TRANSLATING PARTICIPATORY THEORY INTO PRACTICE:
INSIGHTS FROM HONDURAS ON RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL AID ORGANIZATIONS, COMMUNITIES, AND THE GOVERNMENT WITHIN THE SETTING OF DISASTER RELATED PROJECTS

Author: Laura Parrott
Supervisor: Anne Jerneck
Abstract

As foreign aid money is continually spent in developing countries, it is incumbent that international aid organizations work towards improving the effectiveness of their projects. In the setting and context of disaster risk reduction and disaster recovery projects, this thesis aims to understand how foreign aid organizations can make Honduran communities less dependent on foreign aid through specific aspects of their relationships with communities and the local government. This research was done with a qualitative research design where ten international aid organizations were interviewed about community participation and working with the government. A framework and theory of participatory development was used to analyze the findings and the research was conducted through the perspective of the organizations. This thesis found that many organizations blur the lines between the ‘community’ and ‘local government leaders’, and participation is all too often used as a cosmetic label where communities ‘participate’ through contributing physically. Recommendations for international aid organizations include: making it clear internally who the organizations want to benefit, having an honest dialogue with the community without the presence of the government, being clear about the level of participation the organizations want in the project, and fund projects pre-identified by the community themselves.

Key Words: participatory development, NGOs, disaster risk reduction, disaster recovery, foreign aid
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### Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DRR</td>
<td>Disaster Risk Reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAS</td>
<td>Organization of American States</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>INGO</td>
<td>International Non-governmental organization</td>
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<td>HFA</td>
<td>Hyogo Framework for Action</td>
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<td>ISDR</td>
<td>International Strategy for Disaster Reduction</td>
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<td>IDNDR</td>
<td>International Decade on Natural Disaster Reduction</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFRC</td>
<td>International Federation of the Red Crescent</td>
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<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>JICA</td>
<td>Japanese Development Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community Based Organizations</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 Community participation and government institutions in the context of disasters and development

Over the decades, foreign aid money has been poured into developing countries, and donor countries see little end in sight; with high levels of poverty still rampant in some pockets of the world, the world’s most vulnerable still struggle to raise themselves out of the poverty cycle. Mikkelsen (2005) argues that it is generally agreed among development practitioners that community participation is needed to have long-term results and sustainability in development projects (Mikkelsen, 2005: 54). Therefore community participation can be linked to sustainability, which in turn can help overcome aid dependency. This relationship highlights the importance of looking at community participation in foreign aid projects.

Meanwhile, not until the 1990s did donors and governments recognize the significant relationship between disasters and development (Cannon, Terry cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 300). Natural hazards that become disasters not only delay development of infrastructure, but more specifically can affect jobs and livelihoods (ibid). Terry Cannon (2008) notes that many development projects happen without considering hazards in the area and there are no current references to disasters in the Millennium Development Goals (ibid :301).

Particularly in developing countries, international aid agencies need to work with the government on all levels to effectively implement work in disaster relief, recovery, and disaster risk reduction (DRR) (Harvey, Paul, 2009: 11). Aid agencies often have policies and rhetoric that clearly commit to building local capacity in institutions (Sphere, 2004; IFRC, 1994; as cited in Harvey, Paul, 2009: 27), however in reality there tends to be a gap between policies and operations (Pakarama, 2007, as cited in Harvey, Paul, 2009: 27). More research needs to be done on the exactly how international aid organizations are implementing these disaster recovery and disaster risk reduction projects and the extent to which they include government and community counterparts. Thus, the
motivation for this thesis came from this interest in how organizations work with local communities and governments and existing challenges in this context. Through understanding existing challenges we can refine current strategies and increase aid effectiveness.

1.1 Honduras and Vulnerability

“We lost in 72 hours what we have taken more than 50 years to build, bit by bit”

-Previous Honduran President Carlos Flores in 1998 after Hurricane Mitch

(Cannon, Terry as cited in Desai & Potter, 2008: 301)

Honduras is an interesting and noteworthy country to focus on because it is annually exposed to hurricanes, cyclones, and earthquakes while also struggling to alleviate high levels of poverty. Thus the theme of disasters and development is important to organizations working in Honduras and an area where further research is beneficial. Because of the relevant theme of disasters in Honduras, I chose it as the setting for looking at the relationship between international aid organizations and the communities, and between international aid organizations and the government. In this section I will briefly introduce some of the context behind Honduras and disasters.

As one of the least developed economies in Latin America where over half of the population lives in poverty and one third in extreme poverty (Telford, 2004: 2), Honduras is an example of a country that is particularly exposed to tremendous unmitigated affliction in times of natural disasters. This makes Honduras especially vulnerable to disasters and underlines the need to pay close attention to disaster risk reduction strategies and sustainable disaster coping mechanisms that integrate community needs.

A mainstream definition of vulnerability has been stated as “the characteristics of a person or group and their situation that influences their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a natural hazard (Wisner et al. 2004: 11 as cited in Cannon, Terry in Desai & Potter, 2008: 303). In 2004 the minimum wage in Honduras was $1.09 an hour and in 2003 about 28 percent of Hondurans were unemployed (Kras, 2007: 71). Over half of all working Hondurans are self-employed (Kras, 2007: 71); these
people with low incomes and self-employment usually do no have any financial cushion to recover from major disasters thus highlighting the vulnerability that exists within the Honduran population.

The Inter-American Development Bank approved a $75 million credit line for Honduras that will be used for building capacity of local disaster risk management and strengthen institutions (Inter-American Development Bank, 2009). Additionally, the United States’ planned budget for the 2010 fiscal year was $49.5 million dollars for aid in Honduras (US State Department, 2010). With the amount of foreign aid money being spent in Honduras, especially in disaster risk management, research and investigations need to be conducted to see what patterns of failure or success are evolving from these disaster risk management activities. This can help decide if funds are being spent in the most efficient manner and guide policy and program designs.

Politically, Honduras has experienced some recent instability. Since 1982 Honduras has had democratically elected leaders with three branches of government (Kras, 2007: 27, 83), however, in June 2009 a Coup d’état took place. When ex president Jose Manuel "Mel" Zelaya Rosales tried to hold a public poll supporting a referendum to the Constitution, his plans were ruled illegal and government agencies were told not to support his plans (US Department of State, 2010). However, Zelaya ignored the rulings and army soldiers seized Zelaya in his home on the day of the public polls, and the President of Congress replaced him as President (ibid). An election was held in November 2009 electing Porfirio Lobo, however the Organization of American States (OAS) suspended Honduras as a participant because of the forced removal of the President (ibid). As per the Paris Agreement, donor agencies aim to strengthen government institutions, thus my research will also investigate challenges donor agencies experience when working with a relatively unstable government. This political background is important context when discussing the findings.

1.2 Disposition

My thesis will begin with outlining the research aim, questions, and the importance of this research. The methodology section will follow and discuss what research design was
employed for the study, why it was used, and limitations that exist. Following the methodology, I introduce my participatory development framework that will be used in analyzing my data and how it will be used in the analysis. Additionally, a section on the relationship between NGOs and local institutions will be presented and used as a concept in the discussion. This will be followed by a background of international policies in DRR, information about Honduras, disasters, and aid dependency, which is used for setting the context for the analysis and discussion. This will also give the reader a more thorough understanding of Honduras and its history with disasters. Following that, I present my findings and analysis according to its corresponding research question. This is the bulk of my thesis where I use qualitative data to analyze my research questions and present my findings. My conclusion will summarize my findings and articulate how they contribute to the aim of my thesis. This is followed by a critique on participatory development theory and areas for future research. I conclude with a discussion of ‘Looking Forward’ where I present a short discussion on the future of Honduras in the context of my thesis.

1.3 Purpose and Research Questions

As mentioned earlier, this particular area of development projects-- disaster recovery and disaster risk reduction (DRR)—will be used as the setting for looking at relationships between foreign aid organizations, communities, and the government.

This thesis uses the assumption in participatory development theory that community involvement is indispensable to development projects (Desai, V. as cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 115). Meanwhile, solid government relations with NGOs can enhance the role NGO’s play in development and support the quality of government services (ibid: 528). Aid effectiveness policies, such as the Accra Accord and Paris Agenda stress the importance of NGOs and multi-lateral organizations in using country systems and aligning with local government systems to improve aid effectiveness (OECD, 2011).

All of the research questions are asked from the perspective of international aid organizations. This thesis is structured around the following overall purpose:
To understand how foreign aid organizations can make Honduran communities less dependent on foreign aid through specific aspects of their relationships with communities and local government institutions in disaster recovery and DRR projects.

This purpose will be explored through the following research questions:

1) How is the community involved in disaster recovery and disaster risk reduction (DRR) projects implemented by foreign aid organizations?

2) How is community participation used to increase sustainability in disaster recovery and DRR projects?

3) What are challenges of community participation?

4) What problems do foreign aid organizations experience with the Honduran government when implementing disaster recovery and DRR projects?

Below is a diagram that illustrates the aspects of the two relationships that will be explored in this thesis. The first relationship is between foreign aid organizations and the local communities. The main aspect that will be analyzed is how these organizations include the community in their projects and what existing challenges these organizations face through encouraging community participation. The second relationship to be explored is between foreign aid organizations and the government where challenges of working with government institutions will be discussed. Understanding these aspects through the four research questions will allow for constructive recommendations that can add to improving disaster recovery and DRR programs and decrease aid dependency.
My research aims to be a summative evaluation, meaning that the general purpose is to understand the trend of challenges in community participation and government participation in the area of disaster recovery and DRR projects implemented by international aid organizations (Mikkelsen, 2005: 133). Further this aims to be a formative evaluation because the thesis aim will provide recommendations for improvements in the context of the problem area (ibid). This research is important in contributing to community participation theory literature because it serves as empirical evidence of methods in integrating the community into development projects and challenges that international organizations experience when promoting community participation. Through my research questions, weaknesses and challenges of community participation will emerge and my aim is to identify these existing trends. Through identifying trends international aid organizations can adjust their approach as needed to more effectively implement activities.

Further, this research also serves as empirical evidence in challenges with working with the government from the perspective of international aid organizations. While the Paris Agenda and Accra Accord stress the importance of working with government counterparts and local government systems, how this translates into practice and
challenges that arise is an area where this thesis can contribute.

My research is an interpretative study, which means the typical design is a case study and the dominant perspective is from the study subjects’, which in this case are the international aid organizations (Mikkelsen, 2005: 126).

1.4 Scope of the Thesis

When talking about the community, my thesis will generalize to all community members either in a village or neighborhood where a project is being implemented. Although a deeper analysis of groups within the community would be beneficial, my thesis is limited to the community as a whole. This thesis will also generalize ‘the government’ to include all government entities on a national, regional, and local level. However, in some cases my data will be more specific to the government entity or level of governance. The scope of the thesis is also largely limited to the perspective of international aid organizations. Additionally, there are of course direct linkages that exist between local government institutions and communities, but this relationship will not be included in the scope of this thesis. Lastly, this thesis can only speak to the context of DRR and disaster recovery projects. Although the recommendations produced as a result of this thesis can be transferred and shared with other development contexts, I can only make limited generalizations to this particular area that I studied.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.0 Epistemology

Epistemologically, I use a participatory approach ideology, which is more appropriate for my thesis because I use a participatory development lens to analyze the data. Chambers (2007) argues that participatory methodology has a practical theory that was described by Jethro Pettit as an epistemological perspective; it says development practitioners and professional workers’ ways need to be sensitive to communities’ and individuals’ own knowledge, insight, and avenues of information (Chamber, 2007: 19).
This stems from the idea that professionals in development “habitually underestimate the capabilities and value of the knowledge of those who are subordinate in contexts and relationships” (ibid). Chambers (2007) argues that it is the duty of the development professional to change this relationship between community members and build capacity of the community members’ avenue for local knowledge. This may also provide them a means to express and share their local knowledge, and essentially support and enhancing processes for local capacity building (Chambers, 2007: 19).

2.1 Research Design

Since the research question guides the choice of methods, I found it suitable to use qualitative research methods for my thesis (Enderud, 1984, as cited in Mikkelsen, B., 2005: 139). My research requires extensive and more specific knowledge about the work undertaken by organizations working in post-disaster settings and their relationships with the communities and local institutions. Stories, anecdotes, and descriptive information were especially important to gain a better understanding of these organizations’ work and relationships. While the use of qualitative research limits generalization, it enhances the depth of research in order to investigate further into problems that may be complex. Thus qualitative data was collected to answer the research questions outlined earlier and can be useful in contributing to understanding how aid dependency can be decreased through better relationships between aid organizations, government institutions, and the communities.

The research is framed within a collective case study design (or multiple case study) in order to gain different perspectives on one issue and identify a pattern or trend in a specific area. Creswell (2007) defines a collective case study design as one issue or subject that is selected using multiple case studies to illustrate the issue (Creswell, 2007: 74). The issue here is the role of community participation and the government in disaster recovery and DRR projects. This kind of study is done to gain different perspectives on one issue and the researcher could, for example, select different projects to study from different research sites, which is what this research endeavors to do (Creswell, 2007: 74). My research was a mixture of the inductive and deductive approach where the aim is not to test a theory but use a framework to contribute to the generation of an existing
theory and use the same theory in which to analyze data; in the case of my thesis a participatory development theory is used for this purpose (Bryman, 2008: 22).

The unit of analysis was international aid organizations and the phenomenon looked at was community participation and coordination with the government. A variety of perspectives were required to gain a more comprehensive picture of how the international community was operating in this area of work and the extent of local community and government involvement.

As explained further under the ‘Data’ section, I also conducted interviews with individuals in the government and in the community to gain a wider range of perspectives. Further, I asked for evaluations and documents from the organizations where I conducted the interviews in order to gain more information and perspective for the unit of analysis.

Ten case studies were chosen because I wanted to talk to as many organizations as possible working in the specific issue of disaster recovery and DRR. Although conducting 10 case studies may not have allowed for an in-depth research compared to a design with only 2 case studies, I believed collecting more perspectives and the opportunity to identify a pattern within the subject area was only possible because of the high number of case studies chosen.

2.2 Data

The qualitative data collected to address the research questions was obtained from international multilateral/bilateral organizations and NGOs working in Honduras, specifically in post-disaster related interventions. Purposeful sampling was used for the organizations, and I identified the most appropriate informants through networking and online research. Bryman (2008) argues that purposeful sampling is more appropriate when it is essential to conduct research with informants that have first hand knowledge of the research topic (Bryman, 2008: 375). Purposeful sampling was used to only interview organizations that had interventions in relief, recovery, and DRR projects. The criteria included:
the organization had to work internationally in multiple countries
originate from a country other than Honduras
have development as the purpose of organization
working in disaster recovery or disaster risk reduction (DRR) projects

For the community and government interviews, I employed snowball sampling after networking and inquiring among the locals for the most appropriate people to talk to.

The following is a list of the organizations interviewed:

1) Spanish Red Cross
2) International Federation of the Red Crescent
3) Swiss Red Cross
4) Save the Children
5) GOAL
6) Oxfam
7) Ayuda en Accion (Action Aid)
8) Japan International Development Agency (JICA)
9) Peace Corps
10) USAID

A list of people interviewed can be found in Annex 1 (“List of People Interviewed”). The people interviewed in the abovementioned organizations were in a program management position within the organization. This allowed me to interview individuals who were most familiar with program implementation and the research area. Furthermore there was an opportunity to interview several community members in the small town of Guapinol, where the United Nations was implementing disaster recovery work. These interviews were difficult because of the language barrier and the absence of a translator at that time. A translator was used for the interviews conducted with organizations when the interviewee was not fluent in Spanish. Another community member was interviewed via telephone that had participated in a Red Cross project.
Through networking I was able to set up an interview with a disaster mitigation and preparedness specialist from the government. These interviews with community members and a government official were supplementary data and provided me with different angles in which to view my research questions. While my research questions are interested in the perspective of international aid organizations, these other perspectives from public and civil society may bring added insight in the discussion.

Interviews with the organizations were designed as semi-structured so the participants could address the essential points of interests but also talk freely at length (Bryman, 2008: 438). Through using a semi-structured interview guide (see Annex 2, “Interview Guide”), the participants were asked the same questions with similar wording (Bryman, 2008: 438). In reality the semi-structured interview guides worked well and I encouraged the interviewees to cite specific examples from their experience. This was also advantageous to the research because the same questions were used for each organization and this made it easier to identify patterns among organizations.

As Mikkelson (2005) describes, interviews can become a confession or the interviewee can make up a story to please the interviewer (Mikkelson, 2005: 340). To enhance internal validity of methods and any dilemmas in interviewing, the purpose of research was clearly stated in the beginning of each interview, so the interviewee would know exactly why the data was being gathered and for what purpose. Interviewees of the organizations gave consent to use their names for the purpose of this thesis.

There were times when the participants did not answer the questions straightforwardly but talked around the subjects. While conducting the interviews, discussion about the failures of projects was a sensitive subject, and it was difficult to get more specific and detailed information. While I specifically asked for written evaluations of projects that failed or succeeded, I only was able to obtain two evaluations. I tried to get these additional evaluations to use as supplemental data for triangulation, but unfortunately I was unsuccessful. This reluctance could say something in itself and contribute to the analysis. Therefore the bulk of my data comes from the interviews with individuals from organizations and not written evaluations from projects.
2.3 Validity and Reliability

Mason (1996) argues validity refers to whether you are measuring what you say you are measuring and reliability is about the degree to which a research can be replicated (Mason 1996: 24; as cited in Bryan 376). Most of my interview questions came directly from my research questions to ensure what was being measured paralleled what was outlined as the focus of my thesis. To increase validity, generalizations are limited because of the extent of my data. Internal validity can be seen as credibility and external validity as transferability (Bryman, 2008: 377). To increase internal validity, I conducted a thorough literature review of participatory development theory and frameworks to ensure I was using an appropriate framework for analyzing my data. To increase external validity I used a framework that could be applied in other settings, whether in another country or in another development sector other than disaster recovery and DRR.

External reliability was addressed by making the questions as straightforward and understandable as possible, and this also decreased misunderstandings and guided direct answers to the questions. The interviews were also conducted in the interviewees’ offices to ensure an environment where the interviewees felt most appropriate and comfortable.

2.4 Limitations

As I am limited in the Spanish language, an interpreter attended interviews to minimize information lost in translation. However, any lost or misinterpreted information could jeopardize reliability and validity. Because many of the interviewees did not provide specific evaluations of projects that succeeded or failed, there was not an opportunity to conduct a desk review. After conducting my interviews and after starting the analysis, it became apparent that it would have been helpful to ask the organizations interviewed to provide their definition of community participation. Thus, this thesis is based on the definition of participation that I present and with which I analyze the data, although the organizations may not share the same definition.
Another limitation in my thesis is in regards to the limited scope of disaster relief and DRR specifics in the findings. Although my questions during interviews were clearly asked in relation and context of disaster recovery and DRR projects, I found that interviewees tended to talk in general terms about challenges of participation and working with the government. In this sense, I think the trends identified in my thesis may be able to be transferred to other development contexts, i.e. water and sanitation, livelihoods, etc.

Creswell (2007) makes a point in saying that one of the challenges with multiple case studies is that the analysis becomes diluted, and the more individual case studies one does, there tends to be less depth in a single case (Creswell, 2007: 76). This relates back to an earlier point where the high number of case studies chosen makes the research less in depth than if I had chosen only one case study. My thesis is the first step in the longer process of addressing the issues that are seen in community participation and government involvement. Due to the multiple case study design, with space and time limitations of the thesis taken into consideration, I had to limit the amount of information I gathered from each organization.

Chapter 3: Theory and Context

3.0 Participatory Development

I used an analytical framework and theory of participatory development as a context within which to develop and analyze my research questions. This analytical framework was built largely based from five authors: Nelson and Wright (1995), Robert Chambers (2008), Mikkelsen (2005), Giles Mohan (2008), and Vandana Desai (2008).

This framework is built on the following aspects:

a. Why participatory development is needed
b. Definitions of participatory development
c. Approaches to participatory development
d. Contesting views in current participatory development trends
a. Why participatory development is needed

The emergence of participation in development came from critiques of traditional top
down development practices that usually incorporate biases of eurocentrism, positivism
and ‘top downism’ (Chambers 1997, as cited in Mohan, Giles in Desai Potter, 2008: 46).
The argument is that these practices were disempowering and tried to impose the same
development methods that the West used to achieve modernity and through this process
locals were not included in the development scheme and treated as objects (ibid).
Robert Chambers has been one of the leading proponents of participatory development
practices arguing, “putting the last first was necessary for rural development” (ibid). In
the 1970s participatory action research began to be advocated which lead to a new
environment where individuals could communicate their needs and desires (ibid).
Approaches to participatory development has evolved over the years, however currently
most donor agencies contend that a certain degree of participation is mandatory in
development projects.

Nelson and Wright (1995) argue that participation is often seen as an input to
development projects where participation can improve effectiveness and efficiency
through use of local information and contributing labor and resources of the community,
which in turn can lead to local ownership and promote self-reliance (Nelson and Wright,
1995: 183). In this way, Nelson and Wright (1995) argue, that participation may be an
end in itself which can increase confidence of the local citizens and make them feel
empowered and part of the change (ibid). Furthermore, using local information can
clarify problems and needs, enhance solutions, lesson the chance of misunderstandings,
reach more people, and increase the commitment of the local people to the project, thus
increasing the chance of sustainability and success of the project (ibid). Mikkelsen
(2005) also contends that it is a widely held belief among development professionals that
a higher level of participation among community members will lead to more sustained
projects and better long-term results (Mikkelsen, 2005: 54).

While theories follow a set of logical propositions about how the world is structured,
participatory development theory falls under the normative approach (Potter, Robert
cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 67). The normative stance says that one can generalize about “what should happen or be the case in an ideal world” (ibid). Thus my thesis follows the normative view when addressing what should be happening in an ideal world.

b. Definitions of participatory development

When talking about participation in a development context, I will specifically be using a definition proposed by Nelson and Wright (1995) where participation corresponds to “co-operation and incorporation in pre-determined development activities, decision-making activities, implementation and maintenance, and evaluation of successes and failures” (Nelson and Wright, 1995: 182). However, other definitions and ideas about participation in a development context should be taken into consideration. Giles Mohan (2008) adds that participation involves power where the most powerful struggle to maintain control of their privileges; and, they continue to argue, even development agencies hesitate to give up control or power (Mohan, G., as cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 46). A United Nations report (1979: 225) defined participation as “sharing by people in the benefits of development, active contribution by people to development and involvement of people in decision-making at all levels of society” (Desai, V., as cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 115). These definitions of participation demonstrate the complexity of participation and the innate challenges they pose and highlights the challenge of power dynamics within participation and the need to fully understand the power structure and balance in the participation and development context.

Three Concepts within the Catchphrase of ‘Participation’

Mikkelsen (2005) argues that when organizations use the term ‘participation’ there are mainly three uses of that phrase. Thus the practical concept of ‘participation’ in this framework falls under one of the following uses:

1) Cosmetic Label- the word ‘participation’ is used to satisfy donor requests and make projects look good while in reality genuine participation has not been utilized
2) Co-opting Practice - participation is used to reduce costs through mobilizing local labor; communities contribute time and hard labor with some outside assistance

3) Empowering Process- participation is used in the sense that it empowers the local community to make decisions, take command, and ‘owning’ the project (R. Chambers, 2002b and 1995:30, as cited in Mikkelsen, 2005: 54)

As you can see from the above concepts about participation in practice, the word ‘participation’ can be merely a superficial term void of real inclusion. However, it can also be a quite genuine process that empowers local people to initiate action and exercise a wide reaching extent of control over the development process by foreign aid organizations. These concepts will be applied to my findings.

c. Approaches to Participation in Practice

Incorporating participation into development practices sounds easy, but often full participation is unachievable. Nelson and Wright (1995) argue that in the past marginalized groups have been overlooked and excluded from participatory development, but are now being included and sometimes even “put first” (Nelson and Wright, 1995: 182, quotes original). Nelson and Wright (1995) also argue that in practice voluntary and coercive participation can be hard to distinguish where sometimes material incentives are offered to ensure cooperation (ibid: 183). Margaret Kohn (2000) proposes that spaces are deliberately construed so that only certain voices are heard (Hickey and Mohan, 2004: 79). Thus participation can be a challenge in conveying to the community why their involvement and input is important and worthwhile, as well as creating an equal space where participants can freely and equally express their opinions.

Levels (Typologies) of Participation

As mentioned earlier, many authors criticize organizations that merely use ‘participation’ as a catchword where the level of participation in their development programs may lack any real content (Mikkelsen, 2005: 54). Therefore it is important to introduce different levels of participation that illustrate exactly how the community is being involved in projects, and whether it is superficial participation or a more genuine participation of the
community. Through a review of participatory development literature, the main consensus among participatory development literature contends that ‘genuine’ development is when the community initiates action. I choose the following chart of typologies of participation because it is similar to other proposed typologies in participation literature and was introduced in 1969 by Sherry Arnstein; this typology has evolved over time to adjust to current trends of participation within the development context. Further, my analysis of research question #1, “How is the community involved in disaster recovery and DRR projects implemented by foreign aid organizations?” uses the following evaluation criteria.

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<th>Level of Participation</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Evaluation Criteria</th>
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| **Level 1** | Manipulation: Communities are manipulated | - Communities do not understand the issues with which they are confronted  
- Communities are not given feedback on actions taken  
- Problem analysis is not shared with community members |
| **Level 2** | Decoration: Communities are used as needed | - Communities are not involved with the root of the problem; their participation is incidental  
- External providers use community members to support their cause in a relatively indirect manner |
| **Level 3** | Tokenism: Communities are used in a perfunctory or merely symbolic way to give the appearance of real participation | - Communities appear to have been given a voice, but in reality have little or no choice about the subject matter  
- Communities have little or no opportunity to formulate their own opinions |
| **Level 4** | Communities are assigned but informed | - Communities are given complete, accurate information about their actions, and understand why their participation is needed |

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1 The chart originated from Sherry Arnstein’s essay on Adult Participation in 1969, and was further developed by Roger Hart's (1992) in “Children's Participation: from Tokenism to Citizenship”. It was then developed further in UNESCO's 2006 publication “Guidebook for Planning Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction”.

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Roger Hart (1992), the author who further developed this typology, purports that levels 1-3 are models of non-participation, and levels 4-8 illustrate different degrees of participation (Hart, 1992: 9). As seen in the matrix, the higher the level the more participation of the community, where Level 8 is ‘genuine’ participation.

There are many different participatory methods and tools circulating for practitioners to employ, however it is not necessary to list them all here. It will be advantageous to understand key principals or considerations that participatory approaches apply for analyzing my thesis data and contributing to the aim of this thesis.

Key considerations for participatory development are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Considerations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level 5</td>
<td>Communities are consulted and informed</td>
<td>Projects are run and designed by external agencies, but communities understand the process and their opinions are treated seriously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 6</td>
<td>Communities participate in project implementation</td>
<td>Decisions are initiated externally, Communities have a high degree of responsibility, and are involved in the production and design aspects of projects, Communities contribute their opinions before final projects are implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 7</td>
<td>Communities initiate and direct decisions</td>
<td>External agencies do not interfere or direct community-run projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 8</td>
<td>Communities initiate, plan, direct and implement decisions</td>
<td>The community develops decisions and projects, Actions are implemented by the community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1) Influence and power (who has the power; mapping community leadership and organizations)

2) Capacity building (what resources are currently available and what capacities exists (financial capital, human capital, etc)

3) Communication and learning (is there a shared vision and mechanisms for coordinating among the varies community organizations?)

4) Impacts and outcomes (are the impacts and outcomes inclusive?)

(Burns, et al, 2004: 10)

d. Contesting views in current participatory development trends

Current development practitioners are promoting participatory methods and claim that participatory approaches are being integrated into projects, however a critique and reflection on what this implies needs to be conducted if true participation will have a lasting and productive role in development (Mikkelsen, 2005: 55). Many authors also contend that using the term ‘participatory development’ as a cosmetic label is often all too common in practice. Mohan (2008) also argues that participatory development in practice tends to treat communities as a socially homogeneous, where the power of decision-making usually ends up in the hands of the elite (Mohan, G., as cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 48).

Alternatively, Michael Parnwell (2008) argues that it is unrealistic to believe that participatory development is becoming the new mainstream paradigm for development and advocates for a practical mixed approach to development that combines alternative and more traditional forms while strengthening the relations between government entities and non-governmental actors (Parnwell, M., as cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 114). Further Desai (2008) argues that any organization with more than a few people will innately involve power dynamics which grant a certain individuals more power than others (usually the ‘elite’ or more wealthy) and result in conflicting interests and personal agendas (Desai, V., as cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 118). Development initiatives
always involve politics and power, which leaves the discussion about participation
dominated by these themes (ibid).

3.1 NGOs and Government Institutions

This section briefly identifies some of the concepts and principles for the relationship
between state and NGOs. This section of concepts will primarily be used for analyzing
research question #4, which looks at the challenges foreign aid organizations experience
when working with governmental institutions. However it should be noted that two of the
organizations interviewed were government agencies (USAID and JICA). I will apply
these same concepts to government development agencies and International NGOs
(INGOs) alike.

Desai (2008) argues that NGOs can provide expertise through community mobilization,
representing grass-roots interests, and assist in filling in gaps of government services
(Desai, V., as cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 528). Further Desai argues, NGOs can
forge links between grass-root initiatives and government entities, and can work more
efficiently because NGOs are more innovative, adaptive, and cost-effective (ibid). John
D. Clark (2008) argues that NGOs offer ‘local knowledge’ about community conditions
and experiences, are able to tailor programs to specific communities, and can mobilize
communities to organize themselves (Clark, D. John, as cited in Desai and Potter, 2008:
530-531). Further, he argues that governments need NGOs to encourage effective
government programs (ibid). With this in mind, the potential linkages between the state
and international aid organizations become apparent, where international aid
organizations can build on the existing work of local institutions and bring supplementary
information to strengthen government programs and initiatives.

3.2 International Policies: DRR and Disaster Recovery

In 2005, 168 governments came together to support the Hyogo Framework for Action
(HFA) with the goal of “Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters”
(Cannon, Terry, as cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 301). The following are the priorities
for action outlined in the HFA:
1- Make Disaster Risk Reduction a Priority
2- Know the Risks and Take Action
3- Build and Understand Awareness
4- Reduce Risk
5- Be Prepared and Ready to Act

Collaboration and coordination among all stakeholders is stressed in the HFA as one of the key bullet points, and more specifically, international organizations should be “supporting States’ own efforts with coordinated international assistance” (United Nations, ISDR, ‘Hyogo Framework for Action: 2005-2015’: p1-6). Further the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR) was adopted by the UN as a follow up to the International Decade on Natural Disaster Reduction (IDNDR). The ISDR strategy aimed to significantly reduce disaster losses and build resilience in communities (ibid).

The HFA is one of the main international initiatives for DRR and resilience building in communities. As can be understood from above, collaboration and coordination with the local and national government through these projects is emphasized. Not only does this set the context for why coordination and relationships between foreign aid organizations and government institutions is critical in DRR and disaster recovery projects, but also illustrates that the international community has accepted this coordination as a standard or guideline for working in this area.

3.3 Honduras and Disasters

Honduras is constantly exposed to the effects of climate-related disasters, such as floods, hurricanes, and droughts (United Nations, 2009: 3). Seismic activity is normal however large earthquakes are uncommon, and hurricanes and tropical storms have been the more disaster causing events (Telford, J., Arnold, and M., Harth, A, 2004: 3). The greatest natural hazards can occur from June to November because Honduras lies in a hurricane zone (Dendinger and Gritzner, 2008: 9). In 1974, Hurricane Fifi killed ten
thousand people (Targ and Brill, 1995: 24). A chart of basic facts about Honduras can be found in Annex 3, “Basic Facts about Honduras”.

As discussed earlier, high inequality of income, health, and housing, contribute to disaster vulnerability, and recent natural disasters and flooding impede the development of the country (Dendinger and Gritzner, 2008: 9). Vulnerability to natural disasters can be seen in the estimated nominal losses of $4.7 billion dollars a year, and almost half of the total losses of the whole of Central America since 1974 (Inter-American Development Bank, 2009).

During tropical storm Matthew last year, four people were killed, 5,902 others were affected, and 2,799 houses were damaged (Xinhua News Agency, 2010). However, by far the most recent recorded disaster to damage Honduras has been Hurricane Mitch; from October 25- to November 1st, 1998, Hurricane Mitch hit Honduras. The immediate impacts of the hurricane were:

- 5,757 dead, 12,272 injured and 8,058 reported missing
- 441,150 people displaced (to relatives or friends or other temporary shelter, 1,375 collective centers were established)
- Millions of people lost access to running water (70% of the entire population).

(Telford, 2004: 8)

The cost of damages according to sectors can be seen in Annex 4 (“Cost of damages from Hurricane Mitch in USD millions”), however the total cost in USD across all sectors was 3,638.5 USD million.

This illustrates the vulnerability of Honduras to disasters where a country with a high level of poverty and aid dependency can be devastated when hit by a hurricane or earthquake. A post-Mitch Reconstruction project was implemented and involved a number of stakeholders. According to the USAID Publication Post-Mitch Reconstruction Project, Honduras, “Hurricane Mitch will be remembered as the most deadly and destructive hurricane to strike the Western Hemisphere during the last two centuries” (Pedreros, 2001: 6). Before Hurricane Mitch the most destructive hurricane had been in
1780, which killed about 22,000 people in the eastern Caribbean (ibid). The post-Mitch reconstruction project document highlights the fact that decision makers and communities lacked information on natural resources that could help with resource management, disaster mitigation, and infrastructure (ibid: 8). USGS (United States Geological Survey) and USAID partnered to spearhead a project to establish a center for organizing natural resource information and integrating GIS into the system, which can be useful for decision making in natural resource management and disaster preparation\(^2\) (ibid).

Additionally the US gave about $461 million dollars in immediate relief and humanitarian aid to Honduras between 1998-2001 (US State Department, 2010). Meanwhile, Honduras has set up an agency within the government called COPECO. COPECO is responsible for coordinating public and private efforts for prevention, mitigation, preparation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction for emergencies and disasters on a national level (COPECO, 2010). COPECO also has committees that work on a local level, called CODEL. COPECO was set up in 1990, and after Hurricane Mitch, COPECO and CODEL committees became much stronger and more engaged with the public in setting up awareness and disaster prevention activities. Awareness of this agency is important when discussing the relationship between international aid organizations and the government in the disaster context.

International aid organizations that work in disaster recovery, preparedness, and resilience building, are responsible for working through and with the government as recommended by the Hyogo Framework for Action discussed earlier (United Nations, ISDR, ‘Hyogo Framework for Action: 2005-2015’: p1-6). This means that these organizations should be supporting the COPECO institution on a local and national scale. One of the elements of my analysis will investigate how linkages between foreign aid organizations the local and national government in disaster related projects can be improved to more effectively use aid money. This links to the next section presented on

\(^2\) For example the project created maps of high flood hazard areas and 50-year flood plain estimates and standardizing a centralized database for hydrologic data, obtaining and creating a database for landslides and slope failures (landslide inventory) (Pedreros, 2001: 12, 18, 22).
foreign aid money spent in Honduras which sets the context for understanding present channels of aid funding.

3.4 Aid Dependency and Honduras

One of the original ambitions of this thesis was to explore how dependent Honduran communities were on foreign aid organizations from the perspective of foreign aid organizations. However, now the information gathered through this thesis about aid dependency will be used more to underline the importance of ensuring effective aid strategies which contribute to the overall objective of this thesis. Understanding the context of aid dependency in Honduras is important in tying the analysis of the research questions into the broader aim of the paper and making recommendations for future actions and research.

In the qualitative interviews with foreign aid organizations, every interviewee stated that Honduras is still dependent on outside aid for DRR projects and in disaster recovery. A shared belief by the interviewees for aid dependency in Honduras is because Honduras has high levels of poverty where people do not have a financial ‘cushion’ to bounce back from after being hit from a disaster. In regards to DRR projects, it was speculated by some that the government is still not investing seriously in DRR on a local setting.

In 2009, 462 million USD of net ODA was given to Honduras, where the United States gave 127 million as the highest government contributor and Spain as the second with 60.35 million USD (ODA website, 2011).
Above are the top ten donors of ODA (Official Development Aid) from a 5-year average in USD millions. This illustrates the aid flows being invested into Honduras. Additionally, on October 28\textsuperscript{th} 2010, the European Union (EU) announced it will provide Honduras with 2.5 million dollars for disaster prevention and relief; they will work together with the Honduras Emergency Permanent Commission to build disaster prevention and relief capabilities (Xinhua News Agency, 2010). This context of large aid funds channeled into Honduras coupled with high levels of poverty stress the importance of looking at improving ways of implementing disaster recovery and DRR projects.

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

This chapter is organized by first displaying a research question then presenting data that correlates to the question. My analysis then integrates the theory and concepts applicable to the research question and I try to discern relevant conclusions. In this chapter when I use the term “projects” I am referring to “disaster recovery and disaster risk reduction (DRR) projects”. When I use the term “organizations”, I am referring to international aid organizations.

4.0 Research Question #1
“The community needs to believe within itself and believe that the changes are coming within them” - Javier Jerraiz Soriano (Spanish Red Cross)

How is the community involved in disaster recovery and DRR projects implemented by foreign aid organizations?

Referencing to the 8 Levels of Participation outlined in the Theory and Context chapter, the following is my data pertaining to the this question from each organization that was interviewed.

Ayuda en Accion

Ayuda en Accion (Action Aid, an international NGO) conducts community workshops and works with existing community organizations like the Patronate (local government), and water groups to try and build a framework for disaster relief in the short and long term.

Marla Melendez, the Ayuda en Accion interviewee, expressed that in their projects they always ask that the community members contribute hard labor and incorporate this hard labor component into their methodology. The reasoning for incorporating this into their methodology is because if the community puts in work then the project becomes ‘theirs’, which essentially is ownership. Using the 8 levels of participation, Ayuda en Accion used Level 6 “Communities participate in project implementation” because they did incorporate the community in their decision-making process and the community took a part in managing the projects. In Marina Armijo’s (2010) thesis though a qualitative case study with Ayuda en Accion in Honduras, she found that community participation was primarily through consultation and ‘functional participation forms’ (Armijo, 2010: 44).

GOAL

GOAL, an international NGO, works with existing community structures and stated that the community is their counterpart in projects. They try to motivate and convince the community to commit to the project. Through their method, GOAL also works to build
capacity in the community. GOAL asks the community to contribute hard labor to the projects. Through this action, the skills of the community are developed, and the community can apply what they learned through the project to future jobs. For example, community members have gained skills contributing to projects in the areas of construction, refrigeration, and agriculture. In some cases individuals can get certifications through these trainings in projects funded by GOAL.

GOAL uses Level 6 “Communities participate in project implementation”, where they include the communities in project decision-making and ensure that the community is contributing to the projects, physically, and in workshops, where the community guides the type of project output. GOAL has been using this type of participatory methodology for about 8 years.

USAID

From the beginning of a project, USAID asks the community what their needs are and walks them through the project; they have been using this type of methodology for 10-15 years. However, sometimes the community wants one thing and USAID says ‘no, but we can give you this’, and they move forward with those projects. USAID uses Level 5 “Communities are consulted and informed” of participation because they are more often consulting with the community rather than incorporating the community in decision-making processes.

Swiss Red Cross

The Swiss Red Cross works with the community from the inception of a project until the execution. Cuidad España has been their biggest aid project, a large housing relocation project, which was initiated after Hurricane Mitch. In this project the Swiss Red Cross, in conjunction with the IFRC and the Spanish Red Cross, worked with the local government and community. From the interview it was deduced that they parallel the decision-making method of participation because they incorporate the community in the decision-making process. Thus they would be in Level 6 “Communities participate in project implementation”.

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**Peace Corps.**

The core idea of the Peace Corp volunteer within the Peace Corps program is to become part of the community. Peace Corps volunteers are always invited into the community by a local community organization; the volunteers live and work in the community to be fully integrated. This is unlike a lot of NGOs that just come to a community for a day to do a workshop, where facilitators from NGOs and international aid organizations can still be perceived as outsiders. Alternatively, the Peace Corps volunteer actually becomes part of the community. The community is involved in every step of the project and the volunteer uses tools such as participatory mapping. The Peace Corps volunteer then does a project according to the community, however, it is the Peace Corps volunteer that is still taking the initial action but the control remains and comes from the community as well as the information. This can be seen as the initiating action level of participation because the volunteer becomes part of the community and there is little, if any, donor agenda being pushed. Therefore they would be categorized in Level 8 “Communities initiate, plan, direct and implement decisions.

**JICA (Japanese International Development Agency)**

JICA generally uses consultation as the main method of participation, or Level 5. JICA conducts workshops with the community to build capacity. One critique from this organization gleaned from the interview was that many of the consultants funded by JICA projects originate from Japan and live in Japan, and are not fluent in Spanish. Thus bypassing qualified local consultants for oversea professionals is an issue that should be questioned in their organization.

**IFRC (International Federation of the Red Crescent)**

The IFRC involves the communities in every part of the project cycle. As the Country Representative (interviewee) said, “If it [the project] does not come from the community, it will not work” (Nelson Antonio Aly Rodreiquez, 2010). The IFRC includes the
community in project implementation thus they would be involved in Level 6 “Communities participate in project implementation”.

*Spanish Red Cross (Cruz Roja España)*

The Spanish Red Cross was coordinating the Ciudad Espana housing relocation project in conjunction with the Swiss Red Cross. Through all of their projects they work with ‘collective leadership’, which incorporates the whole community and not just the more powerful individuals. They are primarily using Level 6 “Communities participate in project implementation”.

*Save the Children*

Save the Children also works by the mantra that if the community is not involved in every stage, the project will not function. They work to cultivate leaders (men and women) in the community and give them technical advice in various areas, especially in management. Save the Children primarily uses Level 6 “Communities participate in project implementation”.

*Oxfam*

Oxfam is also very keen on understanding the needs of the community and involving the community in hard labor. They work at Level 5-6 because while the community contributes to hard labor, the projects seem to still be primarily designed by Oxfam.

**Research Question #1: Analysis**

Generally speaking, my research found that international aid organizations involved the community in disaster related projects primarily through consultations, including them in decision-making, and participation of hard labor.

**Participation as a Process**
In all but one organization (JICA) it was expressed that the community is an integral part of the project and is involved in almost every stage of the project cycle. Needs assessments are done with almost every organization with the community. Many of the organizations explicitly said that the community contributes hard labor to the projects. A few organizations explicitly said that they work with local organizations and in several interviews it was expressed that development works better when the communities are already organized within local organizations.

Data gleaned from community members was anecdotal at best. The Mayor of Guapinol mentioned that there were three unsuccessful projects implemented by JICA, the German Development Agency, and the Swiss Development Agency in their village. Although the community was consulted in all the projects, none of them were successful or sustainable. Due to time and language constraints (the lack of a translator), I was unable to have an in-depth conversation with the Mayor about what went wrong with the projects, however it seemed that participation happened only on a consultation level. One could infer that in the case of Guapinol’s experience, the community consultants were not enough to make the project successful or sustainable.

Linking back to the participatory framework, as Nelson and Wright (1995) argue, participation is not simply one element, but a process in itself, where continued actions must happen to guarantee a full participation process. As these case studies are concerned, only the Peace Corps appears to use a full participatory methodology process (Level 8) facilitated by an ‘outsider’ who integrates themselves into the community to become an ‘insider’. Thus the Peace Corps had the highest level of community participation although it also has one of the most limited budgets. It should also be noted that Peace Corps does experience a number of projects that fail, however this thesis is unable to explore further the success and failure rates among organizations for a comparative analysis.

Marina Armijo noted in her thesis through her case study with Ayuda en Accion in Honduras, “realities and contexts are complex and pre-established goals are required to be achieved” in regards to limited participatory forms (Armijo, 2010: 44). This links to an issue that doesn’t just relate to Ayuda en Accion, but also to the other organizations.
There is a tendency among donor agencies to have pre-defined goals or specific areas for where they want their money spent. This seems to be a pattern during the interviews where the organizations enter a community with ideas of projects to implement, or a certain theme of projects they want to implement. Although many organizations include the community at the inception of a project, the fact that many organizations have an agenda before entering the community could imply that to some extent the project is still donor-driven.

Participation as a Concept

Bridging back to participation as a concept in Mikkelsen’s (2005) outline of concepts, using the word ‘participation’ as a co-opting practice seems to be highly common among the foreign aid organizations I interviewed. As Mikkelsen purports, ‘co-opting is used to reduce costs through mobilizing local labor,’ (Mikkelsen, 2005: 54 as cited in R. Chambers, 2002b and 1995:30), which one could speculate could be a motivation for requiring communities to ‘contribute hard labor’ in the first place. If this is the case it would be almost unethical for organizations to claim that requiring communities to contribute to project construction is indeed ‘participatory development’. Technically speaking, manual labor by the community may be participating. However looking back to the definition of ‘participatory development’ used for this thesis, “co-operation and incorporation in pre-determined development activities, decision-making activities, implementation and maintenance, and evaluation of successes and failures” (Nelson and Wright, 1995: 182)-- through manual labor, the community is not necessarily contributing to planning decisions of the project or involved in the evaluation and maintenance. This issue of how ‘contribution to hard labor’ is connected to ‘real participatory development’ was not discussed with the interviewees. However, my research indicates that many foreign aid organizations often claim their projects are participatory due to hard labor inputs by communities, which is not necessarily ‘genuine’ participation as defined by principals of participatory development.

Wright and Nelson (1995) argue that “if development is to be sustainable, planning will have to begin with the people who know most about their own livelihood systems” (Nelson and Wright, 1995: 157). Sustainability is an integral component to every
development project, and disaster recovery and DRR projects are no exception. As Wright and Nelson (1995) highlight above, real sustainability can only be achieved if it a project is owned by the community, therefore it is important to evaluate how organizations are being involved which contribute to sustainability. This links to the next research question.

4.1 Research Question #2

**How is community participation used to increase sustainability in DRR and disaster recovery projects?**

In this section I organized my research into three sections according to patterns in the data: management component, building local capacity, and contributing to hard labor. I have done this because among my collected data these are the three main methods that organizations have used to ensure sustainability through community participation.

*Management Component*

While all the organizations commented that they try to work with communities to ensure sustainability, almost half explicitly said that they include the community in the management of the projects and/or ensure that the community is managing the process and has the capacity to do so. For example, Peace Corps projects are heavily community centered, and include the community in every management component of the project.

In one example, the Swiss Red Cross implemented a water system project which organized water user groups in the community. Community members paid a certain amount of money to use the water and the money went to a fund. This fund was used to pay for a new pump if the pump breaks, if the lights go out, or there is another problem. This contributes to sustainability because the community has ownership of the project and there is a financial system integrated so the community is not reliant on funds from an aid organization.
Building local capacity

Almost all organizations mentioned that they build local capacity to ensure sustainability of a project. ‘Building capacity’ is a very broad term that has multiple aspects and can include a very diverse set of methods/strategies. Due to space limitations, this section will only highlight a few examples.

The IFRC achieves sustainability through working with organizations in the community as much as possible and building capacity of leaders. For example, they teach farmers how to manage and save produce, the best time to plant seeds, and how to sell - basically how to trade, manage, and administer. To supplement the training the IFRC sometimes gives the communities the best seeds to plant.

In a current disaster preparedness project by JICA, the project aims to equip the community with technology that would allow them to measure the rainfall and identify patterns to understand when the weather is dangerous. Sustainability is aimed through teaching the communities how to use the technology so they could predict and read weather patterns on their own (they need two years of data for this project until they can see a pattern). Teaching the community how to use the technology is a good way to incorporate sustainability, however, it was not addressed if the community participated in authoring and committing to the project.

Save the Children incorporates sustainability into projects through developing the local organizational structure. Through this they develop local capacity for the people who live there and always include beneficiaries of the project. This is operationalized through two elements: 1) they organize the people in the community to make them work as an organization 2) people benefiting from the activities are always included in the project. In this sense they organize the community to ensure the community can manage, identify, and look for resources on their own. This seems to be the ultimate form of sustainability where organizing the community and building capacity so they can manage their own resources allows the community to not become dependent on outside organizations.
Failures

However, sometimes building capacity for sustainability fails. For example, Oxfam implemented a project about flood prevention and preparation for disasters. The project tried to build capacity within the community through creating an organization to respond and prepare for disasters. However the project proved to be unsustainable because they couldn’t get any information about the organization 3 months later after Oxfam left the community. The local organization Oxfam established had collapsed and the community didn’t stay organized. The government was supposed to monitor the progress of the local organization, but this didn’t happen. According to the interview, Oxfam isn’t really sure why the organization collapsed but one can speculate that they didn’t have the ‘buy-in’ of the community where the community wasn’t totally committed to the project.

Contributing to hard labor

Almost all of the organizations ask the community to contribute hard labor to the projects to increase community ownership and ensure sustainability. For example the Swiss Red Cross, in regards to the housing/relocation projects, required the community members to contribute physical work to the project. Through this work a feeling of ownership of the project was fostered and cultivated by the community members thus increasing chances for sustainability.

Analysis of Research Question #2

Including the community in the management of the project, building local capacity, and hard labor by the community was the pattern found among the organizations interviewed in regards to increasing sustainability through community participation. Through community ‘management of the project’, the community is allowed to organize itself and have control over the project. Unfortunately the data gathered for this thesis does not describe how these community management committees were formed, how people are represented, or how the power is distributed. This is an integral question that should be asked as one moves forward from this thesis. The link between the level of participation by the community and sustainability of the project was not researched and this is an issue that can be developed further.
Data gleaned from an interview with a government official working in the disaster risk reduction area indicated that sustainability by the government is aimed for by using participatory methodologies and approaches. The government tries to organize communities and committees, but the interviewee stated that often sustainability is very hard to reach in projects. In this case, it seems that participatory methods are being used as a mean to get sustainability of a project, which parallels participatory theory; however, if these methods are failing then the approaches need to be re-examined as they might not be the most appropriate for the community or involve the level of participation needed.

Participation as contributing physical labor was also brought up in reference to this research question by the interviewed organizations. As mentioned previously this could be a form of co-opting where the organizations are trying to cut budget costs. Thus this component of ‘participation’ may not be leading to sustainability at all (Mikkelsen, 2005: 54 as cited in R. Chambers, 2002b and 1995:30). Further research in regards to amount of hard labor contributed and project sustainability would be interesting.

4.2 Research Question #3

“A project fails because people are willing to let it fail” - Bryan Dwyer, Peace Corps.

**What are challenges of community participation?**

This section is also grouped according to patterns of challenges of community participation that was gathered from interviews with the organizations. The issues are grouped as follows: burnout, dependency, loss of interest, political challenges, lack of local management and harmonizing conflicting interests.

*Harmonizing Conflicting Interests*
When INGOs are working with existing local community organizations in the projects, sometimes it is difficult to harmonize conflicting priorities of the organizations. This includes inspiring the community to have a shared vision about the project or output.

There is also a strong sense of “machismo” in the Honduran culture, which tends to suppress women. Multiple interviews highlighted the importance of women’s contributions to projects. However, in practice, if a community has a strong sense of machismo, it can be challenging to encourage women to fully participate. Another interviewee mentioned that it is a problem when women do not participate because they are often more involved in the social aspects of the society because men tend to be working the whole day while women stay in the villages. Thus it was a common perspective from organizations that when the women’s input is absent, the quality of the project may be lower.

*Lack of Local Management*

During our interview, Jose Ramon from GOAL argued that one of the main reasons for project failure was the lack of local management, which according to him should ideally be monitored by the local government. However, this does not always happen and the local government fails to effectively and efficiently manage projects. This will be addressed more in the next section.

Ayuda en Accion did a project in conjunction with the Spanish Red Cross however the project was not successfully implemented. It was a housing relocation project and the mayor or local government bought the land and tried to make the land less risky by flattening it somehow. But this didn’t work because the person in charge of this did it wrong and the mayor never gave money for something he was supposed to. This is an example of a project that was mis-managed and lacked appropriate oversight. According to Ayuda en Accion it was mis-managed by the local community and local government who were supposed to be ‘managing’ the project.

*Political Challenges*
Jose Ramon from GOAL commented that even if the community does have the resources to work on disaster risk reduction, sometimes it is not given a focus because it's not "politically convenient" (Jose Ramon, 2010). In this case the issue is dealt with in a very superficial way. Another expressed problem was the special interests of the political leaders, where if the project does not serve the interest of those in power then it will not be high on their agenda to support. Further it was also mentioned that sometimes political leaders only want to support projects in specific areas within a community that is politically supporting them. For example, sometimes leaders of a community don't want a project implemented or expanded in a certain area of the village where they might have a political 'enemy'. Negative leaders who are just not interested can be a 'road block' for potential development projects.

**Loss of Interest/Lack of Will**

Motivation for a project can be high at the beginning but as a project continues over time, interest by the community can decrease and people do not continue being responsible for the project. Even at the beginning of projects, interest may not be high. Some community members don't understand the value of the project or how they will directly benefit. Claudio from the Swiss Red Cross stated that a lack of interest in the project is present in every community with some individuals. Encouraging and including single mothers can be difficult as well. Due to the high emigration rate of men to the United States, there are a high number of single mothers. Motivating these mothers to leave their kids with a family member and participate in the community workshops was expressed as a challenge.

**Dependency**

One of the problems expressed by Naomi from JICA was weak participation in workshops because of the mindset of dependency of community members. Apparently in some communities previous organizations paid the participants to attend workshops, so JICA had a low attendance in workshops because they could not afford to pay the participants who had an expectation of being paid to attend.
Another organization mentioned that some communities expect everything to be a gift and do not have the will or interest in working for a project.

Burnout

Another issue that arose was the challenge of multiple organizations intervening in communities and holding community workshops. After attending many workshops with little concrete outputs or benefits, community members lose motivation for any future workshops, even if the organization is different.

Analysis from Research Question #3

The above themes were the main challenges of community participation expressed by the interviewees. The fact that ‘political interest’ arose as a challenge in response to this question from multiple interviews could be a reflection on the blurry lines between ‘the community’ and ‘local government’ from the perspective of international aid organizations. In small Honduran villages, usually there is a local leader who the organizations usually first initiate contact with when starting a project. This may explain why participation is innately about power and politics- organizations cannot go into a community without first establishing a rapport with the elected leader. This links to Desai (2008) who argues that a discussion about participation will always include power and politics (Desai, V., as cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 118). As presented in the participatory framework in the beginning of this thesis, mapping community leadership and power is one of the principles or common considerations for organizations conducing participatory development. My research is unable to analyze how organizations analyzed political and power dynamic before implementing a project. However, my data does illustrate that ‘the community’ and ‘local government’ are often integrated and for many international aid organizations, working with ‘the community’ means working through the local community leader, which innately ‘politzes’ the projects. This parallels Desai’s argument that the fundamental problem with participatory theory is that “it wants the politics without the politics” and participatory projects in practice are all too often co-authored by and elite group of people which involves power and politics (ibid: 118). This can be linked to the evolution of the participatory theory and
framework which is based on an ideal world or ‘normative approach’ as I discussed earlier. From this, I could suggest that altering this ‘normative approach’ to an approach that views the world with social actors and groups with conflicting interests and priorities may be more appropriate for participatory theory and participatory approaches.

In an ideal world, using a participatory approach would avoid mis-management of projects because “participation can improve effectiveness and efficiency through use of local information and contributing labor and resources of the community, which in turn can lead to local ownership and promote self-reliance...and increase the commitment of the local people” (Nelson and Wright, 1995: 183). Hence, ideally, through a participatory approach local management of projects should be strong. However, my data reveals that a trend among organizations is that local management is still weak and a lack of will of community members still exists. Thus looking through a participatory framework these organizations must have poorly executed their ‘participatory approach’. Given that my first research question reflected that most organizations used ‘participation’ in a co-opting method, this may be the actual case. Future research could look at the connection between the participatory methodology used and level of interest in the project by the community in the long term.

4.3 Research Question #4

What problems do international aid organizations experience with Honduran governmental officials when implementing disaster recovery and DRR projects?

This question will be analyzed in the participatory framework in terms of how the local government works with international aid organizations in this context. The concept of NGO-state relations introduced earlier will also contribute to this analysis.

To add to the context of this research question, a majority of the organizations explicitly said they coordinate with the government on a national or local level. Transportation of goods or contribution of material items was a common way in which the government was said to have contributed materially to projects. Generally it was found that corruption, government attitude, turnover in the government, and political influences were the main
challenges found when organizations coordinate and work with the government in disaster recovery and DRR projects. Below are some specific examples or problems grouped according to the challenge.

**Corruption**

A couple organizations explicitly said they experienced problems with the government mis-using their funds. The Swiss Red Cross stated they never give money directly to the government, thus minimizing the chance of corruption. GOAL doesn’t give money to the government because the government has had problems managing money. JICA also experienced problems with the government abusing the money in the past so they no longer give money directly to the government. USAID does not directly give the government funds because they have had bad experiences with this in regards to corruption.

**Government Attitude**

Five organizations explicitly said that the government can be difficult to work with. Jose Ramon from GOAL said it is difficult to work with some institutions that don’t work specifically with planning because “they sometimes worry about small problems” (Jose Ramon, 2010). Further, coordination can be difficult because the rhythm is different and the institutions don’t always have the will to do the projects. Carla from Ayuda en Accion commented that the government should be leading in the issue of risk reduction, in which Ayuda en Accion tries to support the government in this. However, she says, some mayors and city governments can be good to work with, while others can be more difficult. This relationship definitely affects the projects and it was commented that sometimes it is easier to work with mayors and city officials with more experience and education.

The INGO, GOAL, is also facing challenges of integrating the theme of risk management into local government systems. Jose Ramon from GOAL argued that his organization cannot make the government want to integrate the theme or work more in this area. Thus he is aware that the community and local governments have to want to create plans and work with theme of risk reduction and disaster preparedness.
JICA experienced negligence by the Honduran government when the government failed to maintain bridges built by a JICA project. This could also be a critique of shortcomings on the part of JICA who didn’t incorporate a sustainability plan or follow up with the project.

*Turnover in the Government*
Claudio Ramon from Oxfam commented that before the 2009 coup, Oxfam had a good relationship with the government. However, now they have been working on rebuilding a new relationship with the government because after the coup there was a change in personnel which affected the continuity of the projects.

Naomi from JICA revealed that their government counterparts don’t stay in their position long-term. This means that the new government personnel does not have that much investment in the project. After the coup last year, it was like “starting all over again” because there were so many new people working in the government and most people had left (Naomi, 2010). This is a pattern seen, among other organizations as well where a turnover and change of staff affects support for their projects.

*Political Influence*
Claudio Stauffer from the Swiss Red Cross admitted that it’s not easy to work with the government because it’s so political. For instance, sometimes the government only wants to give things to a certain group of people, which is a problem because his organization wants to include everyone. Another political challenge is when the government would prefer that the project be done with the people in the center of town because it will get more attention. The creates a problem because sometimes the organization wants to do a project and help isolated people, thus local politics can influence and affect aid projects.

On a local level, Claudio from Oxfam commented that one problem they have seen is when the mayor wants to manipulate the project and only help people that are following him; currently Oxfam is trying to come up with a strategy to overcome this. Additionally, its not always easy to work with the government, it depends on the person/leader in charge; some are politically extreme and whatever type of help they get, they want to
manipulate and only use for political purposes. Jose Ramon from GOAL adds there is a political factor where if the project doesn’t respond to political aspiration- for example if there is no money in it for the politician- then this can affect government support and impede the progress of the project.

**Analysis of Research Question #4**

One of the most prevalent difficulties in working with the government is from the recent political change that has resulted in new staff in most political institutions. This has left institutions weakened because of the learning curve for new staff members and institutional memory has been lost. Thus the recent political turnover in the government and fragility of the political situation has translated to weaker local institutions. This has left the government’s role in coordinating and facilitating disaster preparedness and resilience building interventions by foreign organizations more disjointed.

Concepts presented earlier argue that NGOs “strengthen the state through their participation in improving efficiency of government services, acting as strategic partners, filling in the gaps, etc” (Desai, V., as cited in Desai and Potter, 2008: 528). However, in the experiences of the organizations interviewed, few seem to be strengthening local government entities through local knowledge gained and creating strong linkages from the bottom to the top. This can be identified as a major weakness on the part of the international aid organizations interviewed. If looking at their role through a participatory framework, these organizations should be strengthening the ties between disadvantaged and marginalized groups and local and national government entities.

Vandana Desai (2008) argues that there have been few linkages between “the state and community initiatives” because participation theorists innately object to the idea that the state can properly encourage community participation (Desai, Vendana, 2008: 117). Thus using participatory theory as a lens, the organizations interviewed have been following current participatory development theory trends through weak encouragement and lack encouraging community participation channels into local governments.
Chapter 5: Discussion and Reflections

5.0 Conclusions and Reflections

As stated in Chapter 1, the aim of my thesis is to understand how foreign aid organizations can make Honduran communities less dependent on foreign aid through certain aspects of their relationships with communities and government institutions in disaster recovery and DRR projects. Through a participatory framework, my research questions identified some of the challenges international aid organizations experience when working with government counterparts and pursuing participatory development approaches in communities. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss how the research and analysis engendered by my research questions contributes to the overall aim of my thesis.

International Aid Organizations and the Community

As my data indicated, separating the ‘community’ from ‘politics’ or even from local leaders is a challenge in itself. Political leaders are a gateway into the community thus usually organizations do not interface with marginalized groups before meeting with political leaders. However, oftentimes political leaders do not have the best interests of the local community in mind when discussing appropriate development projects for their community. Foreign aid organizations can strengthen their relationships with communities through funding projects that have already been identified by the communities themselves. One of the most common challenges of community participation found through my research was a lack of will or interest by the community that tended to decrease over time. Through funding pre-defined projects identified by the community, a stronger link between the projects and the community can be sustained. Two recommendations for INGOs and organizations as a result of this thesis include:

1) Conduct participatory workshops and discussions (with the direct beneficiaries) without the presence of local government officials when appropriate, and;
2) Communicate with the local government that they (INGOs/organization) want to hold community workshops and sessions without the presence of local government.

Although in small villages, local officials are tightly integrated in the rest of the community and often individuals wear ‘multiple hats’, according to the analysis of this thesis, it may be advantageous for organizations to make a more clear distinction between the local government and the community. Thus this is one of the key suggestions for international foreign aid organizations to operationalize in regards to using participatory approaches with communities.

Additionally, the hesitance and unwillingness to divulge details on failed projects during interviews with international aid organizations reflects a shift in thinking that needs to take place among the international development community. Sharing lessons learned and experiences of projects that fail is important so the organizations document why projects fail and other organizations can learn in order to not make the same mistakes. Cultivating an environment that allows for cross sharing and fostering discussions about failed projects would increase understanding for how organizations can work better with communities.

*International Aid Organizations and the Government*

Through high turnover of staff, the relative political instability of the country has affected donor projects through the inconsistency of government counterparts and a lack of shared commitment to development projects. This is an area where it might be difficult for international aid organizations to improve because the only real element they can control are their own actions. Thus, continually engaging government counterparts and showing the importance and *value* that the project can bring and how the government can benefit may lead to new government staff becoming more involved and committed from the beginning. Further as discussed in the analysis, according to a participatory framework, these organizations could be strengthening the ties between disadvantaged and marginalized groups and local and national government entities. International aid
organizations need to make more links between isolated communities and the national government.

In regards to local politics impeding the progress of projects, my data indicated that local politicians and leaders often try to manipulate the projects for their personal agendas. This again ties into the point that international aid organizations need to separate the community leaders from the general community when formulating a project. International aid organizations need to be clear about whom the project is for and whom they want to benefit. Through making this clear at the beginning, organizations may experience less conflict with local leaders and be able to implement projects that maximize funds and deliver services to the appropriate groups or individuals.

In this setting of disaster risk reduction and disaster recovery projects, another common challenge was having a general commitment from local governments. The national government has taken a strong approach to disaster preparedness through the creation of COPECO after Hurricane Mitch. It was stated many times through interviews that disaster preparedness has become better over the past 10 years. However because the theme of risk reduction is still becoming integrated into the national system it has yet to transfer in a meaningful way to a local level. Thus international aid organizations should continue to coordinate with the government on a national level and push the national government to put more pressure on local governments to take this theme of DRR more seriously.

The United Nation Development Program states, “the effectiveness of aid rests on government leadership and ownership of aid coordination and management mechanisms and processes” (UNDP, 2009: 17). This underscores the perspective of the international community that essentially says the government needs to be held accountable for coordinating foreign aid and supporting efforts. Through this perspective organizations need to hold governments accountable for failed projects if the government counterpart is impeding progress of a project of manipulating it for personal reasons.

5.1 Critiques on Participatory Development Theory & Future Research
My analysis contributes to critical examination and further thought for participatory development framework and theory. Although my research was conducted in the setting of DRR and disaster recovery, the discussion regarding patterns of challenges found in my thesis could maybe be transferred to other development sectors as well.

One of the overarching challenges in writing the analysis of the relationship between organizations and the government is a lack of discussion in participatory development theory about how international development actors should be interacting with local institutions within a community participation development framework. Eversole (2003) articulates through qualitative case studies on participation in Australia, “in the complex social landscapes of local communities themselves, and in these communities links to outside agencies, consultants, organizations, governments, and markets, lies the relationships which welcome or discourage participation” (Eversole, 2003: 791). Eversole further articulates the need for a theory to guide development practitioners through the complexity of social relationships that are embedded within the development process (ibid). This connects to the lack of rhetoric on the state-NGO relationship within the participatory development framework and practice. Thus there needs to be a practical link between the organization and the state which fits into this participatory development theory.

The appropriate degree to which the community should be involved in development projects needs to be discussed internally by international aid organizations before the project inception phase. Should every project include the community in every decision? What level of participation is appropriate for every project? This should be included in a project proposal- where the level of participation by the community should be defined and justified- also who in the community will participate. This can help clarify what community perspectives the organizations want to gain from the onset, and through making these decisions clear to local leaders this may decrease political issues or negative influence from politicians.

The research from this thesis reveals that the existing trend of foreign NGOs and international aid organizations in Honduras have included the community primarily on a
‘decision-making’ level and where the organizations initiate action, not the communities; Level 6 “Communities participate in project implementation” was the most common level found according to the typology presented in the framework. This is an area where participatory framework can be expanded, where outlining actions and steps NGOs can take to get to ‘Level 8’ can be a step forward. For a community to initiate action, they need to be organized and collectively identify possible projects. This is a potential area where organizations can support communities in developing village plans and identifying potential projects. Then, by identifying areas the communities want support, it may be easier to seek donors and organizations for technical or financial support.

Finally, the ‘normative’ approach that participatory theory uses should be re-considered. The world does not work in an ‘ideal’ setting and there are a multitude of political, economic, and social factors that affect development work. Therefore placing participatory development theory in an approach closer to ‘critical realism’ may be more practical. Critical realism argues, “discourse should be examined in relation to social structures including the power relationships that are responsible for occasioning them” (Reed, 2000, as cited in Bryman, 2008: 508). Using an approach similar to critical realism in participatory approaches may help guide organizations through the dynamic power structures and politics that are present in every community. As seen in my research, using participatory development approaches is not a means to an end in itself, as many factors still negatively affect projects in spite of the participatory approach. Thus the idealist view that participatory development exists within, needs to shift to a more critical approach that has practical steps for dealing with these common challenges.

Further Research

The context of participatory development and the interplay of various actors in the government and local communities that have been discussed in this thesis demonstrate that this specific arena is complex and multiple factors contribute to the success or failure of projects. Thus, my ideas for future research in this area that would benefit development practitioners are listed below.
a. Looking at this data through the lens of a development relations theory\(^3\) could shed light on other ways of strengthening relationships between international aid organizations, communities, and the government.

b. A quantitative analysis studying the link between level of community participation or participatory approaches in relation to sustainability of a project to reveal if there is a statistical pattern between community participation and sustainability

c. Research to determine if there is a shared definition of what participation means in projects among all international aid organizations. Communities participating only through physical labor would not qualify as real participation according to some definitions. This should be defined by organizations so that 'participation' is not only used as a cosmetic label.

d. Research to determine whether using a local consultant versus an international consultant would impact the degree to which communities are willing and encouraged to participate. What would make communities more receptive to international aid organizations?

e. Research to determine whether there is a pattern or relationship between the amount of time consultants spend in a community and the level of participation and sustainability of a project?

f. Research on how international aid organizations are coordinating with each other and to what extent, if any, are they duplicating each others work?

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\(^3\) Eversole applied a development relations theory to analyze participation in development projects. She argues “ultimately, understanding the principles of development relations can help us to manage development projects in a way that encourages, rather than thwarts, participation” (Eversole,2003: 791). Thus using a development relations theory may be useful in this area of research.
5.2 Looking Forward

“To stop becoming dependent, a unified effort needs to be made between aid funds and the national government” - Jose Ramon, GOAL

The above quote highlights one of the actions defined by the Hyogo Framework for Action for development organizations, which is supporting and strengthening government institutions. This is happening in a slow way at the federal level but not so much in the local communities, and reducing aid dependency is part of improving development initiatives. The government needs a clear vision of where it wants to go and this is something that it still lacks.

While my research only touches the surface of development issues related to community involvement and government coordination in the area of DRR and disaster recovery, there are trends that organizations and government institutions can discern from my data and use to move forward in Honduras. As mentioned in the Theory and Context chapter, participatory development sounds easy but it is often very difficult to ensure full and equal participation. Because local politics play such a huge role through supporting Community Based Organizations (CBOs), marginalized people, and breaking down local power structures international NGOs can enhance participation in projects. Moving the local community to the forefront of the project in all regards including management (fiscally, physically, and in decision-making) can ensure a project is more sustainable because it is essentially owned by the community. International organizations can assist in this through facilitating a balance of power and being clear about who the intended beneficiaries are and ensuring they participate genuinely.

It is certain that Honduras will be faced with more devastating natural disasters in the future, therefore it is incumbent that every development project supporting DRR projects be implemented as efficiently and sustainably as possible. I hope my research has shed some light on trends that need to change within the development sector to ensure that Honduras is better equipped for the future and less dependent on foreign countries.
Word count excluding cover page, abstract, acknowledgements, references, and appendixes:
15,032
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Rodreiquez, Nelson. 2010. IFRC. Interviewed by Laura Parrott. [written notes]

Sorinano, Javier. 2010. Spanish Red Cross. Interviewed by Laura Parrott. [written notes]


The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005)

The Accra Accord (2008)


Annex 1: List of People Interviewed (November-December 2010)

1) Spanish Red Cross, Javier Jerraiz Soriano
2) International Federation of the Red Crescent, Nelson Antonio Aly Rodriquez, Country Representative of Honduras
3) Swiss Red Cross, Claudio Stauffer, Delegate for Honduras
4) Save the Children, Manuel Aguilar, Head of Programs
5) GOAL, Jose Ramon
6) Oxfam, Claudio Ramon
7) Ayuda en Accion, Marla Melendez, National Coordinator for Risk Management
8) Japan International Development Agency (JICA), Naomi Kurebayashi, Program Official for Climate Change
9) Peace Corps, Bryan Dwyer, Program Specialist
10) USAID, Peter Hearne, Environmental and Disaster Officer
11) COPECO (the government), Julio Cesar Quinonez Espino, Specialist in natural disaster prevention and mitigation
12) Woman, Community Member, Guapinol, age 50-60
13) Man, Pastor, Guapinal, age 50-60
14) Man, Community Leader, Guapinol, age 50-60
15) Don Paulino, Community Member, Ciudad Espana, age 40-50
Annex 2: Interview Guide for International Aid Organizations

1. What kind of projects are being implemented or have been implemented in the area of post-disaster recovery and DRR?

2. How is the community involved in the project?

3. What are problems with community participation?

4. How is sustainability built into the project?

5. What is your relationship like with the government in the projects? Do they give support?

6. In the past, what kind of projects have been done? Which have failed and which have been successful?

7. How much do you think communities in Honduras depend on the support of international aid organization?
Annex 3: Basic Facts of Honduras

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1.1: Honduras – Key indicators for 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population</strong>: 6.4 million (estimated to reach 10.7 million by 2025). The vast majority are mestizos of mixed European and indigenous ancestry, with a five percent black minority, mostly along the coast. Garifunas are descendants of fugitive slaves and indigenous peoples and define themselves as an indigenous group. The majority are Christians, 90 percent of which are Roman Catholics and 10 percent of which are Protestants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Climate</strong>: Tropical and sub-tropical, with a wide range of daily temperatures in the mountainous region, cooler than those in the low-lying areas. Winter rains between May to October, with the Caribbean coast being the most humid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Surface area</strong>: 112.1 thousand sq. km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population per sq. km</strong>: 57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population growth</strong>: 2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Life expectancy</strong>: 63.2 years male, 68.8 years female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population below national poverty line</strong>: 54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GNI per capita</strong>: 860 US$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GDP</strong>: 5.9 billion US$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infant Mortality General</strong>: 33 per 1,000 live births</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maternal mortality ratio</strong>: 110 per 100,000 live births</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illiteracy</strong>: 26.1 percent male, 25.9 percent female above 15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Access to basic health care</strong>: 40 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Access to safe water</strong>: 90 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human development index value</strong>: 0.634 (1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Defense budget</strong>: Estimated $35 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annex 4: Cost of damages from Hurricane Mitch in USD millions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Indirect</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Replacement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,177.4</td>
<td>1,461.1</td>
<td>3,638.5</td>
<td>4,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social sectors</td>
<td>305.4</td>
<td>719.4</td>
<td>1,024.8</td>
<td>580.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>259.1</td>
<td>675.3</td>
<td>934.4</td>
<td>484.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>347.6</td>
<td>164.2</td>
<td>511.7</td>
<td>713.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads, bridges</td>
<td>314.1</td>
<td>140.04</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>571.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water/sanitation</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>118.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Productive sectors</td>
<td>1,477.6</td>
<td>577.1</td>
<td>2,054.8</td>
<td>3,694.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agric./livestock/forestry</td>
<td>1,387.3</td>
<td>274.2</td>
<td>1,661.5</td>
<td>2,990.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacture</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>196.3</td>
<td>212.1</td>
<td>381.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade, hotels</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>106.7</td>
<td>181.2</td>
<td>326.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: UNDP/ECLAC, A Preliminary Assessment of Damages Caused by Hurricane Mitch, 10 December 1998.*