



Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



MAPPING AND TERRITORY: WHAT CRITICAL CARTOGRAPHY OFFERS TO AN ANALYSIS OF LAND GOVERNANCE?

FERNANDO GALEANA

Doctoral Candidate, Development Sociology, Cornell University, U.S.
fg255@cornell.edu

**Paper prepared for presentation at the
“2018 WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY”
The World Bank - Washington DC, March 19-23, 2018**

Copyright 2018 by author(s). All rights reserved. Readers may make verbatim copies of this document for non-commercial purposes by any means, provided that this copyright notice appears on all such copies.



Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



Abstract

The field of critical cartography attends to the ways in which cartographic practices “produce” territory through mapping. Critical cartography problematizes the assumptions of objectivity often presupposed in “technical” activities such as land surveying or identifying customary land tenure. Although this constructivist lens has significant implications for land governance analysis, the insights of critical cartography are usually not transferred into policy discussions. Building on the case of the Miskitu people in the region of Moskitia in eastern Honduras, this paper examines how cartographic practices have contributed to the making of indigenous territories. This paper argues that participatory mapping projects significantly influenced the formation of the indigenous territories, known as territorial councils in Honduras, transforming how stakeholders think about boundaries and the management of natural resources. This paper proposes that integrating the lens of critical cartography into an analysis of land governance can contribute to a better identification of the dynamics that emerge as effects of mapping and finding the most appropriate solutions.

Key Words: cartography, Honduras indigenous peoples, participatory mapping.



Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



Ancestral occupation is the underlying legal basis for the titling of indigenous peoples' lands. Article 14 of ILO Convention 169 calls on governments to "take the steps as necessary to identify the lands which the peoples concerned traditionally occupy, and to guarantee effective protection of their rights of ownership and possession." This legal mandate, as critical as it has been for making demands on and safeguarding indigenous peoples' land and territorial rights, presupposes that such a space bounded by traditional occupation already preexists the claim. In contrast, critical cartography attends to the ways in which the acts of identifying and claiming territory "produces" this space through the mobilization of different practices, techniques, and knowledges.

Building on the foundational works of Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991) and Michel Foucault's lectures on governmentality (2009), a vast literature has emerged examining the role that cartography has played in the formation of "nation-states" (Sahlins, 1989 ; Thongchai, 1994 ; Paasi, 1996 ; Elden, 2013). Over the last decade, scholars have also applied the lens of critical cartography to considering the effects that mapping and titling practices have had on indigenous peoples' traditional land tenure systems (Nadasdy, 2002 ; Hale, 2005 ; Bryan, 2011 ; Mollett, 2013). Joel Wainwright and Joe Bryan (2009) argue that the legalization of indigenous peoples' territories invariably alters the ontological relation that they have with the land, which sometimes could lead to detrimental effects for managing access and distribution of resources.

The objective of this paper is to contribute to the analysis of land governance in indigenous territories from a perspective of critical cartography. I build on the case of Moskitia, an indigenous region in eastern Honduras, to exemplify how critical cartography could complement ongoing efforts to manage the territories that were recently titled in favor of the Miskitu people. I provide a brief introduction to the field of critical cartography and the questions that have emerged in relation to the titling of indigenous lands. Next, I describe the titling process in Moskitia and the new socio-spatial order that has emerged. Then, I elaborate two case studies—one based on timber and another based on fishery—to explain possible entry points for policy support from the perspective of critical cartography.



Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



MAPS, KNOWLEDGE, AND REPRESENTATION

The work of critical cartographer Brian Harley has been fundamental for rethinking the way that we study maps. Harley (2002) studied maps not as representations of reality but as texts. In his deconstruction analysis, Harley evinced the epistemological foundations that made possible state or official cartographies. Particularly, his work on colonial maps revealed the ways in which cartography serve to naturalize and reinforce relations of power (Harley, 2001). Harley's deconstruction analysis, however, suggested that alternative representations of space could be achieved. Known as "counter-maps", this alternative form of cartography became part of a new arsenal to support and empower indigenous peoples. Bernard Nietschmann, an American geographer and avid supporter of indigenous territorial rights, captured the sentiment of counter-maps eloquently in the phrase "more indigenous territory can be reclaimed by maps than by guns" (1995, p. 37). Participatory mapping projects, first developed in the context of aboriginal land rights claims in Canada (Brody, 1981), became increasingly popular throughout Latin America in the 1990s (Chapin et al., 2005 ; Stocks, 2005). Participatory maps transformed counter-maps from theoretical possibilities to concrete alternative representations of state spaces.

Supporters of participatory mapping drew inspiration and methodological guidance from participatory research and rapid rural appraisal methods. However, a distinction was drawn between the "empiricists", who approached mapping as a cognitive recognition of a preexisting territory (Herlihy & Knapp, 2003a), and the "relationalist", who argued that conceptions of territory were themselves produced in a matrix of social experiences and mapping practices (Gordon & Hale, 2003). Hence, the "critical" for counter-mappers has come to stand for two distinct qualities. On the one hand, critical cartographers critique statist representations of space and argue that we need to take into account indigenous perspectives. On the other hand, relationalists take their critique even further by paying attention to how their own involvement becomes complicit in the production of space.

This perspectival difference has important implications for the ways in which counter-mappers have engaged with efforts to title indigenous territories. The empiricist approach emphasizes the production of knowledge about space (Herlihy & Knapp, 2003b). More knowledge can lead to better maps, which themselves can help to document traditional occupation and



facilitate titling procedures. In contrast, the relationalist approach posits that titling requirements impose a new ontological order on customary land tenure practices (Wainwright & Bryan, 2009). In other words, titling requirements paradoxically end up transforming the traditional systems that they seek to protect (Nadasdy, 2003). This group of scholars is particularly concerned that land titling would perpetuate or exacerbate inequalities within and between territories (Wainwright & Bryan, 2009 ; Mollett, 2013) as well as insert communities into new systems of economic dependency and surplus extraction (Hale, 2005 ; Hale, 2011).

Drawing of the case of the Honduran Moskitia, I examine some of these dynamics in the context of a specific land titling process. I will explain how mapping and legal recognition has changed how people think about territory and boundaries. These boundaries could potentially disrupt the way that communities have customarily access land and natural resources. The paper will address how communities are managing these new dynamics and provide recommendations for future analysis. The essential implication of critical cartography to land governance analysis is the identification of new actors and dynamics within these processes.

THE HONDURAN MOSKITIA

The British officially established a protectorate on the Mosquito Coast in 1749-1786 and 1840-1860. In 1857, Great Britain signed treaties with Honduras and Nicaragua ceding claims over a protectorate on the Mosquito Coast. Although the treaty demanded the Honduran state to recognize the property rights of the Miskitu, this did not occur. Moskitia was annexed as a territory, albeit with minimal presence of the state at least until 1960s. In the 1980s, the refugee crisis that resulted from the Contra conflict in Nicaragua and the growing migration of mestizo colonists increased pressures on the land (Perez Chiriboga, 2002 ; Miralda Bulnes, 2012). During this period, the Miskitu people organize to demand legal protection over their ancestral homeland.

The organization Unity of the Miskitu People (MASTA) is the federation that represents the Miskitu people. MASTA was established in 1976 as an initiative from student and magisterial gremial associations from the Department of Gracias a Dios. During the early years, the organization did not have broad community support (Perez Chiriboga, 2002) , but its influence grew over time. The main factor that contributed to MASTA's rise was its involvement with the agenda to legalize indigenous lands. The first campaign for land legalization began in 1988 with



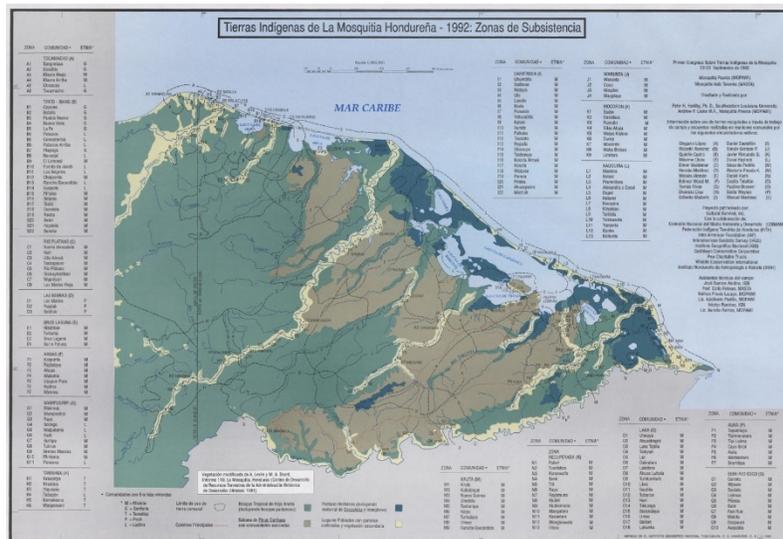
Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



support from the Agency for Development of Moskitia (MOPAWI), a non-governmental organization. Initially, the government proposed to title only the perimeter of communities, leaving Moskitia’s forests and wetlands under state ownership. In 1992, MASTA and MOPAWI collaborated with the American-based nonprofit Cultural Survival to produce a map that would show that the functional habitats of the Miskitu were larger than the areas immediately adjacent to the community boundaries (Figure 1). The map divided Moskitia into seventeen “subsistence zones” and was the first participatory map of indigenous land tenure in Honduras.

Figure 1: Subsistence Zones Map (Chapin et al., 2005)



The subsistence zones, however, were themselves cartographic artifices that were produced by the mapping project. For example, the map claimed that the subsistence zones represented indigenous land use, but these zones had already been pre-determined during the preparatory stage. These zones were actually the equivalent of census sectors “to facilitate the logistics of collecting the information” (Herlihy & Leake, 1997, p. 715). The boundaries of these subsistence zones were drawn based on the relief features of the “official cartographic sheets” produced by the Honduran National Geographic Institute. Furthermore, the final number of subsistence zones was reduced from 22 to 17 in order “to make the map more legible” (Herlihy & Leake, 1997, p. 724). As such, the map produced a spatial representation that may not have necessarily reflected the way that indigenous peoples view their own territoriality. In other words, the subsistence zones reflected



Land Governance in an Interconnected World

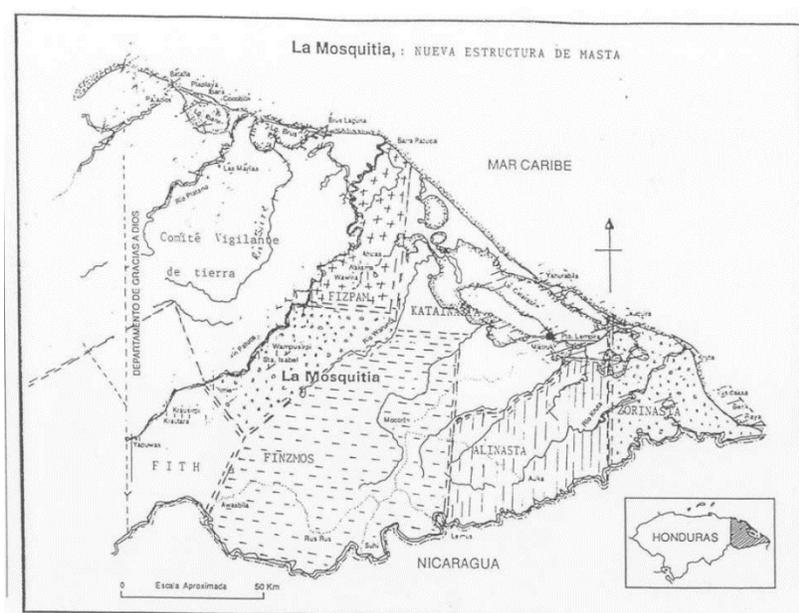
ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



the ideas of sustainable development, cultural ecology, and standard cartographic practices much more than they reflected indigenous land use (Wainwright, 2011).

Both empiricists and relationalists would agree that this artifice of cartographic representations is common to all maps. Simplification of complex spatial relations is the very condition of possibility of maps. From a relationist perspective, however, its main achievement is not necessarily that it accurately captured existing indigenous land use as much as it generated new interests on spatial arrangements. In particular, the map became the basis for spatializing MASTA's organizational structure. Before the map, MASTA had a structure based on *filiales* (chapters) located in the largest communities. The structure of *filiales* was modeled on the membership-based teachers' federations, but it was hardly appropriate for an indigenous federation. MOPAWI promoted the idea of re-organizing MASTA's structure into federations, each with their own territorial jurisdiction, with the hope that they would become the bodies of future titled indigenous territories. On the basis of the subsistence zones, MASTA's leadership re-organized the space of Moskitia into seven federations in 1994 (Figure 2) (Chapin & Threlkeld, 2001). The Federation of the Tawahka People, which had been established earlier, also shared this space.

Figure 2: MASTA's Federations (MASTA, 1994)





Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



MASTA and MOPAWI presented the first legalization proposal to the Honduran government in 1995. With the federative model in mind, the proposal advocated for declaring the department of Gracias a Dios as an indigenous territory. The intention was to firmly reject the government's counter-proposal which involved titling only the perimeter of individual communities. The proposal, however, did not frame territoriality in terms of a political right to autonomy, such as the one that existed on the Moskitia region of eastern Nicaragua (Hale, 1996). Instead, the justification for territorial rights was based on a combination of cultural rights and the positive contribution of indigenous land use practices to environmental conservation. Despite this quasi-technocratic framing, carefully articulated in the language of sustainable development, the government rejected the proposal. The prospect of recognizing the Honduran Moskitia as an indigenous territory was considered too radical, potentially igniting a separatist movement, in the eyes of the government.

During the following years, MASTA continued to refine its proposal for land legalization. In the mid-2000s, MASTA once again changed its organizational structure from seven federations to twelve territorial councils. The new structure is based on a three-tier governance model with representation at the regional, territorial, and community level. The name of MASTA, however, continued to be associated with the top echelon. MASTA received assistance from the Ford Foundation and the American-based non-profit Caribbean and Central America Research Council to develop a new proposal for titling the territorial councils (Bryan, 2011). The proposal was once again rejected, but the government agreed to continue working with MASTA in the framework of two ongoing land titling programs, the Land Administration Program, financed by the World Bank, and the Community Territorial Ordering and Environmental Conservation Project (PROTEP), financed by the German cooperation. In 2012, the government issued the first title to the territorial council of KATAINASTA. The other eleven councils were titled between 2013 and 2016. The state also titled an area to the Pech and another to the Garifuna communities of Gracias a Dios.

Although the titling of the territorial councils is a major achievement, the new socio-spatial order of Moskitia has also produced new interests and issues over the control of land and natural resources. First, the demarcation of borders between the territorial councils created artificial lines that may in fact alter the traditional land use that the titles were supposed to protect (Bryan, 2011).



Second, mapping and titling motivated the fragmentation of grassroots movements along ethnic lines in order to justify traditional occupation based on ancestry (Mollett, 2006, 2013). Third, the titling process fostered a vision of autonomy narrowly focused on property rights as supposed than the transcendence of economic relations of dependency (Hale, 2011).

The indigenous leadership, government, and donors agencies have not been oblivious to the challenges of the new property regime. In fact, the multiple maps and studies prepared to support the titling evinced the need to establish flexible arrangements in order to account for traditional land use activities across the territorial councils. For this reason, the titles included a clause to protect the traditional right of use and extraction for the Miskitu people. In the post-titling phase, government and donor agencies are supporting the territorial councils in the preparation of land use and natural resource regulations. This is an important and necessary task, but one that I argue has been done without explicitly acknowledging that the titling efforts co-constituted these problems. In other words, some of the current interests and positions on resources were formed because of the way in which Moskitia was carved into territorial councils. Next, I offer two examples to illustrate this point.

CASE STUDY 1: THE TRIPARTITE ZONE

The Kipahni watershed is an area of approximately 12,000 hectares with an abundant supply of precious woods and fertile agricultural land. This patch of evergreen forest is located in the lower Patuca River area, about 20 miles from the coast, and is surrounded by marshlands. Therefore, Kipahni is an important source of natural resources for the communities in the vicinity. In particular, Kipahni is the main source of precious wood for Barra Patuca, a Miskitu fishermen's town located at the mouth of the Patuca River. Other Miskitu communities recognized Barra Patuca's claim over Kipahni as traditional use but that wasn't enough to prevent a disagreement over the titling of the area. The disagreement emerged from the way in which the territorial councils were divided.

The Kipahni watershed is located within the boundaries of the Rio Platano Biosphere Reserve (RPBR), the largest protected area in Honduras which extends across the departments of Gracias a Dios, Colon, and Olancho. The RPBR was declared in 1981 without informing or consulting with the communities that lived in the area. In 1990, the communities in the department



of Gracias a Dios (Moskitia region) joined into the Committee for the Vigilance of the Land (CVT) to defend their rights against the encroachment of park authorities and mestizo colonists arriving in increasing quantities to settle in the area. The CVT was an inter-ethnic coalition—composed of Garifuna, Miskitu, Pech, and “native” mestizo—and its sphere of influence was precisely the RPBR’s boundaries in the department of Gracias a Dios. Although not all of the CVT’s members were Miskitu, the organization joined MASTA as one of its federations. MASTA was originally founded as “Unity of the People of Moskitia”, so it wasn’t a contradiction that they would claim representation over non-Miskitu communities.

When the initial titling proposal failed, communities started to claim representation along ethnic lines rather than interest-based coalitions. CVT split into Miskitu, Garifuna, and Pech factions in the late 1990s. Almost immediately, the Miskitu faction also divided into two territorial councils. This division was the result of a local rivalries between the coastal villages located in the area of the Platano River and Brus Laguna, the largest town in the area. The coastal villages formed the territorial council of RAYAKA and Brus Laguna formed DIUNAT. Brus Laguna was also the administrative seat of the municipality by the same name. The borders of DIUNAT roughly matched those of the municipality. Barra Patuca, which is part of the municipality of Brus Laguna, was initially included in DIUNAT.

Following the example of RAYAKA, the patuqueño leaders became interested in organizing a council of their own. Under the new territorial formation of Moskitia having their own council would enable the patuqueños to have more autonomy over their local affairs, more direct representation in MASTA, and possibly a greater share of development assistance per capita. In other words, this was a strategic decision taken in the context of the land titling process. In 2006, against DIUNAT’s wishes, MASTA accepted Barra Patuca as its twelfth council under the name of BASTIASTA. The problem came during the demarcation of boundaries. BASTIASTA claimed the area of Kipahni, but the area was neither contiguous to Barra Patuca nor used exclusively by them. Miskitu from DIUNAT and BASTIASTA also had claims over the area.

MASTA brokered an agreement to title the Kipahni watershed among the three councils. Thus, the area became known as the “tripartite zone” (see Figure 3). Co-ownership is a pragmatic solution in the context of the titling process, but it does not necessarily solve the problem of



management. Since the tripartite zone was titled in 2015, residents of Barra Patuca have protested against restrictions of use imposed by the authority of another council. Also, they have resented that non-patuqueños are buying land in the area which they see as undermining their rights. The immediate problem is that no regulations have been issued yet for managing the natural sources in Kipahni. The area is not necessarily an “open-access resource” (Schlager & Ostrom, 1992), but governance is weakened by the existence of multiple users affiliated to different councils.

CASE STUDY 2: THE CARATASCA LAGOON SYSTEM

The Caratasca Lagoon System (CLS) is composed of five lagoons and multiple rivers, creeks, and marshlands. It is one of the most important coastal habitats in Honduras and an important source of livelihood and identity for the Miskitu people. In 1994, virtually all the communities living on the shores of the CLS were grouped under the KATAINASTA federation. From the point of view of functional habitats, this division made sense. Just like in the case of CVT, however, community leaders began to seize the opportunity of creating new councils to increase representation and leadership opportunities. KATAINASTA split into two. The council that retained the name regrouped in the two keys between the Caratasca Lagoon and the Caribbean Sea. The other council became known as Auhya Yari, the Miskitu name for the town of Puerto Lempira, the departmental capital of Gracias a Dios. In addition, three other councils gained access to the CLS in the redefinitions of boundaries. As a result, today the CLS is shared by five councils. In addition, the populations of at least another three councils depend on the resources of the CLS.

In contrast to the case of the tripartite zone, the question of shared used in the CLS faces three additional challenges. First, the territorial councils have preferential rights over water surfaces, but the state still enjoys ownership. Second, controlling access to and managing the ecosystem of fishing resources is much more difficult than for land and forests. Third, the commercial importance of the fish and seafood resources, as well as aquatic transport, located in the CLS is substantial. Therefore, any type of co-management would not only include the five councils, but also the state, individual producers, and enterprises.

In response to this situation, donors have been working towards the conformation of a macro framework to manage the CLS. Specifically, the International Union for the Conservation



Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



of Nature (UICN) and MOPAWI worked closely with MASTA and the five territorial councils to enter into a “Political Agreement for the Use and Management of the CLS”. The agreement was finally signed in 2016 by the representatives of MASTA and the five territorial councils, but the state agency in charge of the CLS, the Ministry of Environment, has not yet officially recognize it. Also, there is the question of how to ensure the compliance of the fishermen associations, commercial enterprises, and transport companies that use the resources of the CLS.

In any case, the political agreement is only a general framework for cooperation. The management of the CLS would require more specific regulations. Again IUCN and MOPAWI have already advanced on this front by supporting two councils in the preparation of their own regulations. One of the critical components of the regulation is the proposal to levy a canon for commercial activities in the CLS. This would be an important source of income for the territorial councils, which if administered properly could help them finance an administrative structure and development initiatives. But again, the regulations would need to endorse by the state authorities in order to make them compulsory. Unfortunately, the regulatory framework for the co-management of water surfaces is not well-developed in the Honduran legislation. Therefore, this is really a new situation not only for the Miskitu but also for the state. Also, there is the issue of how the regulations would be enforced and monitored “collectively” among the five territorial councils. So far, the route is for each council to formulate its own regulation. In the case of water resources, this individualistic approach would not be as effective as broader collective action among the five territorial councils.

DISCUSSION

In presenting the cases of the tripartite zone and the CLS, the need for an inter-council regulatory framework is evident. As mentioned earlier, the need to have regulations is widely acknowledged by all parties. MASTA made important contributions to broker agreements among councils for shared governance of the resources. Donors are supporting efforts to draft regulations and foster cooperation agreements across the councils. The government is promoting a multi-stakeholder platform, known as the Alliance for the Development of Moskitia, to coordinate region-wide initiatives. So, a lack of awareness about the need to regulate natural resources is not the problem. What often goes unacknowledged is how the titling process itself has contributed to



Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



the current shape of the problem. Understanding this genealogy can help us think about creative solution for improving land governance.

Indigenous peoples of Moskitia have used the land and natural resources of the region from time immemorial. But, during the last three decades, the concern over obtaining land titles has changed the way that they perceive and organize these spatial relations. First, there was a move towards grouping communities into large federations in order to demand territorial titles as supposed than community titles. Second, there was a reversed move towards fractioning the federations into smaller territorial councils. I argued that this subdivision was mainly the result of local elites who saw the new socio-spatial order as an opportunity to increase their power and representation.

If we pay attention to this history, we can see that there is a trend towards greater fractioning. For example, indigenous authorities have shown a proclivity towards formulating regulations, land use plans, and other planning instruments at the level of their territorial councils. Generally, donors have also followed this practice as working with the territorial council has become the “natural” order of things in Moskitia. It is easier, cheaper, and more politically feasible to divide tasks by territorial councils rather than thinking about regional structures. The political agreement supported by IUCN and MOPAWI is an exception, but it remains to be seen whether the councils are able to coordinate regulations as well.

The danger of following this trend is that partitioning tasks by territorial councils may not be the most effective way of protecting traditional land and natural resource use and strengthening land governance. The lessons from the “relationist” school of critical cartography have taught us that borders divide, create new vested interests, and facilitate state capture. Nonetheless, critical cartographers are also realistic that we live in a world dominated by the hegemony of the state and the law. Maps and titles would continue to be important tools for protecting indigenous land rights. In the face of this hegemony, one approach is to continue fostering those regional structures that collectively can exert greater pressure on the state and improve the coordination of actions for co-management. Furthermore, there is no reason why these structures cannot operate as inter-ethnic coalitions rather than dividing by ethnicity. This could also mean being more explicit about the



Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



integration of the mestizo population who have become part of the social fabric of the communities.

One way to move forward is to look into the past. During the 1990s, indigenous leaders of Moskitia experimented with this regional, inter-ethnic approach. Today, there is an opportunity to reengage with these efforts by supporting the Unity of Afro-Honduran and Indigenous Peoples of the Honduran Moskitia (UPIMH). This unit was created in 2004 as a platform for regional cooperation, but has remained mostly inactive. UPIMH, however, is considered the official counterpart of the government in the Alliance for Development of Moskitia. In UPIMH, the population of Moskitia could find a common voice for defending their rights. Of course, MASTA will also continue to play a critical role in fostering the coordination among the territorial councils.

CONCLUSION

Building on the case of the Honduran Moskitia, this paper examined how cartographic practices contributed to the formation of indigenous territoriality. Applying a lens of relationist critical cartography, the main argument was that the territorial councils were not “natural” expressions of traditional land use but rather “effects” of the mapping and titling process itself. I presented two cases—Kipahni and the CLS—to show how part of the governance problem is rooted in the way that the federations subdivided into territorial councils. Finally, I proposed that strengthening land governance would require mitigating the tendencies towards greater fractionalization by supporting regional, inter-ethnic structures. The situation presented here is, of course, not unique to indigenous territories. If anything, the emergence of the “nation-state” is the best example of conceiving a territory as an exclusive container of a society (Agnew, 1994 ; Sassen, 2000 ; Murphy, 2013). Although indigenous peoples are pushed into playing the game of exclusive territoriality (Murphy, 1989 ; Nadasdy, 2012), they also have an opportunity to repurpose it in order to construct something new.



Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



References

- Agnew, J. (1994). The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory. *Review of International Political Economy*, 1(1), 53-80. doi:10.2307/4177090
- Brody, H. (1981). *Maps and dreams: Indians and the British Columbia frontier*. Vancouver, B.C.: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd.
- Bryan, J. (2011). Walking the line: Participatory mapping, indigenous rights, and neoliberalism. *Geoforum*, 42(1), 40-50. doi:<http://10.1016/j.geoforum.2010.09.001>
- Chapin, M., Lamb, Z., & Threlkeld, B. (2005). Mapping Indigenous Lands. *Annual review of anthropology*, 34, 619-638. doi:<http://10.1146/annurev.anthro.34.081804.120429>
- Chapin, M., & Threlkeld, B. (2001). *Indigenous Landscapes: Lessons in Ethnographic cartography*. Arlington, Va.: Center for Native Lands.
- Elden, S. (2013). *The birth of territory*: University of Chicago Press.
- Foucault, M. (2009). *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977--1978* (Vol. 4): Macmillan.
- Gordon, E. T., & Hale, C. (2003). Rights, Resources, and the Social Memory of Struggle: Reflections and Black Community Land Rights on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. *Human Organization*, 62(4), 369-381.
- Hale, C. (1996). *Resistance and contradiction: Miskitu Indians and the Nicaraguan state, 1894-1987*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Hale, C. (2005). Neoliberal multiculturalism. *PoLAR: political and legal anthropology review*, 28(1), 10-19.
- Hale, C. (2011). Resistencia para que? Territory, autonomy and neoliberal entanglements in the 'empty spaces' of Central America. *Economy and Society*, 40(2), 184-210. doi:<http://10.1080/03085147.2011.548947>
- Harley, J. B. (2001). New England Cartography and the Native Americans. In P. Laxton (Ed.), *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Harley, J. B. (2002). *The new nature of maps: essays in the history of cartography*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Herlihy, P. H., & Knapp, G. (2003a). Maps of, by, and for the peoples of Latin America. *Human Organization*, 62(4), 303-314.
- Herlihy, P. H., & Knapp, G. (2003b). Participatory Mapping of Indigenous Lands in Latin America. *Human Organization*, 64(4).
- Herlihy, P. H., & Leake, A. P. (1997). Participatory Research Mapping of Indigenous Lands in the Honduran Moskitia. In A. R. Pebley & L. Rosero-Bixby (Eds.), *Demographic Diversity and Change in the Central American Isthmus* (pp. 707-703). Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Books.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell.
- MASTA. (1994). Declaración de Miskito Asla Takanka. Puerto Lempira.



Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



- Miralda Bulnes, D. (2012). *Latwan Laka Danh Takisa: los pueblos originarios y la guerra de baja intensidad en el territorio de La Moskitia, República de Honduras, [Tomo I]*. Tegucigalpa: Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia.
- Mollett, S. (2006). Race and Natural Resource Conflicts in Honduras: The Miskito and Garifuna Struggle for Lasa Pulan. *Latin American Research Review*, 41(1), 76-101. doi:<http://10.2307/3662785>
- Mollett, S. (2013). Mapping Deception: The Politics of Mapping Miskito and Garifuna Space in Honduras. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*(ahead-of-print).
- Murphy, A. B. (1989). Territorial Policies in Multiethnic States. *Geographical Review*, 79(4), 410-421. doi:10.2307/215115
- Murphy, A. B. (2013). Territory's Continuing Allure. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 103(5), 1212-1226. doi:10.1080/00045608.2012.696232
- Nadasdy, P. (2002). "Property" and Aboriginal Land Claims in the Canadian Subarctic: Some Theoretical Considerations. *American Anthropologist*, 104(1), 247-261.
- Nadasdy, P. (2003). *Hunters and bureaucrats: power, knowledge, and aboriginal-state relations in the southwest Yukon*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Nadasdy, P. (2012). Boundaries among kin: sovereignty, the modern treaty process, and the rise of ethno-territorial nationalism among Yukon First Nations. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 54(03), 499-532.
- Nietschmann, B. (1995, 1995 Jan 31). Defending the Miskito Reefs with Maps and GPS: Mapping With Sail, Scuba, and Satellite. *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, 18, 34.
- Paasi, A. (1996). *Territories, boundaries, and consciousness: the changing geographies of the Finnish-Russian border*. Chichester, England: J. Wiley & Sons.
- Perez Chiriboga, I. M. (2002). *Espíritus de vida y muerte: los miskitu hondureños en época de guerra*. Tegucigalpa: Editorial Guaymuras.
- Sahlins, P. (1989). *Boundaries: the making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sassen, S. (2000). Territory and Territoriality in the Global Economy. *International Sociology*, 15(2), 372-393. doi:doi:10.1177/0268580900015002014
- Schlager, E., & Ostrom, E. (1992). Property-Rights Regimes and Natural Resources: A Conceptual Analysis. *Land Economics*, 68(3), 249-262.
- Stocks, A. (2005). Too much for too few: problems of indigenous land rights in Latin America. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.*, 34, 85-104.
- Thongchai, W. (1994). *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Wainwright, J. (2011). *Decolonizing development: colonial power and the Maya*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
- Wainwright, J., & Bryan, J. (2009). Cartography, territory, property: postcolonial reflections on indigenous counter-mapping in Nicaragua and Belize. *Cultural Geographies*, 16(2), 153-178. doi:<http://10.1177/1474474008101515>

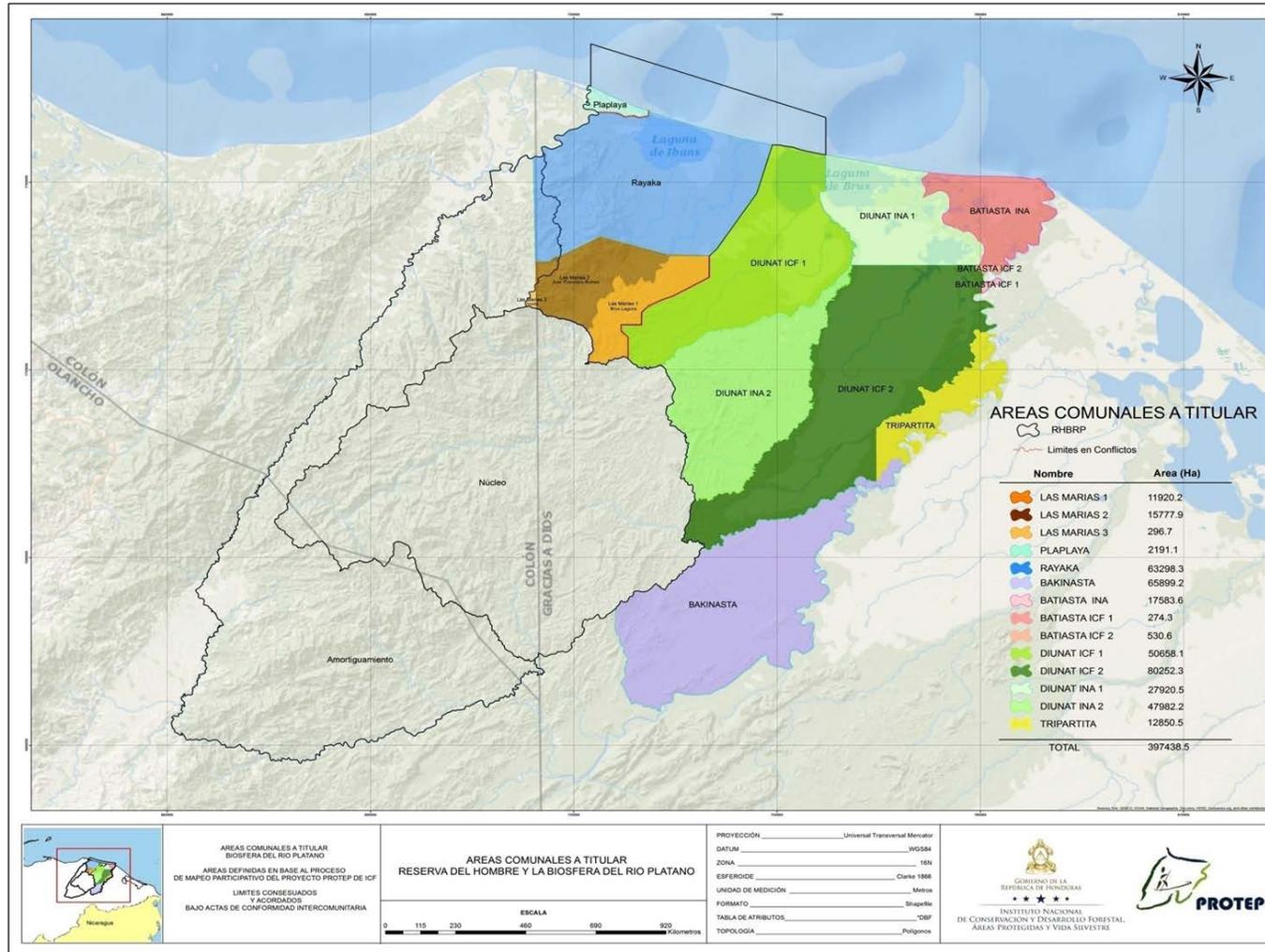


Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018



Figure 3: Titles in the Rio Platano Biosphere Reserve





Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 19-23, 2018

