of these results in the life plans and management protocols of each IT</p>		<p>access to justice and legal pluralism program)</p>			<p>multilateral, with resources technical cooperation of donor</p>
	<p>Support for cultural recovery and visibilization campaigns based on participatory mappings</p>	<p>There are several works on participatory community mapping (Tawahka; Peter Herlihy of the Department of Geography at the U. of Kansas; identification of of Geography at the U. of Kansas; identification of cultural land uses in the from and others) that can be used as a basis for base to implement cultural visibility campaigns, which the TKs consider necessary to socialize cultural to socialize cultural management, customary law and the challenges to be overcome in the territorial management of the ITs. territorial management of the ITs</p>	<p>Support for socialization campaigns of pre-existing participatory community mapping.</p>	<p>Strengthening governance</p>	<p>TC / Councils of the Elderly / Territorial Management / GC JD/SPE</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Feasible only with a governance-strengthening component of a multilateral loan</p>
	<p>Continued support for the provision of equipment and infrastructure for TCs</p>	<p>The Tawahka Program has been supporting the construction of infrastructure for the TKs, but this effort should be continued to support those ITs that do not have such infrastructure. infrastructure for TCs, but it is felt that this effort should be continued to</p>	<p>Financing from the continuity of the Tawahka Project's efforts to provide infrastructure for the Moskitia TCs.</p>	<p>Infrastructure Strengthening governance</p>	<p>CT</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>Long</p>	<p>Feasible only with a governance-strengthening component of a multilateral loan</p>

		support those ITs that do not have such infrastructure.						
Economy	Promoting cultural uses of polyculture canopy <i>sau lahmi</i> tawahka; <i>kuk atataшка</i> , pech; and <i>prata</i>	Cultural uses of canopy polycultures are a cultural use that is more resilient to flooding (unlike crops). (unlike canopy crops). of musaceae, rice and	Adoption of a program to strengthen polycultures of tawahka, pech and miskitu canopy for the Mosqkitia. Consider putting in charge of this program to groups /	Traditional Economic Protection	TC / women's groups	High	Medium	Feasible only with a component to protect or strengthen the traditional economy. Indigenous (ETI) of
	<i>almuk</i> , miskitu, to strengthen food sovereignty	bean) and are part of food sovereignty, the obtaining of monetary resources and the production of inputs for construction. inputs for construction. There is a history of promoting these polycultures ( <i>chagüites</i> ) in Costa Rica (Payments for Environmental Services and the WB's Enable project), as a way to promote the use of these polycultures ( <i>chagüites</i> ). strategy strategy for strengthening the food sovereignty	women's associations (along the lines of the Costa Rican model).	Indigenous (ETI)  Food sovereignty				a multilateral loan
	Support for traditional hunting, fishing and gathering	The activities of the traditional indigenous economy (ETI) of hunting, fishing and gathering are limited by different factors, especially by restrictions on passage due to occupation by third parties, with the consequent impact on food sovereignty and indirect impacts on the monetization of the ETI and on self-employment, which in turn encourages the sale of land and migration. This is in turn encourages the sale of land and migration.	Support for a program to recover the traditional cultural uses of hunting, fishing and gathering, including support for the "Zero Deforestation 2029 Commission" for the necessary institutional coordination to ensure the lifting of wire fences in the <i>Twi</i> Zero Deforestation 2029" for the necessary institutional coordination to ensure the lifting of wire fences in the <i>Twi</i> , the implementation of the prohibition of fishing with poison / explosives, the regulation of the size of boats in the rivers (pipantes / low horsepower boats) and the protection of the right of way of hunters, fishermen and gatherers against third parties.	Traditional Indigenous Economic Protection (ETI)  Food sovereignty  Institutional strengthening / governance	CT / National Council for Defense and Security (CNDS) / ICF / Armed Forces / Public Prosecutor's Office/ICF	High	Medium	Feasible only with a component of protection or strengthening of the Traditional Indigenous Economy (ETI) of a multilateral credit or with the adoption of this task by the <i>Zero Deforestation 2029 Commission</i> .

Protocol for the restriction of market crops to protect the cultural uses <i>insla prata</i> (shifting cultivation), <i>prata almuk</i> (polycultures) and <i>insla nasa</i> (food security monocultures such as musaceae, beans, etc.) and rice)	Cash crop initiatives tend to occupy spaces dedicated to traditional agrifood systems (SAT, FAO), affecting food sovereignty. spaces dedicated to traditional agri-food systems (SAT, FAO), affecting food sovereignty.	Adoption of a safeguard protocol to restrict cash crop financing to areas not occupied by EWS. As part of the protocol, mapping of areas dedicated to the cultural uses of traditional agrifood production in the intervention zone is required.	Indigenous Traditional Economic Protection (ETI) Food sovereignty Salvaguardia	CT	High	Medium	Feasible only with the inclusion of this safeguard in a multilateral loan
Support to TCs, MASTA and OPIIM to reflect on and establish rules regarding the reconversion post-	Once sanitation has been carried out, it is considered necessary to adopt strategies for the reconversion of extensive livestock grazing areas. Once sanitation has been carried out, it is considered necessary to adopt strategies for the reconversion of pasture areas for extensive livestock farming in third parties in the <i>awala</i>	Support to TCs for post-sanitation land-use planning, including reflection on alternatives for reconversion of pasture areas into land for agriculture and forestry for the	Traditional Indigenous Economic Protection (ETI)	Indigenous organizations / CT / Advice from Elders /SIHKRU TARA	Medium	Long	Feasible only with a component of protection or strengthening of the Traditional Indigenous Economy (ETI) of
reclamation of pasture areas from extensive livestock grazing to croplands	<i>un</i> , vegas and <i>unta tasbaia</i> , foot of hills, for the itinerant agriculture <i>insla prata</i> ; as of the reconstruction of the cultural uses corresponding to the "houses of the animals", both in the <i>unta tara</i> , mountain, and in the <i>dahuit</i> , wetlands, <i>tigni</i> cultural uses corresponding to the " <i>animal houses</i> ", both in the <i>unta tara</i> , mountain, and in the <i>dahuit</i> , wetlands, <i>tigni</i> , ravines and <i>krupi unta</i> edges of rivers and ravines.	recovery of biodiversity.	Food sovereignty				a multilateral loan

Market Economy	<p>Abstention from promoting monoculture projects in the <i>Awala un</i> cultural use (river and stream meadows) that are at high risk.</p>	<p>Monocultures/crops dedicated to cultural uses of riverbanks and river and stream meadows for the market are at high risk (due to flooding and climate change). The risk is the loss of the investment and eventually the inability of the beneficiaries to repay the debt. in ability of the beneficiaries to repay the debt. Several projects (e.g. cocoa) have failed due to flooding, so this type of project should be avoided, unless they are located in areas with good soils that are not subject to flooding. e floods.</p>	<p>Adoption of a safeguard protocol so that monocultures/market crops can only be financed if they are located on low flood risk soils. As part of the protocol, mapping of flood risk areas in the intervention zone is required.</p>	<p>Economic market development Salvagu ardia</p>	<p>CT</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Feasible only with the inclusion of this safeguard in a multilateral loan</p>
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<p>Support for forestry projects in the <i>awala un</i> river and stream meadows.</p>	<p>On riverbanks it is possible to support forestry projects (mahogany, laurel, cedar, palms such as batana), which are resilient to the effects of floods. floods of floods of climate change. These plantations are in line with Miskitu cultural uses, in that the planting of timber trees is part of the last stage of the cultural use dynamics of these riverbanks. The planting of timber trees is part of the last stage of the dynamics of the cultural use of these riverbanks (which goes from the itinerant agriculture of cassava, to beans, to the semi-permanent cultivation of musaceae, and then ending with permanent polycultures). with permanent polycultures at the "finca hecho" <i>insla prata almo</i>). There is initial experience with this type of plantation in Tikiuraya</p>	<p>Support for the exploration of markets for production chains (in situ production and processing) of fine woods to be planted in the <i>Awala un</i> river and stream meadows; and eventual adaptation of a financing mechanism. co-financing of such ventures, taking into account that the installation of these ventures does not replace areas dedicated to the production of food crops for cultural uses for food sovereignty, preferring the occupation of pasture or grassland areas in the meadows.</p>	<p>Economic market development</p>	<p>CT/ICF/SERN A</p>	<p>Download</p>	<p>Long</p>	<p>Feasible with an economic development component of a multilateral credit</p>
<p>Adoption of an extended family approach for the support of productive projects</p>	<p>Individual or union productive support has not met the expectations of donors, since it does not match the tenure of the customary land tenure and family work organization. Women's associations with successful ventures tend to be based on networks family members.</p>	<p>Adoption of a production support safeguard / marketing/production chains that focus on the pre-existing social capital of extended families (matrilineages, marital alliance networks).</p>	<p>Economic market development Salvaguardia</p>	<p>TC / extended families</p>	<p>Download</p>	<p>Long</p>	<p>Feasible only with the inclusion of this safeguard in a multilateral loan</p>

<p>Financing of Miskitu matrilineages of ships equipped with single-seater hyperbaric chambers.</p>	<p>The working capital of the Miskitu Sálwina (saltwater) is concentrated in their transport and fishing equipment, where the lobster boats of the matrilineages stand out. The owners of these vessels are eager to expand their fleet (under similar conditions to the (u)nder conditions similar to the financing program for Bay Island vessels, which are the majority, facilitated by the Alliance for Progress), which could be conditioned to the provision of hyperbaric chambers.</p>	<p>Adoption of a line of financing of lobster boats to the Miskitu sálwina, conditioned to the provision of hyperbaric chambers on board.</p>	<p>Economic market development</p> <p>Protection of the vulnerable population: mitigation of the risk of immersion risk for Miskitu divers</p>	<p>Matrilineages with lobster boats</p>	<p>Mediana</p>	<p>Long</p>	<p>Feasible only with an economic development component of a multilateral loan</p>
<p>Fund to support small business initiatives in the communities to improve the supply of services, especially focused on women.</p>	<p>There is at the communities unsatisfied demand for non-agricultural goods and services (food processing, food processing, transformation of raw materials processing of raw materials such as batana, cutting and clothing, bakeries, confectionery, microcredit, cabinetmaking, etc.), which requires an increase in the supply of these goods and services. Projects successful projects (such as Plaplaya's yucca brava and coconut graters, the Pech, Miskitu, Pech and Tawahka lodgings, etc.) have been in charge of of women's groups.</p>	<p>Support / financing for the organization of indigenous women's groups / cooperatives to generate employment and meet the pent-up demand for non-agricultural goods and services in the communities. Support for the realization of a study of women's entrepreneurship initiatives and preferences and preferences of indigenous women's initiatives indigenous s, agricultural and non-agricultural enterprises; and support for their financing (which could result from IT participation resources in carbon markets, if this recommendation is implemented, through seed capital and/or credit funds from TCs).</p>	<p>Economic market development</p> <p>Support for a vulnerable population</p>	<p>TC / Women's groups</p>	<p>Mediana</p>	<p>Long</p>	<p>Feasible only with an economic development component of a multilateral loan or with the TCs' own resources, if they obtain them.</p>

	Support plan for the offer tourist	Potential (environmental, cultural, adventure, beach) of La Moskita is high, but is affected by the perception of insecurity (armed third parties, armed of insecurity (armed third parties, health health, snake bites), the loss of loss of biodiversity (in the Tawahka and Pech ITs) and the risk of investment in the area. in the face of change	Support to TCs for the formulation of a tourism offer strategy, taking into account the business models and design of resilient services for each type of tourism, the possibility of accepting strategic partners y financial requirements to support entrepreneurs.	Economic market development	CT/Secretary of Tourism	Download	Long	Feasible only with an economic development component of a multilateral loan.
		(especially hurricanes), which requires resilient solutions. The current offer (rooms in the <i>utla</i> lodging houses, small hotels, small hotels, small canteens) is precarious.						
	Youth: support for youth entrepreneurship initiatives for the benefit of young people. t he generation of agricultural and non-agricultural self-employment,	Lack of formal employment, reduction of cultural uses for to food sovereignty and the market, and a lack of conditions to develop their own to develop their own enterprises impact young people and generate migration and drug addiction.	Support for the realization of a study of initiatives and preferences of young people initiatives and preferences of indigenous, agricultural and non-agricultural indigenou s, agricultural and non-agricultural entrepreneurship initiatives and preferences; and support for their financing (which could result from IT participation resources in carbon markets, if such a recommendation is implemented, through seed capital funds and/or credit lines of the TCs)	Economic market development  Support for vulnerable populations	TC / youth/SEDE SOL	Download	Long	Feasible only with an economic development component of a multilateral loan or with the TCs' own resources, if they obtain them.