A CULTURAL HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SCHOOLS IN THE HONDURAN MUSKITIA

By

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ABSTRACT

In the geographically isolated Honduran Muskitia region, schools have represented a contested space through which both the Honduran government and Miskitu communities have struggled for territorial identity. Schools are functional spaces through which social interaction strengthens Miskitu cultural boundaries, norms, and identities. The historical development of education in this isolated indigenous region is paradoxical in that early state initiatives were designed to provide education for Miskitu communities while simultaneously excluding their indigenous cultural identities. However, schools' historical impact on Miskitu territoriality has received little attention from scholars. The primary objective of this research is to understand 1) the origin and diffusion of schools in the Muskitia region; and 2) the impact of schools on Miskitu territoriality. This thesis brings into question whether the geographic inaccessibility of Muskitia and recurrent state failures to provide baseline education there ultimately contributed to the preservation of Miskitu language and territorial identity. My research aims to fill a gap in existing cultural historical scholarship by examining schools as contested spaces of linguistic identity through which the Miskitu v. state territorial struggle has taken place. Archival research, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews were my primary methodological approaches to understand the historical geography of schools and their impact on Miskitu territoriality.

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PREFACE

I preface the following pages of this thesis with a brief account of how I came from Kansas to study the cultural historical geography of the remote Muskitia (also written *Mosquitia* or *Moskitia*) vernacular region of Honduras. It may seem as though I made a deliberate decision one day to frequent these distant landscapes based on prior knowledge or experience. After all, how else could I arrive there? The region is so isolated, in fact, that no roads link the Honduran capital, Tegucigalpa, with Muskitia. One does not inadvertently stumble into Muskitia by taking a wrong exit on the highway or falling asleep on the bus.

My first field experience as a KU student was not in Honduras; instead, I traveled to southern Mexico in July 2008, where I participated for nine days as an observer on the *México Indígena Project*. A multinational team of university students and professors from the U.S., Mexico, and Canada collaborated with indigenous Zapotec communities of Oaxaca to map their lands and to document land tenure changes resulting from PROCEDE, the Mexican government's revolutionary land certification and privatization program. It was here where I first met my thesis adviser, Dr. Peter Herlihy[1], who co-led *México Indígena* with Dr. Jerry Dobson; and my esteemed colleagues Andy Hilburn, John Kelly, and Aida Ramos, who worked as graduate research assistants. I felt absorbed by the team's camaraderie, and the research fascinated me. I was convinced I wanted to be a Latin Americanist geographer.

[1] This encounter was facilitated by American Geographical Society President/KU Geography Professor, Jerry Dobson, after he met my dad, Gray Tappan (a KU Geography graduate), on a field trip to West Africa and South Africa in March 2008.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND METHODOLOGY

I. Historical Geography and the Berkeley School of Geographic Thought

The infinite variety of physical and cultural landscapes has always sparked my interest in geography, the lens through which I hope to see and understand people and places. As a student at the University of Kansas, I have enjoyed numerous field experiences in Mexico and Central America, and I have come to appreciate the Sauerian family tree of cultural historical geographers. Historical geography, broadly defined, concerns itself with the study of places and environments in the past. Historical geographers, then, study geographical patterns through time and how cultural landscapes are formed through human-environment interaction (see Mitchell 1954; Offen 2012).

The Sauerian academic tradition falls under the umbrella of historical geography. This academic lineage originated at the University of California at Berkeley after the turn of the 20th century. Carl Sauer, after whom the Sauerian tradition is named, was a Latin Americanist geographer who underscored the importance of understanding cultural landscapes through participant observation, fieldwork, and archival research. He graduated many doctoral students who carried on his philosophy that a geographer should be multilingual and have an interdisciplinary educational background.

Several geographers in the Sauer tradition of cultural historical geography identify themselves and their scholarship with the term "ethnogeography," an intellectual approach which

Sauer had developed has a hybridization of an older European tradition called "anthropogeography" (Herlihy, Mathewson, and Revels 2008: 15). Specifically, ethnogeography, or the "Berkeley School" of geographic thought, examines human-environment interaction, particularly in rural areas and in non-Western or ethnic societies (Herlihy, Mathewson, and Revels 2008: 15; Mathewson 2011). Examples of Berkeley School scholarship include West's Ph.D. dissertation (1946) on the economic structure of mining in Chihuahua, Mexico. Parsons (1948) studied the processes of colonization in the Antioquia region of western Colombia. Clinton Edwards (1962), Sauer's last Ph.D. student, examined aboriginal watercraft and the maritime skills of coastal peoples along the Pacific seaboard of South America. Bill Davidson, a second-generation Sauerian and advisee of Edwards, wrote his dissertation (1972) on the historical geography of the Bay Islands, Honduras, and the Anglo-Hispanic conflict that played out there. Peter Herlihy (1986) was Davidson's student and studied the cultural geography of the Emberá and Wounaan (Chocó) indigenous groups of eastern Panamá, specifically examining patterns of village formation and economic diversification.

The preceding examples are just a few from the Sauerian academic pedigree of cultural historical geographers. Topics of dissertations vary widely among scholars in the Berkeley School tradition, but they are generally characterized by Sauer's views of geography that construed "environment as a cultural value, environmental change as independent of culture, habitat modification by human action, culture origins, culture survivals (marginal peoples), and diffusion of culture" (Speth 1999: 192; Herlihy, Mathewson, and Revels 2008: 15; Mathewson 2011). My thesis is one of historical geography and is Sauerian in nature, seeking to document Miskitu culture history through the examination of schools—where they originated in the Honduran Muskitia, how they diffused over time, and what impact they played on territoriality as

construed both by the state and the Miskitu. This thesis describes the Miskitu within a context that has not yet been highlighted by scholars—that is, I examine territoriality as it relates to schools, language, and the political ideology of *indigenismo* through which the Honduran government acted to shape the identities and roles of the indigenous Miskitu in their relations with a non-indigenous, Spanish-speaking Honduran state. As I continue my graduate career as a Ph.D. student following the completion of my thesis research, I too will join the Berkeley School pedigree as a fourth-generation scholar, tracing my academic lineage back to Sauer through Herlihy, Davidson, and Edwards.

The more I reflect upon Sauer's principles, the more I have come to realize that it takes a long time to develop the knowledge and skills to become a successful geographer. Sauer avowed that for students of geography, "We are unlikely to start early and we need a long time to mature. Ours is a task of slow accumulation of knowledge, experience, and judgment" (Sauer 1956: 288). Indeed, my own ongoing development as a geographer reflects this reality, and my most formative experiences have not emerged through the fulfillment of predetermined classroom requisites, but rather during occasions in which I have been a guest observer and participant in socio-cultural landscapes that lie beyond the realm of my daily routine.

As the son of a field geographer and well-traveled, multilingual parents who value exploring our world by way of field work or family vacations, I had always been privileged to grand family road trips and international flavors in cuisine and culture. I knew at a young age that I wanted to find a discipline that encouraged exploration, particularly abroad, and so for me geography felt like a logical career path. My concurrent penchant for the Spanish language eventually led me to study in Latin America, where I began to develop an interest in the culture and geographies of indigenous societies in Mexico and Central America.

While visiting the Honduran Muskitia for the first time I was surprised to find, given its marked geographic and cultural isolation from the rest of Honduras, that nearly every Miskitu community has a primary school. Most people speak both Miskitu and Spanish there, but Miskitu is dominant. Like anywhere, language is a foundational component of culture, and in the Muskitia of Honduras and Nicaragua, to speak Miskitu is to be Miskitu, especially considering that the majority of Hondurans and Nicaraguans have never been to the isolated Muskitia region and haven't learned even simple greetings in the Miskitu language. In both Honduras and Nicaragua, the Miskitu often self-identify as being Miskitu, or being from Muskitia, more readily than they would self-identify as being Honduran or Nicaraguan. This observation provoked me to wonder whether schools, as functional places to develop and strengthen language, cultural norms, and identity, also play a role in shaping Miskitu territoriality in Honduras.

The following pages of this thesis are dedicated to a cultural historical investigation of schools in the Honduran Muskitia. I describe their origin and diffusion in the region and examine the relationship between education and the development of territoriality as construed by the state and by the Miskitu. The remaining pages of chapter one provide an overview of my field work and methodological approaches to understanding the geography of schools in La Muskitia. Chapter two provides a description of lands in the Muskitia vernacular region, a glimpse into the culture history of the Miskitu, and an introduction to territoriality and schools in the Muskitia region. Chapter three contextualizes 19th and early 20th century Honduran education politics within a broader framework of rural educative politics and *indigenismo* in Latin America and describes the formation of the Muskitia territory in Honduras. Chapter four discusses 20th century Honduran government policies that sought to establish schools in Muskitia as spaces to strengthen Honduran nationalism by assimilating and acculturating the Miskitu and neighboring

indigenous groups. In chapter five I turn to the contemporary state of education in the Muskitia region. I examine the advent of education programs and agendas, the decentralization of education, and the emergence of new indigenous territorial jurisdictions called *concejos territoriales*. I discuss bilingual education and the relationship between schools and these new forms of spatial autonomy that are reshaping Miskitu territorial identity. My research is anchored in cultural historical geography that describes Miskitu settlement patterns and territoriality, archival documents that illustrate the origin and diffusion of schools in the Honduran Muskitia, and in my experiences as a participant observer on numerous field trips to Honduras from 2012-2015 during my master's program at the University of Kansas.

II. Methodology and Field Work

This thesis is aligned with the Sauerian-Berkeley tradition of cultural historical geography. I examine the origin and diffusion of schools in the Honduran Muskitia as a means to understand the Miskitu cultural landscape. Participant observation, archival research, and semi-structured interviews functioned as chief methodological strategies to address two general themes: 1) where did schools originate and how did they diffuse throughout the Honduran Muskitia? and 2) what impact, if any, have schools played in negotiating territorial identity in Muskitia? I constructed my own geographic information system (GIS) and produced original maps for this thesis based on the data acquired during my field research. Few scholars have researched the geography of schools in Muskitia, which has allowed this thesis to fill a void in the existing literature on the Miskitu cultural landscapes, but has also made this research challenging given the dearth of previous scholarship. This thesis is an original contribution to the literature on the Miskitu cultural landscapes.

Figure 1.1: Map showing number of Honduran public schools per department in 1956 (SEP 1956)

I began to trace the origin and diffusion of schools in Muskitia through the examination of records and reports from the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (SEP) in the National Honduran Archives in Tegucigalpa, Honduras during the summer of 2012. I perused and photographed hundreds of pages of annual reports provided by the SEP that identified state projects, statistics regarding literacy rates and school enrollments, and the dates of school formation in Miskitu communities; but these data often painted only a partial picture (see Figure 1.1). The Honduran National Archives that houses the reports has gaps in its record; many of the paper archival documents and books were destroyed in 1998 during Hurricane Mitch that devastated much of Tegucigalpa's colonial center.

I supplemented these gaps in school formation dates with tabular data available online through the SEP's website and with records that I acquired from the *Dirección Departamental de Educación Pública* in Puerto Lempira, the departmental capital for Muskitia. I obtained an official list in spreadsheet format from the Dirección Departamental de Educación of all public schools in the Department of Gracias a Dios and began to supplement the list with school

formation dates obtained in the Honduran National Archives in order to understand the diffusion of schools across the Muskitia region. I used the list to construct a spatial GIS database and to map the schools and their corresponding districts in order to obtain a spatial representation of how the Department of Gracias a Dios organizes and administers its public schools. The map of schools and their corresponding districts may be the only one that exists. I interviewed five different representatives of the Dirección Departamental de Educación Pública in Puerto Lempira in search of a map of Muskitia's schools and school districts, but nobody had ever seen one.

Fieldwork conducted in Muskitia provided me with the firsthand opportunity to visit schools in Miskitu villages and to connect with the Dirección Departamental de Educación, the administrative seat in Puerto Lempira for managing public schools in Muskitia. From my base in the Miskitu village of Kuri, I walked among all the coastal villages from Plaplaya to Río Plátano and visited schools in each village along the way. I interviewed public officials, local experts, students, and teachers in villages to learn the impact schools play in Miskitu cultural and territorial identity. I distributed 21 questionnaires to Miskitu *bachillerato* (high school) students (see Appendix 1), but I abandoned the questionnaires when I realized how many of the students struggled to read the questions and provide simple written answers. I continued to use the questionnaires as a reference for conducting oral interviews. Perhaps above all else, my proficiency in Spanish and Miskitu proved to be the most valuable tool while I was conducting field research, as all of my interviews and archival research were conducted in these two languages.

An excursion in a canoe fitted with an outboard motor up the Río Plátano offered me a four-day glimpse of life in Las Marías Baltituk, a traditional riverine community of indigenous

Pech and Miskitu residents. I also traveled along Muskitia's principal water highways (Ibans Lagoon, Brus Lagoon, Río Plátano, Río Patuca, and Laguna de Caratasca) in *colectivos*—long *lanchas* (motorboats) for 15 to 20 passengers—to visit three of Muskitia's most important communities and educational centers: Brus Lagoon (also Brus Laguna), Ahuas, and Puerto Lempira. On multiple occasions I flew among communities on small Honduran domestic carriers or chartered flights. Twin-engine turboprops link the largest Miskitu communities with the Honduran capital, Tegucigalpa; and with La Ceiba, a large city west of Muskitia on the Caribbean shoreline. Charter flights in a single-engine Cessna can be taken to smaller communities where runways are short, narrow, and often maintained by grazing cattle. Altogether my travel throughout Gracias a Dios as an observer and archival research in the National Archives in Honduras helped to paint a picture of the historical origin and diffusion of schools in this vast, remote region and to provide my understanding of the contemporary geography of schools in the Honduran Muskitia.

CHAPTER TWO

GEOGRAPHY AND LANDS IN MUSKITIA

I. First Impressions

Figure 2.1: Downtown Puerto Cabezas-Bilwi, Nicaragua (photo credit: Taylor A. Tappan)

Two particular excursions to Central America were instrumental in my decision to study the Miskitu upon entering a master's program in geography at the University of Kansas. My first experience in 2009 came on a pilot study abroad program, led by KU anthropologist Laura Hobson Herlihy, which immersed students in Miskitu language and culture in Puerto Cabezas-Bilwi, Nicaragua (Figure 2.1). The exchanged juxtaposed the marked socioeconomic and cultural differences between Nicaragua's mestizo Pacific coast and the indigenous-creole Caribbean

coast. The experience was my first in Nicaragua and in Muskitia, one that I repeated twice in subsequent years as a master's student.

Figure 2.2: A Miskitu home near Las Marías Baltituk along the Río Plátano (photo credit: Taylor A. Tappan)

I received a Tinker Research Grant the following summer to study Miskitu culture and political autonomy in Honduras. As in Nicaragua, the experience was my first in the Honduran Muskitia. I spent my time living in a small coastal village and practicing Miskitu. I learned that although Miskitu language and settlement spans the border between Nicaragua and Honduras, each side has pronounced cultural distinctions. The Honduran Muskitia region is more remote and characteristic of traditional Miskitu settlement patterns in which villages generally are found along river networks where subsistence activities include hunting, fishing, gathering, and slash-and-burn agriculture, or shifting cultivation, in fertile riparian zones (Figure 2.2). In contrast, the Nicaraguan Muskitia, encompassed by the North and South Atlantic Autonomous Regions, includes the port city of Puerto Cabezas-Bilwi, one of the largest indigenous cities in all of Latin America with a population approaching 70,000. It is a cultural melting pot that juxtaposes

various languages and cultures, including the Miskitu majority, Sumo-Mayangna, Garífuna, English-speaking Creole, and Spanish-speaking mestizo. A few American expatriates and Mormon missionaries can also be seen frequenting the street markets and restaurant patios in Puerto Cabezas-Bilwi.

Figure 2.3: The Muskitia region of eastern Honduras and Nicaragua

The Muskitia region is a vast, sparsely populated expanse of eastern Honduras and Nicaragua. It is home to a number of Afro-indigenous and Amerindian groups including the Garífuna, Miskitu, Pech, and Tawahka in Honduras and the Garífuna, Miskitu, Sumo-Mayangna, and English-speaking Creole in Nicaragua. In the Honduran Muskitia the Miskitu are the largest indigenous group with a population of more than 72,000 (*Protocolo Bio-cultural del Pueblo*

Indígena Miskitu 2012: 14). Their language (Miskitu), along with Spanish, has become a lingua franca among other Honduran indigenous groups living in the same region and is widely spoken today (Helms 1995; Cochran 2005).

Miskitu settlement covers an extensive area (Figure 2.3) which ranges from Cabo Camarón on Honduras's northern coast south to the Pearl Lagoon area near Bluefields, Nicaragua (Dodds 2001). The humid coastal lowlands of Muskitia are covered with pine savannas, fresh and salt water lagoons, marshes, meandering rivers, and gallery forests (Parsons 1955; Herlihy 1997a; Tillman 2011). The lowland pine savanna, the largest of its kind in Central America, measures 300 miles from Honduras's Ibans Lagoon in the north to its southernmost extent near Bluefields, Nicaragua. Along the banks of the Río Coco, the pine savanna reaches more than 100 miles inland from Cape Gracias a Dios, but on average its width from east to west generally measures no more than 30 miles (Parsons 1955; Cochran 2005).

Beyond the lagoons, marshes, and pine savannas of the Caribbean lowlands, the more sparsely populated western segment of La Muskitia is characterized by hilly uplands and the largest remaining stretches of tropical forest in Central America (Herlihy 1997a, 2001; Cochran 2005). The contiguous tract of forest that spans the border between Honduras and Nicaragua has been called the Muskitia Rain Forest Corridor because it has allowed for the biological exchange of flora and fauna for both North and South American species (Herlihy 1997a, 2001; Dodds 2001; Cochran 2005). Sadly, field observations show that recent external threats have endangered the biodiversity of the Muskitia Rain Forest Corridor and disrupted the settlement patterns of many resident indigenous communities, leading to a social instability of existing Miskitu land tenure practices (Herlihy 2001).

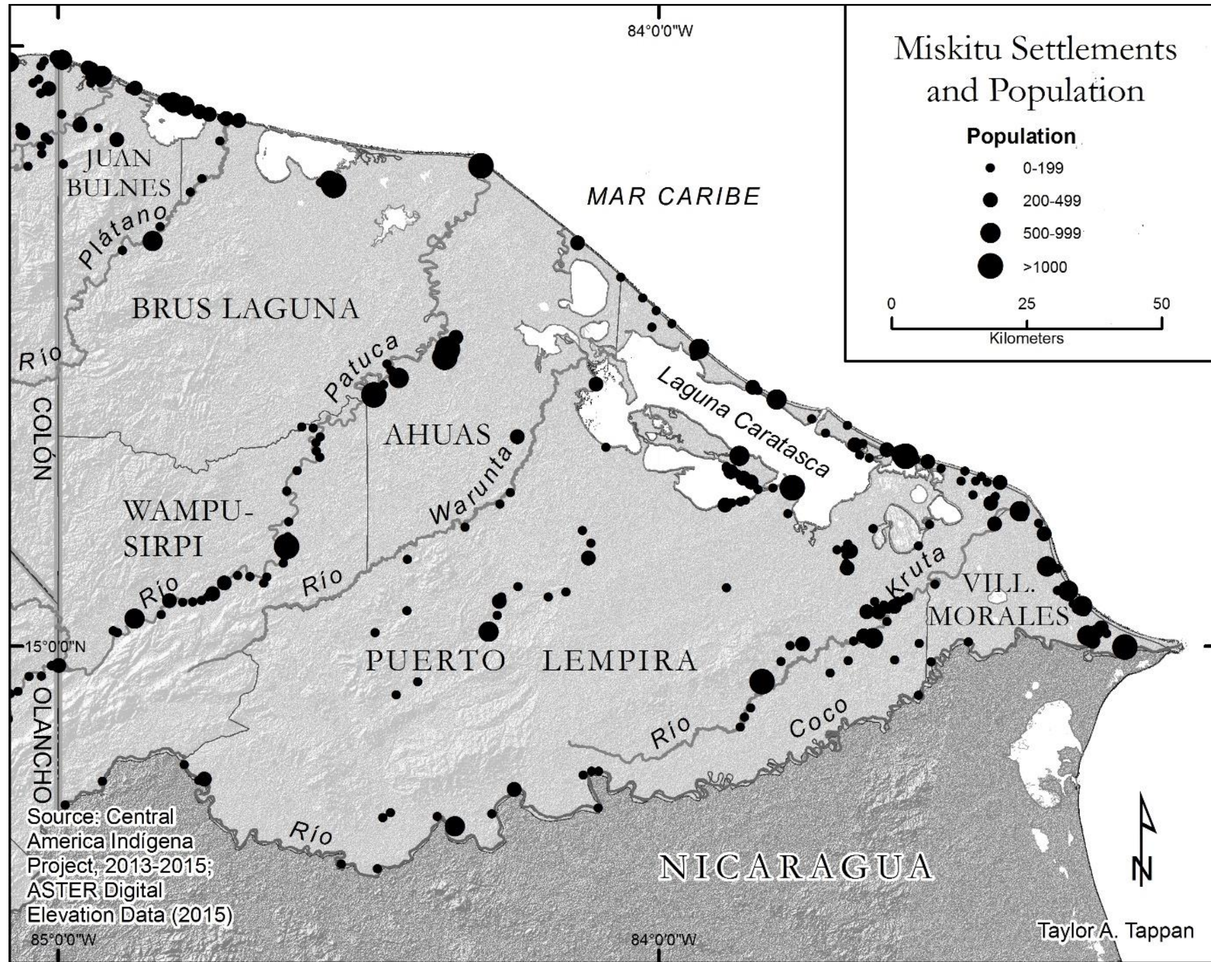

Figure 2.4: Approximate populations of settlements in the Honduran Muskitia

Perhaps the most critical socio-environmental issue today for the Miskitu (and neighboring indigenous groups) is to acquire legal access to territory and natural resources. An influx of non-indigenous (*Ladino*) colonists, now coupled at times with strong influences from narco-traffickers, has transformed Muskitia's landscapes as vast expanses of rainforest have been converted to agricultural fields and cattle pastures. Much of the colonization is occurring within the boundaries of the Río Plátano Biosphere Reserve, but a lack of government funding and political will to confront the illegal encroachment of Ladinos has allowed them to acquire the lands through sale or by force from small-scale, subsistence farmers and indigenous communities (Herlihy 1997b, 2001).

Figure 2.5: Deforestation in Río Plátano Biosphere Reserve near Río Sico, 2010 (photo credit: Taylor A. Tappan)

In response to heightened tensions between Miskitu communities and Ladino colonists, MASTA (Muskitia Asla Takanka, Unity of Muskitia), the umbrella political federation representing the Miskitu, petitioned the Honduran government in 1988 to legalize Miskitu ancestral homelands (Herlihy 2001). The land titles, though, were held by INA, the National Agrarian Institute; and AFE/COHDEFOR, the State Forestry Agency (Herlihy 1997b, 2001; Galeana and Pantoja 2013). No legal precedent existed for titling both the areas of occupation and the greater functional subsistence habitats of the Miskitu; thus, the titles remained with the state during the 1990s (Herlihy 1997; Galeana and Pantoja 2013).

The early 2000s ushered in a new era of land management in Honduras. Policy reforms incorporated a comprehensive program, sponsored by the World Bank and the Honduran Institute of Property, to strengthen property rights throughout the country, including in the isolated Muskitia. The Honduran Land Administration Program (Programa de Administración de Tierras de Honduras, PATH), an agency operated through the Honduran Institute of Property, initiated in 2004 a demarcation and titling process of Miskitu territorial federations that were organized through MASTA in the late 1990s (Galeana and Pantoja 2013). These local indigenous territorial jurisdictions, called *concejos territoriales*, represent large functional land and resource use areas shared by multiple communities. Their boundaries are permeable to allow for a flow of people and overlapping resource uses among neighboring concejos territoriales, and they were delimited according to natural landmarks, areas of subsistence, and community cultural ties (Herlihy and Leake 1993; Galeana and Pantoja 2013: 7). In 2012 the Honduran government awarded an inter-community title to representatives of *KATAINASTA*, the first concejo territorial to receive one (Galeana and Pantoja 2013). This new titling process is continuing to unfold at the time of this thesis and is paving the way for the Miskitu in Honduras to acquire legal, inter-community control over their ancestral homelands and resources that cover the entire department of Gracias a Dios.

II. Life in Kuri

I spent the majority of my time in the Honduran Muskitia in a small village called *Kuri*, named after a tropical fruit bearing tree (sapote), of which none currently exist in the village. Kuri is a Miskitu community of 300-400 inhabitants and sits on narrow strait of land between the

Caribbean Sea and a network of inland, freshwater lagoons and canals that connect Ibans Lagoon, the mouth of the Río Plátano, and Brus Lagoon, from west to east (Figure 2.6).

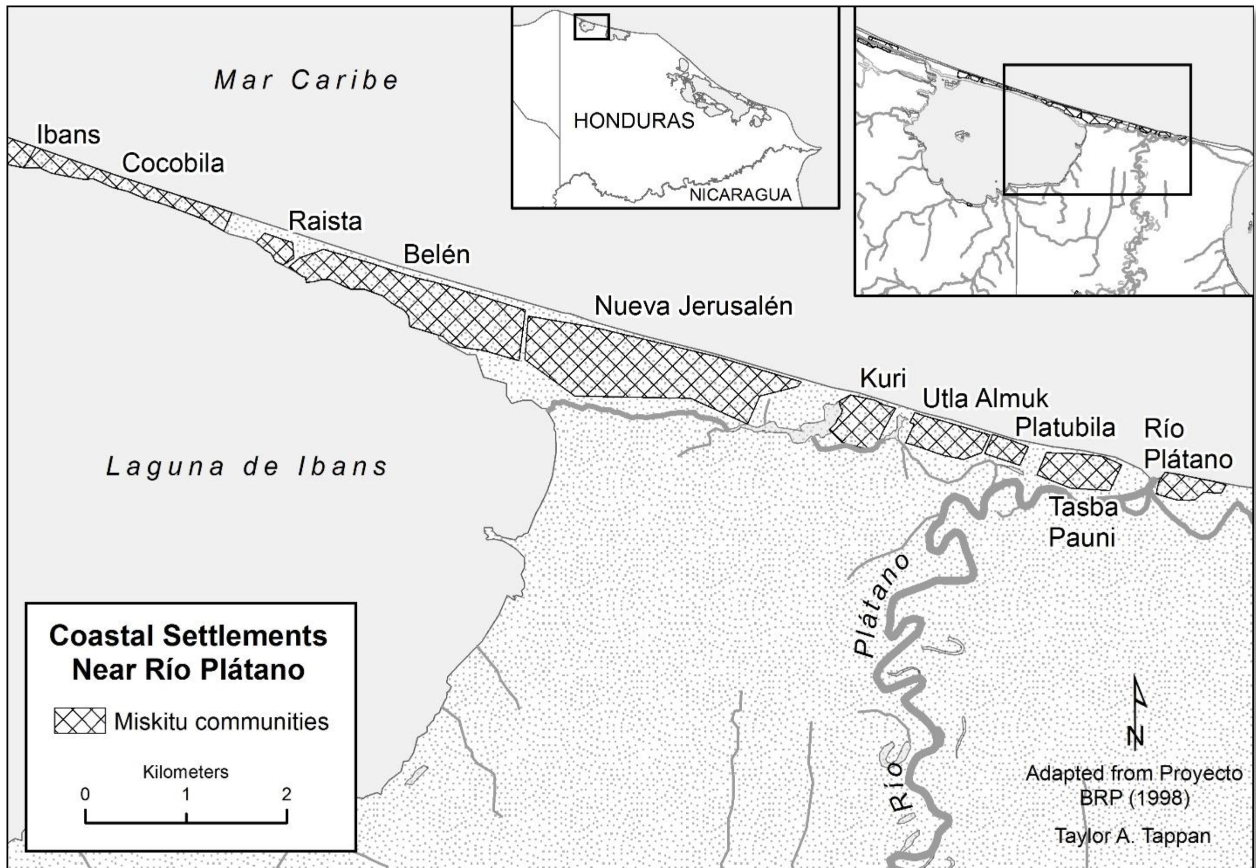

Figure 2.6: Kuri and neighboring villages in Río Plátano Reserve, Honduras

A string of a dozen or so villages and hamlets occupies the straight from Ibans Lagoon to Río Plátano over a distance of ten kilometers. A mud and dirt path connects one community to the next for foot and bicycle traffic, but in the last few years two or three pickup trucks and a small, three-wheeled motor taxi have begun to frequent the route, which has resulted in the widening of the path to accommodate the vehicles. Once a quiet village mostly isolated from the movement of commercial goods and people in the larger communities of Belén and Cocobila, Kuri is now becoming increasingly exposed to external social and economic influences,

including conflict brought to the coast by non-indigenous colonists (*terceros*) and narco-traffickers.

Figure 2.7: Herlihy residence in Kuri (photo credit: Taylor A. Tappan)

The relatively quiet, tranquil nature of Kuri and its proximity to neighboring Miskitu villages made it an ideal hub from which to conduct my master's research. The Miskitu family of Rollins and Nela George hosted me for the length of my stay. Nela cooked for me every day and boiled water in light of my trepidation to drink straight from the well. Meals were typically loaded with carbohydrates, consisting of *gallo pinto* (a mixture of white rice with beans), boiled or fried chicken or salted fish, fried plantain or breadfruit chips, biscuits, spaghetti noodles, and coffee. I was somewhat dismayed that, despite an abundance of mango and other fruit-bearing trees, fresh fruit was rarely served during any meal of the day in Kuri.

I lived in Kuri for two weeks in July 2012 in a wooden house on stilts built more than a decade ago by my thesis adviser, Dr. Peter Herlihy (Figure 2.7). Despite the decaying floorboards, the gaping hole in the aluminum roof, and corroded hinges that prevented the windows from closing, the insects were kept in check at night by vigilant bats and spiders and a steady ocean breeze. The house failed, though, to prevent a fragment of a stray lightning bolt from striking me one day during an afternoon thundershower while I was taking shelter from the downpour inside the house with the children of my host family. The bolt seemed to deflect first off the aluminum sheets that comprise the roof before it struck me; nevertheless, the jolt was sufficiently potent to knock me flat on my back from my standing position and to prompt a burning sensation in my arm from my fingers to my shoulder. The children stared wide-eyed at me as I staggered to my feet, unharmed but not without a ringing in my ears and a white haze in my eyes, and immediately they began to recount how a white flame traveled up my right arm and escaped through my mouth. To this day the incident seems rather surreal when I recall the bizarre occurrence. In March 2014 on another visit to Kuri, the children excitedly reminded me of the episode as soon as I arrived in the village.

I feel humbled and grateful for the warmth and hospitality offered by Rollins, Nela, and their family on three visits to Kuri while I conducted undergraduate research on Miskitu political autonomous movements and thesis research on the cultural historical geography of schools in the Honduran Muskitia. Although Rollins received little formal education as a child, he has become one of Kuri's leaders and shoulders a wide of array of responsibilities. Beyond caring for his family of nearly a dozen, Rollins periodically makes trips *klaura* (upriver) to the family's *kiamp* (small agricultural fields along the Río Plátano) where they cultivate rice and beans and raise a few cattle. He is also involved in working on community development projects with MOPAWI, a

local Miskitu non-governmental organization, and in maintaining the inland canals that link the lagoons and rivers between Ibans Lagoon, Río Plátano, and Brus Lagoon; an arduous process that requires dozens of workers to clear tree and plant growth and to carve channels for *lanchas* (small motor boats) and canoes.

Rollins inherited his community leadership qualities from his late father, Sixto George, who I never had the privilege of knowing. Before moving to the coast, Sixto grew up in the riverine community of Auka, which sits along the banks of the Río Kruta that runs parallel to the Río Coco, the border between Honduras and Nicaragua. Sixto completed his schooling there and then became a primary school teacher circa 1959 in Kaukira, a coastal community that sits on a spit of land between Caratasca Lagoon and the Caribbean Sea. At the time, Kaukira, along with Brus Lagoon, had benefitted from the influence of the Moravian Church to become the most important center for education in the Honduran Muskitia. Sixto worked in Kaukira for two years before moving to Brus Lagoon in 1961 (George 2012 personal communication).

Like Kaukira, Brus Lagoon had emerged as the other most important center for education in the Honduran Muskitia. Upon its arrival to Brus Lagoon in 1933, the Moravian Church founded a private school, *Instituto Renacimiento*, for Miskitu children in Brus and surrounding communities. After relocating to Brus Lagoon from Kaukira, Sixto continued his career as a teacher, working in Instituto Renacimiento for fifteen years. His son, Rollins, was born in 1968 in Brus Lagoon.

During his tenure in the Moravian Instituto Renacimiento, Sixto became a well-recognized teacher. In an effort to expand educational opportunities to neighboring Miskitu communities, Sixto moved his family to the coast in 1976, and they settled in Kuri. Sixto founded a private primary school called *Escuela Rural Mixta Camilo Miralda* for children in

grades 1-6 who were living in Kuri and the neighboring communities of Utla Almuk and Tasbapauni. Prior to the establishment of Escuela Rural Mixta Camilo Miralda, children from theses villages had to walk two or three miles each day and cross the mouth of the Río Plátano to attend class in the community that bears the same name. Sixto's establishment of a primary school in Kuri pioneered a wave of school teachers to found additional primary schools along the coast in following years. In 1983 the Honduran government assumed control of Escuela Rural Mixta Camilo Miralda, changing the name to *Guillermo Ardón*, but to this day the same school remains in use for grade school children in Kuri, Utla Almuk and Tasbapauni (George 2012 personal communication). It was on the grounds of this school in Kuri, through village soccer games and conversations with friendly neighbors in my broken Miskitu, where I began to learn the geography and culture of the Honduran Muskitia.

III. Miskitu Cultural Origins

Miskitu is a Misumalpa, Macro-Chibchan language of Amazonian origin, with loan words from English and Spanish that form an integral part of Miskitu vocabulary (Helms 1995). The contemporary Miskitu population likely originated from small pockets of indigenous groups that lived near Cabo Gracias a Dios and along the Río Coco at the time of European contact in the 16th century (Conzemius 1932; von Hagen 1940). Conzemius (1932) and Helms (1971) have suggested that intermarriage with other ethnic groups, including European settlers, privateers, and escaped black slaves, enabled the expansion of Miskitu society from the 17th to the 19th century.

One of the first points of contact was in 1631 at Providence Island. English Puritan cash croppers had settled Providence Island, located roughly 150 miles off the Miskitu Shore at Cabo

Gracias a Dios (Floyd 1967; Galvin 1999). The island was eventually conquered by Spanish forces in 1641, and most of the English population was sent back to Europe. The English, though, had brought several hundred black slaves to the island by 1641, many of whom escaped to the Miskitu Coast upon Spanish arrival, where they assimilated into the native indigenous population (von Hagen 1940; Floyd 1967; Helms 1983). The famous English buccaneer, Henry Morgan, regained control of Providence Island from Spanish occupants in 1670, using it as a springboard to attack Spanish strongholds in Panama, but ultimately he determined that the island was too isolated to serve as a strategic stronghold for England and he eventually de-fortified it in 1671 (Floyd 1967; Galvin 1999).

The Miskitu frequently aided English, French, and Dutch privateers in raids against Spanish settlements on the mainland for much of the 17th century (Floyd 1967; Helms 1983; Galvin 1999). Miskitu men traveled with the privateers, providing dugout canoes for riverine transportation and serving as guides and fishermen when out at sea (Floyd 1967; Helms 1983; Galvin 1999). In exchange for their service, the privateers armed the Miskitu with European technologies and weapons like guns, ammunition, and machetes that allowed the Miskitu to become one of the most aggressive and expansionistic indigenous groups in Central America (Helms 1983; Herlihy and Hobson Herlihy 1991). The firearms in particular gave the Miskitu an advantage over other native Amerindians and perhaps led to the emergence of the name *Miskitu*, thought to be a derivative of the word *musket*. Through interactions with European settlers and pirates, the indigenous musket-bearing group emerged as the *Miskitu* (Helms 1995).

European powers officially outlawed privateering in 1685, and many pirates settled down to establish communities along the Miskitu Coast. Black River, Cabo Gracias a Dios, and Bluefields became the most important and populous settlements, characterized by blending of

European, black, and Amerindian populations (Floyd 1967; Helms 1983). The Miskitu intermixed in these melting pots and emerged as a racially and culturally amalgamated populace (Helms 1983; Hall et al. 2003). In the opening decades of the eighteenth century, permanent Miskitu communities began to appear near British coastal settlements, a reversal in traditional Miskitu settlement patterns where villages were typically found in fertile riparian zones in the interior while coastal fishing camps were only ephemeral (Helms 1983; Herlihy and Hobson Herlihy 1991). Rapid Miskitu population growth occurred simultaneously with the reorientation of Miskitu communities toward the coast, as trade with Europeans allowed the Miskitu to acquire new tools and skills to increase agricultural production (Helms 1983).

Britain strengthened its position in the Muskitia region between 1687 and 1800 by bringing Miskitu leaders to Jamaica to be crowned as kings before returning them to La Muskitia. The creation of this Miskitu kingdom allowed Britain to rationalize its presence and the fabrication of a protectorate in the region. Although the Miskitu kings had little political power, the practice of crowning Miskitu leaders demonstrated the symbiotic relationship between the British and the Miskitu and represented a mutual affront against the Spanish (Hall et al. 2003).

Periodic boom-and-bust cycles in which North American enterprises exploited natural resources from the Muskitia region led to the integration of the Miskitu into the global trade market throughout the 20th century. Economies in Muskitia would rise and collapse periodically as various resources were exploited intensively and unsustainably by the Miskitu and their North American and European trading partners. These repetitive cycles influenced Miskitu livelihoods that were traditionally dependent upon riparian zone agriculture and other interior forms of subsistence. New settlements emerged along the north coast of Honduras, as Miskitu wage

laborers found employment on the United Fruit Company's banana plantations in the early 1900s (von Hagen 1940; Helbig 1965; Herlihy 1997a).

Commercial lumber extraction then accelerated in the mid-20th century, and non-indigenous ladino colonists followed the penetration roads carved by lumber companies into the forested landscapes of Muskitia (Helbig 1965; Herlihy 1997a). Additional boom industries that have employed Miskitu wage laborers are chicle, gold, coconuts, turtles, and lobsters (Helms 1971; Nietschmann 1973; Dodds 1998; Offen 1999; Hobson Herlihy 2012). At the time of this thesis, the newest boom industry in the region is evidenced by hundreds of *estaciones* (makeshift tents) lining the Miskitu coast that process freshly netted jellyfish to be shipped to East Asian markets where they are considered a culinary delicacy and are used in a variety of foodstuffs.

IV. Territoriality and Schools in La Muskitia

Miskitu identity is partly embedded today in its historical resilience against Spanish territorial conquest and the preservation of its language and culture, some of which can be attributed to British support for Miskitu territorial rights. In 1859 Great Britain formally recognized in the Wyke-Cruz Treaty the *Mosquito Territory*, as it was then called, as part of the Republic of Honduras (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957). In addition to declaring this vernacular region as belonging to the Honduran State, the treaty broadly outlined the territorial rights held by the Miskitu communities there. Article 3 of the treaty stated that the Mosquito Indians who remained within the Mosquito District (as recognized by Article 2 of the same treaty) "shall not be disturbed in the possession of any lands or other property which they may hold or occupy, and shall enjoy, as natives of the Republic of Honduras, all rights and

privileges enjoyed generally by the natives of the Republic" (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957: 17).

Beyond the territorial provisions outlined in the Wyke-Cruz Treaty, the Republic of Honduras also declared its intent to educate the Miskitu in order to improve social conditions in the isolated Mosquito Territory (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957). In the immediate wake of the treaty, though, the Honduran government began to devise strategies to gain control over the Muskitia region by indoctrinating and 'civilizing' the various indigenous groups living there (Barahona 2009: 172-173). Government policies planned to use schools to foster the development of a national, unified culture based on the Spanish language, which in turn would lead to the assimilation and acculturation of Miskitu and other indigenous groups living in the isolated Muskitia region into a national Honduran identity. The proposed establishment of schools in the remote Muskitia region aimed to strengthen Honduran territoriality through the construction of a homogenous, Spanish-speaking society (Barahona 2009). This coercive and paternalistic approach characterized the position of the Honduran government following its independence and during the construction of a national republican state. Policies designed to civilize, assimilate, and acculturate the indigenous groups of Honduras through education and the formation of a national identity played out until indigenous rights movements began in Honduras in the late 20th century.

Indigenous rights movements gained traction in Honduras in 1982 when the new Law of Education allowed indigenous groups the right to receive primary school education in their maternal languages. For the Miskitu and neighboring indigenous groups in Muskitia, education entered a new phase in which Honduran government agendas began to explore how to revive threatened indigenous languages and cultures. This thesis discusses how contested territorial

struggles between the state and the indigenous Miskitu seem to run parallel with struggles over cultural and linguistic identity that play out in schools.

Figure 2.8: Mosquitia District in late 19th century

Today the *Muskitia* term is often interchanged synonymously with the *Departamento de Gracias a Dios* (Department of Gracias a Dios, a state-level administrative unit in Honduras) because the majority of the Honduran Miskitu lives there. It is this Department of Gracias a Dios that defines my study area on the geography of schools in Muskitia. I elected to begin my examination of education at the departmental scale because archival records from the Honduran *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (Department of Education, SEP) were organized historically at this level of governance. *Municipio* (county-level) records exist today, but the origin and diffusion of schools in Muskitia predate both the existence of municipios in Gracias a Dios and

the department itself, which has undergone numerous political and territorial reorganizations since the late 19th century. Figures 2.8, 2.9, and 2.10 show those modifications, beginning with the first legal recognition of the *Mosquito Territory* or *Comarca de la Mosquitia* (as it was then called) in the late 19th century (Figure 2.8). During the first half of the 20th century, the Comarca de la Mosquitia remained organized in three districts, as displayed in Figure 2.8, but was incorporated politically and administratively into the adjacent Department of Colón. Honduran geographer Jesús Aguilar Paz's 1933 *Mapa General de la República de Honduras* provided a cartographic base from which I worked to digitize the district and comarca boundaries (as well as notable settlements) while archival records enabled me to depict the territorial limits and district capitals of the territory (see *Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios 1957).*

Gracias a Dios formally split from Colón in 1957 and became its own department, bounded to the west by the 85th meridian, to the north and east by the Caribbean Sea, and to the south by the Río Coco (Figure 2.9). The creation of Gracias a Dios also led to the consolidation of political control over the territory through the establishment of two municipios, Brus Laguna and Puerto Lempira. The department capital was assigned to the community of Puerto Lempira (formerly known in Miskitu as Auhya Yari), while Brus Laguna became a municipal capital. The creation of Gracias a Dios coincided, as I will explain further in subsequent chapters, with a concerted effort by the Secretaría de Educación Pública to expand primary school coverage in Miskitu communities. The administrative landscape of Gracias a Dios remained this way for nearly forty years until 1996 when the department was further divided into four additional municipios (Ahuas, Juan Francisco Bulnes, Villeda Morales, and Wampusirpi). This change also coincided with reforms to education in Gracias a Dios, notably the establishment of fourteen school districts to manage public schools throughout the department.

Figure 2.9: The Honduran Muskitia region was reorganized into its own department in 1957

Figure 2.10 shows the administrative units of Gracias a Dios as they are today. Four additional municipios were created in 1996 to further consolidate political control over the isolated Muskitia. I have included additional settlements not pictured on the map of Comarca de la Mosquitia. Kaukira, Barra Patuca, Cocobila, and Wawina, for example, are all population centers today. Las Marías, on the other hand, is culturally significant in that it is a mixed Miskitu and Pech community that serves as an ecotourism destination for backpackers wanting to hike in virgin tropical rainforest. Krausirpi is the largest Tawahka community in Gracias a Dios.

Figure 2.10: Department of Gracias a Dios and its six municipios, 1996 to present

The preceding pages of this chapter have provided insight into the lands of Muskitia and its cultural landscapes. I now turn to contextualize my research on schools within a broader framework of education and politics in Latin America. I describe *indigenismo* as a Mexican political ideology that ran parallel in the late 19th and early 20th century to the agendas of Honduran governments that sought to shape the cultural and territorial identities of the Miskitu through education.

CHAPTER THREE

EARLY RURAL EDUCATION POLITICS AND THE FORMATION OF THE MUSKITIA TERRITORY

I. Introduction

This thesis examines the historical geography of schools in the isolated Honduran Muskitia and schools' impact upon the culture and territorial identity of the Miskitu. It fits within the literature of a relatively small number of scholars who have profiled the development of rural education in Latin America (Civera Cerecedo 2011). Who, where, why, and how was education driven in rural areas of Latin America? Addressing these simple inquiries can provide insight into many themes, including historical relations among states and indigenous groups, the construction of national identities, mechanisms of social hegemony, class and gender dynamics, and language politics (Civera Cerecedo 2011).

This chapter discusses 1) how 19th and early 20th century government legislation in Honduras fits within the broader context of rural development and state education politics in Latin America that, until the end of the 20th century, had aimed to incorporate rural or indigenous identities into national mestizo societies; 2) how Honduran government political ideologies for education paralleled the notion of *indigenismo* in late 19th and early 20th century Mexico; and 3) the formation of the Muskitia Territory in Honduras after the Wyke Cruz Treaty of 1859. I should note that I do not mean to interchange the terms 'rural' and 'indigenous' synonymously in

reference to remote, sparsely-populated reaches of Honduras and Latin America, but generally indigenous areas tend to be rural, while the reciprocal doesn't necessarily hold true.

II. Rural Education in Post-Colonial Latin America

Tracking patterns of school formation in rural Latin America is complicated because schools were not established uniformly across time and space, and there is no one catalyst that acted as the primary impetus behind the development of education in such areas. Rural schools in the 19th and early 20th centuries were very different from rural schools today, particularly considering the effect globalization has had in offering connectivity to even the most remote communities. Early schools were subject to unstable beginnings, political conflicts, economic crises, and population movements. A dearth of qualified professors and systems of supervision plagued rural schools too (Civera Cerecedo 2011). Governments often lacked the means to pay for teachers in rural areas, and it wasn't uncommon for one teacher to rotate among communities, offering classes to a given school only a few times a week and splitting time among all-boys and all-girls schools (Civera Cerecedo 2011).

The rural school movement in Latin America began in the 19th century, often coinciding with neoliberal agricultural reforms, and accelerated as states became increasingly urbanized in the 20th century (Civera Cerecedo 2011). There are varying degrees of 'rurality' to account for as well; a school may be considered rural if it is situated in a community with a small population even if the community has proximity to a larger urban metropolis. On the other hand, schools like those in the isolated Honduran Muskitia, particularly in the early 20th century, lack proximity to any urban setting. To this day, there are still no roads that connect the Honduran capital, Tegucigalpa, with the isolated Muskitia region, and many Miskitu schools are further

qualified as rural because they have no plumbing or electricity. Civera Cerecedo (2011) contends that a school's proximity to urban centers; local forms of land tenure and governance; and ways of interacting with the state, internal markets, sociocultural characteristics, and local political stability are all factors that determine the extent of a school's 'rurality' (Civera Cerecedo 2011: 10-11).

Researching the development of education can help us to yield a better understanding of the rural school, as an object of study, and its beneficiary population. Elite *hacendados* in Mexico, for example, supported rural school development in 19th and early 20th centuries. They opened schools for the children of their workers, largely in response to a general sense of apathy towards education from their campesino employees (Civera Cerecedo 2011: 16). However, the national literacy rate in Mexico in 1910 at the end of the Porfiriato remained under 20 percent, with 71 percent of Mexicans living in rural areas (Rodrigo 2011: 75). Labor-intensive agriculture in rural areas exacerbated low rates of school attendance as campesino children were often needed in the fields for sowing and cultivating. Many children only attended school for two or three years and then abandoned their studies to continue working in the fields. Rodrigo (2011: 76) quotes a passage from Moisés Sáenz (1927) to summarize this dilemma:

> Enseñar a leer, escribir y contar a una gente que no tiene en qué leer, ni para qué escribir, y cuyos haberes pueden siempre contarse con los dedos es tarea tonta. Durante muchos años, hay que reconocerlo, estas escuelas del campo no estuvieron haciendo otra cosa que esta tonta tarea.

> Teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic to people who have no reason to read or write, and whose possessions can be counted on their fingers, is a useless toil. And it must be recognized that rural schools having been accomplishing nothing more than this useless toil for many years.

So who benefitted from the development of rural education in Latin America in the 19th and early 20th centuries? In many cases, education was a state mechanism to accelerate economic growth and the integration of rural and indigenous societies into a national identity, largely at the expense of their languages and cultures (Herranz 1996; Regalsky and Laurie 2007; Barahona 2009; Civera 2011; Aguilera 2012). The ethnic pluralities and territories of indigenous groups in Honduras were often ignored by post-colonial, liberal governments seeking to modernize the country through land and economic reforms (Lara Pinto 2002). Rural education was monolingual in Spanish during the 19th and 20th centuries, and most indigenous languages disappeared in Honduras altogether as Spanish became the official language of education and commerce. This process is not unique to Honduras, though, and state-sponsored efforts to develop rural education have played out very differently from one country to the next.

Civera et al. (2011) have compiled twelve case studies that examine the development of rural education in Latin American countries and the role that schools played in rural campesino and indigenous societies. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Brazil, schools helped to root the campesino population in rural areas, consequently curbing a rural-to-urban migration in the decades after the abolition of slavery in 1888 (Civera 2011: 15; Corrêa and Carvalho 2011: 410). In other cases in which the government failed to support education in rural areas, the communities themselves often formed their own ‘parochial’ schools, in conjunction with Catholic churches (Corrêa and Carvalho 2011: 405).

Beginning in 1920, rural education and literacy began to enter political dialogues as a means to promote Brazilian nationalism. Between 1931 and 1937; the government began to create nationalized schools (Corrêa and Carvalho 2011). Brazilian nationalism campaigns concentrated their messages in parochial schools that were primarily attended by new European

immigrants and managed by the Catholic Church. Meanwhile the number of national primary schools nearly doubled in Brazil between 1923 and 1939 (Corrêa and Carvalho 2011: 408-409).

Despite nationalistic fervor and the expansion of primary schools, Brazil's system of education remained disproportionately geared towards urban populations, and the government was presented with a paradoxical dilemma; it needed to become more urbanized and industrialized in order to escape its economic crisis of 1930 while simultaneously limiting a mass rural-to-urban migration. The government's strategy during the 1930s turned to investing in the development of urban education in southern and southeastern Brazil while fostering rural education in the northeast. These policies contributed to an imbalance in population dynamics in Brazil as literacy rates and cities like Sao Paulo and Río de Janeiro grew rapidly in the south while the northern and northeastern regions remained mostly rural (Corrêa and Carvalho 2011: 425).

Similar patterns played out in Costa Rica near the turn of the 20th century as economic growth and education were driven by agricultural reforms and urbanization. The creation of Costa Rica's education system dates back to 1820 when municipal governments were formed, and whose responsibilities included establishing schools. Initially schools were opened slowly in Costa Rica's provincial capitals: San José, Alajuela, Cartago, Heredia, Guanacaste, Puntarenas, and Limón.[2] They suffered from miniscule budgets and a lack of qualified teachers, and curricula were designed with a strong Catholic influence (Jiménez 2011: 134).

Costa Rica aimed to expand primary education to rural areas during the 1820s. As coffee became a major export for the Costa Rican economy in the 1830s, agricultural fronts extended beyond the country's central valley. Communal lands then became increasingly privatized, and

[2] Puntarenas and Limón, at the time, were comarcas and officially became provinces in 1909 (Jiménez 2011: 114).

indigenous groups living in central Costa Rica were often dispossessed of their ancestral homelands (Jiménez 2011: 111). This rapid rural expansion outpaced development at the municipal level, and colonists in search of fertile lands moved beyond the areas served by rural schools. The movement intensified during the 1850s and 1860s to the point in which a lesser proportion of children attended primary school in the 1870s and 1880s than at the end of the 1820s, resulting in an increasingly illiterate society (Jiménez 2011: 115).

Comprehensive legislative reform in 1886 put an end to this regressive trend; primary education was centralized by the Costa Rican government and made secular. Primary schools were configured into grade levels and assured more financial support from the central government. The reforms also established pedagogic schools to train young teachers, but these reforms created disparities among urban and rural schools. As the educative responsibility shifted from the municipality to the central government, urban schools received disproportionate financial support and access to qualified teachers. Primary schools in urban areas tended to offer class through 6th grade, while their rural counterparts were structured only through 4th grade. The consequences of the rural-urban gap became evident in the 1927 census in which 85.7 percent of the urban population nine or older was literate, while that figure fell to 66.8 percent in small towns and only 56.4 percent along agricultural frontiers (Jiménez 2011: 135).

Very different experiences have played out from one country to the next across Latin America in the development of post-colonial systems of education, but a common thread that many seem to share is an alternate agenda by the provider, usually the state. Regalsky and Laurie (2007) have written about a 'hidden curriculum' that sought to introduce new institutionalized forms of authority into rural space in the wake of Bolivia's 'National Revolution' of 1952 (Regalsky and Laurie 2007: 231). The authors argue that schools attempt to "integrate members

of indigenous Andean communities as individual citizens into the Bolivian nation state through a Criollo (mestizo) hegemonic culture which, in turn, denies a place for cultural diversity in the school system" (Regalsky and Laurie 2007: 231). In this context, the school represents a battleground through which non-indigenous, state-employed teachers vie to impose national or local territorial authority while indigenous communities struggle to acquire their own autonomous space. They become contested spaces manifested by the struggle between groups differentiated by cultural and economic status (Regalsky and Laurie 2007: 233). Hornberger (1988) and Aikman (1999) suggested that the imposition of an authoritarian pedagogy centered on the Spanish language reinforces a school's character as a non-indigenous island within the community. As such, the struggle between the state and the indigenous community becomes manifest when the community deploys cognitive knowledge of its functional territory and jurisdictional space while the state superimposes, through the employment of non-indigenous pedagogic authority, its own political space (Regalsky and Laurie 2007).

Rural education development in 19th and early 20th century Honduras shares elements with the development histories described by Civera Cerecedo (2011) in Mexico, Corrêa and Carvalho (2011) in Brazil, Jiménez (2011) in Costa Rica, and Regalsky and Laurie (2007) in Bolivia. Schools were established unevenly in Honduras—both in time and space. A weak central government limited the diffusion of schools for most of the 19th century. In 1856 for example, only 37 primary schools were in operation in Honduras and they were concentrated primarily in urban areas (Herranz 1996: 184-185). As were the cases in many Latin American countries, they lacked budgets and qualified teachers. The few rural indigenous communities that had schools reportedly financed them with the earnings from their communal *milpas*, small agricultural plots of corns, bean, and squash (Herranz 1996: 185).

III. Indigenismo in Honduras

In this section, I describe the policies and geographic strategies of the Honduran government to assimilate and acculturate the Miskitu into a national, Spanish-speaking society. These policies were not unique to Honduras and have run parallel to a broader movement of *indigenismo* rooted in Mexican politics in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Many scholars (see Villoro 1950; Batalla and Dennis 1996; Gonzales 2002; Taylor 2005; to name a few) have written about indigenismo in Mexico as a political ideology in which the figure of the *mestizo* (mixed indigenous and non-indigenous) was "adopted as the subject of the nation, the symbol of national unity, modernization and progress; at the same time, the figure of the 'Indian' came to symbolize a work in progress, an 'object' of the ever-unfolding post-revolutionary task of cultural and economic modernization" (Taylor 2005: 80). Government policies in education, land reform, and economic development targeted indigenous groups as objects of a necessary assimilation and acculturation into a homogenous, Spanish-speaking, mestizo society. Thus, "the 'Indian' was cast as a mute collective singular entity whose 'incoherent' local economic, cultural, and political forms of organization presented obstacles to modernization and progess" (Taylor 2005: 80).

The Miskitu and other indigenous groups in Honduras were viewed through the same lens of hegemonic discourse and targeted as objects to be assimilated and acculturated into a homogenous, Spanish-speaking Honduran society. Beginning in 1876 liberal reforms of the agriculture, banking, mining, communications, and education industries spurred economic growth and led to the separation of church and state in Honduras (Herranz 1996 and Barahona 2009). Indigenous groups were considered culturally undesirable remnants of a colonial past among Honduran elites, and 'desindianización' ('de-indianization') was construed as an

indispensable component of progress, civilization, and escape from colonialism during these reforms (Barahona 2009: 146-148). As in Mexico, the Honduran government implemented strategies to employ education as a mechanism to foster cultural homogeneity and to promote a national Honduran state. President Marco Aurelio Soto and his Minister of Public Education, Ramón Rosa, passed the Código Fundamental de Instrucción Pública in 1882 that effectively organized the country's system of education, establishing primary, secondary, and professional education and requiring every municipio to have a primary school (Herranz 1996: 191).

Soto's and Rosa's policies led to indigenous integration into the national economies and mestizo culture. Lenca and Maya-Chortí communities in southern and western Honduras had already begun losing their languages as young men had been working as wage laborers on coffee and tobacco plantations where Spanish was the only means of communication. The spread of primary schools in Lenca and Maya-Chortí communities further accelerated the desertion of the Lenca and Chortí languages as young women also abandoned their cultural heritages and learned Spanish (Herranz 1996: 186-188). President Manuel Bonilla then amended the Código Fundamental de Instrucción Pública in 1906 to declare Spanish the official and only language permissible in schools (Herranz 1996; Barahona 2009).

At the height of the liberal reforms, coffee and tobacco production was the impetus driving rural education in southern and western Honduras. Penetration roads made rural areas more accessible and catalyzed the diffusion of primary schools and Spanish. President Soto and his Education Minister Rosa favored secular education, teachers replaced Catholic priests as the educated and linguistic authorities in rural communities, and younger generations of Lenca and Chortí speakers abandoned their maternal languages for Spanish (Herranz 1996: 196). This new, monolingual mestizo social construction was being created without regard for indigenous

identities, but it did not extend to all corners of Honduras. The Miskitu remained geographically and culturally isolated from these social and economic reforms, and the Honduran government struggled to consolidate control over the Muskitia region. In the following section, I discuss the Wyke-Cruz Treaty of 1859 and the Honduran government's first attempts to exercise control over the vast, isolated Muskitia.

IV. Political and Territorial Organization of Muskitia: 1859-1915

The Wyke-Cruz Treaty of 1859 between Great Britain and Honduras provided for the advent of a formal territorial identity for the Miskitu because the treaty required the Honduran government to recognize the land and property rights of the Miskitu as citizens of the Republic of Honduras (*Protocolo Bio-cultural del Pueblo Indígena Miskitu* 2012). The treaty also stood in fundamental contrast to policies promoted by Spain and the Honduran government that sought to assimilate and acculturate the Miskitu into a homogenous, Spanish-speaking society. Great Britain officially declared in Articles 1 and 2 of the treaty that the Bay Islands and the Mosquito Territory were "part of Honduras within the frontier of that country, whatever that frontier may be" (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957: 15). Article 3 avowed the following provisions for the Miskitu:

> The Mosquito Indians in the District recognized by Article II of this Treaty as belonging to and under the sovereignty of the Republic of Honduras, shall be at liberty to remove, with their property, from the Territory of the Republic…and such of the Mosquito Indians who remain within the said District shall not be disturbed in the possession of any lands or other property which they may hold or occupy, and shall enjoy, as natives of the Republic of Honduras all rights and

privileges enjoyed generally by the natives of the Republic (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957: 17).

In addition to the formal recognition of the land rights held by the Miskitu and neighboring indigenous groups in the Muskitia region, the Honduran government pledged in the Wyke-Cruz Treaty to invest in the development of education: "The Republic also desires to educate the Mosquito Indians to improve social condition, and will grant 5000 dollars annually in gold or silver for the next ten years for that purpose" (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957: 17). The geographic isolation of Muskitia complicated this transaction, and the sum was never remitted. The weak Honduran state had no precedent for developing education in Muskitia, and it remained isolated from the growing coffee and tobacco industries of southern and western Honduras. There were no penetration roads that allowed for the development of infrastructure and the influx of settlers.

The Honduran government's dialogues to indoctrinate the Miskitu were analogous to its policies designed to assimilate rural and indigenous areas into a national, homogenous culture. Liberal reforms sought to consolidate territorial control over Muskitia and to "nationalize, acculturate, and subject" the indigenous groups of the Muskitia region through education (Barahona 2009; *Protocolo Bio-cultural del Pueblo Indígena Miskitu* 2012: 10). In 1861, just two years after the Wyke-Cruz Treaty that granted land rights to the Miskitu, the Honduran government formally declared that the Bay Islands and the Muskitia territory would remain henceforth under the dominion and sovereignty of the Honduran state, effectively violating the Wyke-Cruz Treaty and Miskitu territorial rights supported by Great Britain. The government then sent the commanding military officer of Trujillo to take possession of the territory (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios*: 1957). Later in 1861, Honduran President Santos Guardiola issued a *decreto* (order or decree) naming José Lamotte as the Civil and

Military Governor of the Tribes of Muskitia. His task was to indoctrinate the "…morenos, indios mosquitos, zambos and payas (brown-skinned peoples, Mosquito Indians, mixed Afro-indigenous peoples, and the Pech Indians) from the Río Aguán to Cape Gracias a Dios and up the Río Plátano" (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957: 23).

Specifically, his foremost duties included 1) building temples and churches so that the indigenous groups could worship God, 2) establishing primary schools that employ the Spanish language, 3) indoctrinating the 'tribes' in Christianity, and 4) civilizing the indigenous peoples so that their 'costumbres selváticas' (jungle customs) would disappear entirely (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957: 25). Lamotte lasted just one year as Civil and Military Governor of the Tribes of Muskitia, but his appointment reflected broader state sentiments to provide education to the Miskitu while simultaneously excluding their indigenous identities. President José María Medina succeeded Santos Guardiola and continued to implement policies to consolidate territorial control over the Muskitia region. A separate Departamento de la Mosquitia (see Figure 3.1) that encompassed the traditional homelands of the 'indios selváticos' was officially established by decree in 1868 (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957). The legislation proclaimed that the consolidation of territorial control over Muskitia would allow the state to provide benefits to the indigenous groups there (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957: 24).

> Considerando que las tribus selváticas de la Costa Norte, conocidas con el nombre de <<Mosquitia>>, demandan la protección del Gobierno para hacerlas cesar en su vida nómade, infundirles las ideas de civilización que reinan en los demás pueblos de la República, inculcarles las luces del cristianismo y proporcionarles medios fijos de subsistencia.

> Considering that the jungle tribes of the North Coast, known as <<Mosquitia>>, demand protection from the Government in order to cease their nomadic lifestyle, (the state) will impart to them the ideas of civilization that govern the rest of the populaces of the Republic, imbue them with the light of Christianity and provide them with stable means of subsistence.

The newly formed departamento encompassed a vast area of northern and eastern Honduras, extending from the Río Aguán in the west to Cape Gracias a Dios in the east, and bounded by the Caribbean Sea to the north and a range of hilly uplands to the south, separating the more settled regions of Olancho from the sparsely-populated Muskitia region (Figure 3.1). It was not, however, granted congressional representation upon its formation; instead it was placed under the jurisdiction of a governor whose chief responsibilities consisted of enacting numerous measures to subject and incorporate the indigenous groups of the region into national Honduran society (Barahona 2009: 152-153).

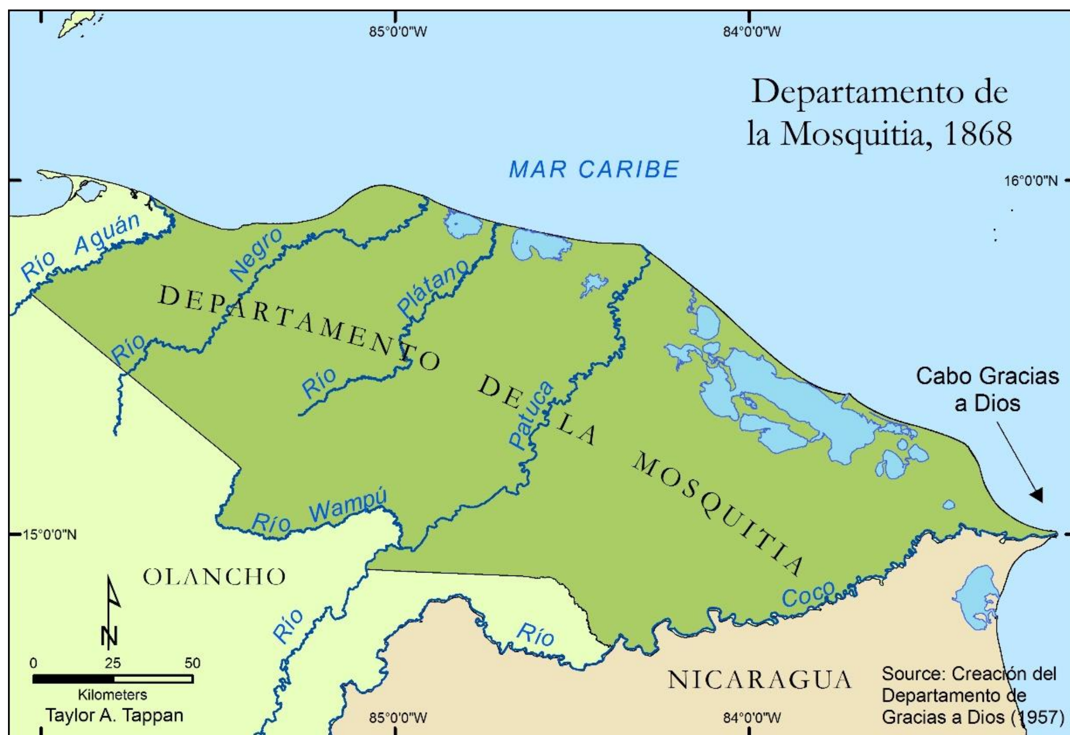

Figure 3.1: Approximate limits of Departamento de la Mosquitia in 1868

Liberal reforms followed in the 1870s, but their effects went largely unnoticed in Muskitia. President Soto's and Education Minister Rosa's Código Fundamental de Instrucción Pública that mandated the establishment of primary schools in every municipio was hindered by the geographic isolation of the Muskitia region and, consequently, no schools were established there at the height of the liberal reforms that were rapidly integrating the Lenca and Maya-Chortí groups into a national Honduran homogenous society. This thesis brings into question whether this historical absence of primary schools slowed the integration of the Miskitu into broader Honduran nationalism and led to the preservation of Miskitu language, particularly when state politics advocated for the cultural assimilation of indigenous groups through education.

New strategies designed to strengthen Honduran nationalism, particularly in the Departamento de la Mosquitia, paralleled the organization of a national system of education. Although primary schools continued to remain absent in Miskitu communities in the immediate wake of the Código Fundamental de Instrucción Pública, new political agendas further altered the administrative landscapes of Muskitia. In 1889 the Reglamento de Gobierno para el Territorio de la Mosquitia (Governmental Bylaw for the Muskitia Territory) divided the territory into three districts (Figure 3.2): 1) Sangrelaya, bounded by the Río Aguán and Río Tinto; 2) Brus Lagoon, from Río Tinto to Río Patuca; and 3) Irlaya, from the banks of Río Patuca to the Río Segovia (Río Coco), which also serves as a segment of the international border between Honduras and Nicaragua (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957). The communities of Sangrelaya, Brus Lagoon, and Irlaya (after which the three districts were named) served as *cabeceras* (local administrative capitals), and the Departamento de la Mosquitia was granted representation in the Honduran National Congress (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957; Barahona 2009).

Figure 3.2: The three districts of Muskitia, 1889

The political reorganization of the territory brought about by the new bylaw did not yet result in the development of education in Miskitu communities, which remained secluded from political dialogues concerning the territorial issues of the department. In 1892 during the Policarpo Bonilla administration (1895-1899), the Departmento de la Mosquitia was incorporated into the adjacent Departmento de Colón (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957). The political maneuver aimed to solidify the Honduran government's claim to the isolated Muskitia region against a burgeoning territorial threat from Nicaragua, but the territory remained disputed (Herranz 1996; Barahona 2009). A new *Ley Agraria de 1898* (Agrarian Law of 1898) created during the Policarpo Bonilla presidency and reformed in 1912 by the Manuel Bonilla government further strengthened state dominion over the Muskitia region. The Ley

Agraria de 1898 awarded control of vast *baldíos* (wastelands), construed as having no 'legitimate' owner, to the federal government (Barahona 2009: 175). Nearly all of the sparsely-populated Muskitia region would be appropriated through the new Ley Agraria without regard for resident indigenous populations (Barahona 2009).

Political strife between Honduras and Nicaragua in the early 1900s escalated after the Nicaraguan government continued to dispute the limits of the international boundary between the two countries. A bi-national committee attempted to delineate the boundary, but negotiations were terminated after the committee failed to reach a consensus over the limits in the Muskitia region (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957). In 1906 King Alfonso XIII of Spain intervened as an arbiter and declared the boundary to be the thalweg of the Río Coco from its mouth at Cape Gracias a Dios to its inland confluence with the Río Poteca or Bodega (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957). Alfonso XIII's decision split the Muskitia cultural region in half, and to this day the international boundary divides Miskitu communities in Honduras and Nicaragua.

In the preceding pages of this chapter and the subsequent pages of chapter four, I emphasize the geographic remoteness of the Muskitia vernacular as an actor that has differentiated the geographies of Muskitia from the geographies of other indigenous areas in Honduras. I argue that this differentiation has played out across time and space and is reflected in the contemporary circumstances of Miskitu language, territoriality, and schools in Muskitia. This thesis posits that the comparative accessibility to post-colonial processes of liberal land and economic reforms, and then to education, has influenced the degree to which indigenous groups in Honduras associate with their cultural, territorial, and linguistic identities today. The Miskitu in particular remained isolated from the liberal reforms of the late 19th century and were immune

to the ‘hidden curricula’ in rural public schools that sought to incorporate them into the national Honduran society through the diffusion of Spanish. Today the Miskitu retain their language and are continuing to define and strengthen their territorial identities. In chapter four, I turn to 20th century state policies that sought to establish schools in the Honduran Muskitia in an attempt to strengthen Honduran nationalism by incorporating and ‘Hispanicizing’ the Miskitu and neighboring indigenous groups. I discuss how the relative inaccessibility of Muskitia continued to hinder state efforts to develop education there. My narrative describes three specific phases that led to the geographic origin and diffusion of schools in the Honduran Muskitia region.

CHAPTER FOUR

ORIGIN AND DIFFUSION OF SCHOOLS IN LA MUSKITIA

I. Introduction

Figure 4.1: Miskitu communities with primary schools, 2013

Few public schools existed in the Muskitia region of northeastern Honduras at the onset of the 20th century, but today they are prevalent in nearly every Miskitu community (Figure 4.1). Schools are a visible element of Miskitu village settlement, and they function as a place for Miskitu students and teachers to maintain their language, cultural norms, and identity. However,

this was not always the case. Rural education once functioned to strengthen nationalism and to promote a broader, homogenous, Honduran social consciousness. Indigenous groups in Honduras have often been excluded in the construction of a national identity, and the state has used schools to impose the Spanish language upon indigenous communities (Barahona 2009; *Protocolo Bio-Cultural del Pueblo Indígena Miskitu* 2012). This chapter discusses the origin and diffusion of primary schools in Muskitia to demonstrate the gradual process of how schools became prevalent throughout the region.

Numerous phases mark the historical geography of schools and the diffusion of education in the Honduran Muskitia. I begin with the period from 1915 until 1930, when the Honduran government launched initiatives to build schools and to bring education to a region where it had never formally existed, while simultaneously consolidating political and territorial control over the Muskitia region. A second phase began in 1930 with the arrival of the Moravian Church missions in the Honduran Muskitia. Moravian missionaries emphasized education as a strategy to proselytize Miskitu communities by improving literacy, social conditions, agricultural production, and architecture of Miskitu homes (Tillman 2011). I conclude the chapter by discussing a phase that began in 1953 with the implementation of the state's *Misiones Culturales* (Cultural Missions) agenda that aimed to strengthen Honduran nationalism by acculturating the Miskitu and neighboring indigenous groups of the region into a homogenous Spanish-speaking society. I discuss the paradox that early state initiatives were designed to provide rural education for Miskitu communities while simultaneously excluding their indigenous cultural identities. I demonstrate that schools have historically represented a contested space through which both the Honduran government and Miskitu communities have struggled for control. Early state efforts

tried to suppress Miskitu language in schools while indigenous movements at the end of the 20th century advocated for bilingual education and legal recognition of indigenous homelands.

Figure 4.2: 20th century school expansion in the Honduran Muskitia

This chapter describes numerous agendas, actors, and places critical to the development of education in the Honduran Muskitia, and the descriptions are both spatial and multi-temporal in nature. Figure 4.2 demonstrates these spatial and temporal components by displaying the establishment of schools in all three phases mentioned above. The multi-temporal nature of the events described in this chapter rendered it a cartographic challenge to represent Miskitu communities that were relevant to multiple phases of education development. Kaukira, for example, was a site of the first Misiones Escolares, the origin of the Moravian missions, and a place for state-sponsored education in the 1950s-1980s. I have chosen to display these eras of

education development in chronological order on the map so that the reader can see the original sites of education more prominently than schools established more recently. The base cartography shows the Department of Gracias a Dios and its six municipios as they are today, although the historical phases of the development of education in Muskitia predate their existence.

II. First State Education Initiatives in Muskitia, 1915-1930

President Marco Aurelio Soto and his Minister of Public Education, Ramón Rosa, championed liberal reforms in Honduras in the 1880s and promoted nationalistic fervor with the development of rural education. Their efforts accelerated cultural assimilation in the Lenca and Maya-Chortí indigenous areas, but Muskitia remained geographically and culturally secluded. The first attempt by the Honduran government to establish schools in Muskitia was not until 1915, more than twenty years after the Código Fundamental de Instrucción Pública that mandated the formation of primary schools in every municipio (Herranz 1996 and Barahona 2009).

President Francisco Bertrand (1913-1919) launched the Misiones Escolares (School Missions) in 1915 as an initiative to integrate the Miskitu, Pech, and Tawahka into the national Honduran culture that had been promoted since the onset of liberal reforms in the late 19th century. The chief objective of the Misiones Escolares was to strengthen the Spanish language in indigenous communities of Muskitia through educational programs and the establishment of primary schools (Herranz 1996; Barahona 2009). In 1915 the Honduran government founded a *reducción* (small encampment) of 150 inhabitants at ‘El Sumal’ (Sumo camp), located along the Río Wampú near its confluence with the Río Patuca, for the purpose of schooling young

Tawahka-Sumo children (Landero 1980: 3; Herranz 1996). One teacher, Francisco Landero, was entrusted to manage the school. During his brief tenure in El Sumal, Landero recorded basic ethnographic observations of the Tawahka. His notes suggest that the experience was as educational for him as it was for the villagers, but his comments also carry racist undertones that demonstrate how little the Honduran government understood the indigenous cultures in the remote Muskitia region (Landero 1980: 3).

> ¿Cómo son los sumos? Estos aborígenes son de estatura regular, más altos que los payas, o payitas como ellos dicen: 1.70 metros. Cara aguileña, de nariz regular, ojos negros, frente despejada, orejas grandes, barba y bigote escasos; de cabello negro, grueso y abundante, el cual engrasan con un aceite llamado batana, extraído por los misquitos de las semillas de una palmera (Elacis metanococca Gaerta). La expresión es dulce, muy humilde. Difiere completamente del físico de los payas que tienen rasgos característicos de la raza amarilla.
>
> What are the Sumos like? These aborigines are of normal stature, standing 5 feet 4 inches, and taller than the Payas, or little Payas as they say. Sharp facial features, average nose length, dark eyes, broad forehead, large ears, scarcely a beard or moustache; thick, dark hair to which they apply a palm seed (Elacis metanococca Gaerta) oil called batana, extracted by the Miskitu. Their appearance is amicable and humble. It differs completely from the physiology of the Payas whose features are more characteristic of the yellow race.

Between 1915 and 1917, the Misiones Escolares brought primary schools to seven other villages in Muskitia: Dulce Nombre de Culmí, El Carbón, Ahuas, Barra Patuca, Cauquira (also written Kaukira or Kauhrkira), Brus Lagoon, and Yapuwas (Figure 4.3). These dispersed villages were chosen strategically to make education accessible to the Miskitu, Pech, and Tawahka. Ahuas, Barra Patuca, Brus Lagoon, and Kaukira were sizeable Miskitu population centers. Schools at El Sumal and Yapuwas served Tawahka communities along the upper Río Patuca; and

El Carbón and Dulce Nombre de Culmí were prominent Pech communities (Herranz 1996; Barahona 2009).

Figure 4.3: First Misiones Escolares in the Honduran Muskitia

President Bertrand's Misiones Escolares program fell well short of its goal to acculturate the Miskitu, Pech, and Tawahka into a national, Honduran society. Government evaluations conducted at the schools in El Carbón and Kaukira reported that Pech and Miskitu students continued to struggle with spoken Spanish, but they could read and write it to some extent. In 1917, after just two years of enactment, the federal government eliminated the Misiones Escolares agenda, citing a lack of funds to subsidize the schools and provide remuneration to the professors (Alvarado García 1958: 54-56). A long state absence ensued following the Misiones Escolares initiative in which the Honduran government remained inactive in establishing schools in Muskitia.

Figure 4.4: Second Misiones Escolares in the Honduran Muskitia

A second attempt to develop education in La Muskitia came in 1928 during the Paz Baraona administration (Figure 4.4). The new agenda, also named Misiones Escolares, sought to integrate four communities from the eastern stretches of La Muskitia into the national education framework (Alvarado García 1958; Herranz 1996; Barahona 2009; Wood et al. 2009). One professor—Gilberto Valle Castrejón—was assigned a multi-community position to teach in the villages of Ahuas, Kaukira, Kruta, and Mocorón (Herranz 1996: 428-429; Wood et al. 2009: 34). His rotating work schedule required that he traverse more than 50 kilometers of hot and humid lowland savannah to arrive in Mocorón and to navigate the network of rivers, swamps, and lagoons to travel among Ahuas, Kaukira and Kruta. The geographically dispersed nature of these communities and the logistics hindering travel and communication among villages prevented

Valle Castrejón from spending more than two or three days a week in any given community. Figure 4.4 demonstrates the distance covered by Valle Castrejón on his rotation work schedule.

Figure 4.5: Inland canal covered by forest canopy near Ahuas (photo credit: Taylor A. Tappan)

During my thesis research, I retraced the voyage between two of Valle Castrejón's communities: Ahuas and Kaukira. I departed Ahuas one morning in a lancha outfitted with a Yamaha 200-horsepower outboard motor. We left the scorching, wind-swept, pine savanna plains of Ahuas through shallow, man-made canals that converged with a broader network of inland canals covered by a dense forest canopy. The Miskitu driver raced the lancha with incredible skill and precision through sharp meanders and narrow straightaways, beginning each turn a second early so as to drift the lancha laterally into the subsequent straightaway, and then gunning the engine to launch the boat forward. Eventually these forested canals gave way to Caratasca Lagoon, a vast, shallow expanse of brackish water. We raced eastward mercilessly across the length of the choppy lagoon at 50 miles per hour, rededicating our life preservers as seat cushions, and arriving in Puerto Lempira two hours removed from Ahuas. Here we

disembarked, bruised and battered from the ride, and switched to a smaller lancha outfitted with a 75-horsepower motor to cross the eastern extreme of Caratasca Lagoon on the 45-minute ride to Kaukira. The time in transit, including our stop in Puerto Lempira, totaled four hours to traverse the 75-kilometers of canals and lagoons between Ahuas and Puerto Lempira.

My experience demonstrates how rivers, inland lagoons, and canals still constitute Muskitia's transportation network in linking one community to the next. Today lancha 'colectivos' are fitted with outboard motors and shorten commuting times considerably for travelers crossing the vast Muskitia region from north to south and from east to west, although Valle Castrejón would not have benefitted from such luxuries. Even with the 75, 100, and 200 horse-power Yamaha engines that propel the lanchas across Muskitia's network of rivers, swamps and lagoons today, Valle Castrejon's schedule would be nearly impossible for one teacher working alone. The distance is too great among these dispersed communities, and travel would have been unreliable due to volatile weather patterns. Strong winds and sudden downpours would have prevented Valle Castrejón from traveling on many days of the year. The failure of these second Misiones Escolares to integrate the Miskitu into national Honduran society comes as no surprise and reflects the geographic inaccessibility of the Honduran Muskitia and the Honduran government's lack of understanding of Miskitu cultural landscapes. The initiative achieved very little in fostering Spanish language education, and another long absence from the Honduran government followed the end of the second Misiones Escolares in Muskitia. This continued isolation of the Miskitu from broader Honduran nationalism left an aperture for Moravian missionaries to establish baseline education in Muskitia where government efforts had failed.

III. Moravian Missions and Education, 1930-1950

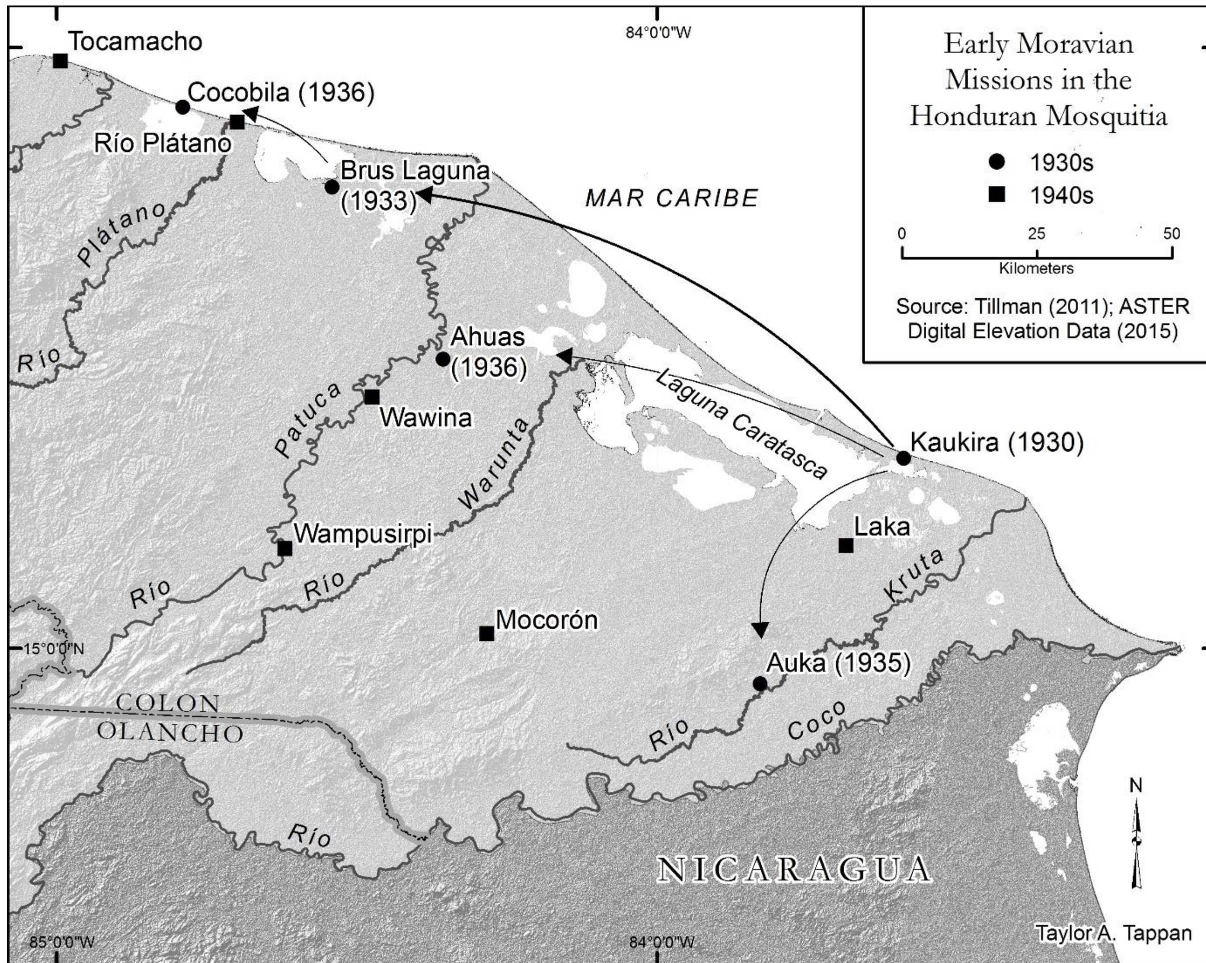

Figure 4.6: Diffusion of Moravian missions, 1930-1949

The Moravian Church missions arrived in Honduras shortly after the second Misiones Escolares attempt, and their educative efforts easily surpassed those of the Honduran government (Wood et al. 2009). Moravian missionaries were already well established along the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua since the 1860s. Their purpose was to "spread the word," encouraged by German politicians who hoped to establish a colony on the Mosquito Coast of Central America (Tillman 2011: 1). In 1930 the first Moravian mission in the Honduran Muskitia was founded in Kaukira (Heath 1939 and 1949; Marx 1980; Wood et al. 2009; Tillman 2011).

As in Nicaragua, Moravian missionaries in Honduras employed a “three-pronged approach” to evangelize the Miskitu: proselytizing, medical treatment, and education (Tillman 2011: 1). They built hospitals and schools in Nicaragua and Honduras where state facilities were nonexistent (Breckel 1975; Marx 1980; Tillman 2011). Moravian missionaries differentiated their practices from the mass baptisms of the Catholic Church by emphasizing “heart” conversions in which the missionaries lived in Miskitu communities in order to maintain contact and build congregations (Tillman 2011: 20). This willingness of the Moravians to live in Miskitu communities and to learn the Miskitu language contributed to the success and longevity of their efforts in Muskitia. Upon their arrival in Honduras, the Moravians found that one of the greatest obstacles impeding their missionizing efforts was the high illiteracy rate in Muskitia (Marx 1980). They began to establish schools in the larger Miskitu villages upon their arrival to the Honduran Muskitia, and gradually reached smaller settlements over time.

During the 1930s Moravian missionaries expanded from their original base in Kaukira to extend their ministries to Brus Lagoon in 1933, Auka in 1935, Cocobila in 1936, and Ahuas in 1936 (Tillman 2011). These communities were selected to serve as local headquarters given the sizeable population of each with respect to surrounding villages, and they were accessible to riverine transportation routes within Muskitia (Figure 4.6). Smaller outlying villages with sizeable Moravian congregations were often assigned a Miskitu lay pastor who moved to the village and lived permanently with its residents.

The closely-knit relationship between the Moravian Church and Miskitu communities dates back to 1930 when George R. Heath founded the Moravian missions in the Honduran Muskitia. Heath established the first mission in Kaukira, but later moved west to Cocobila, a community located on a narrow stretch of land between Ibans Lagoon and the Caribbean Sea,

where he and his wife, Marguerite, built a modest hut (Marx 1980). His mission was to continue establishing Moravian congregations in Miskitu villages throughout the Honduran Muskitia, but eventually Heath realized that the region was too vast for one person to work it alone by commuting in canoe or on foot. In 1934 Dannery Downs became the first Miskitu pastor of the Moravian Church in Honduras and was entrusted to lead the congregation in Brus Lagoon (Marx 1980: 14).

Heath was an accomplished linguist, and he became an expert in Miskitu (Marx 1980). His impact upon Miskitu villages was noticeable up and down the coast. Every Tuesday, Heath walked east to Río Plátano to hold church services in village homes and to tend to the sick. On Thursdays he traveled west to Plaplaya and visited inland communities along the Río Paulaya. Friday services were held in Cocobila, and the congregation grew with the attendance of villagers from neighboring coastal settlements. During his spare time on Mondays and Wednesdays, Heath taught elementary school classes in Cocobila with Marguerite, treated the sick, and directed the construction of a mission house (Marx 1980). Through community interaction, medical treatment, education, and the use of the Miskitu language in church services, written texts, and education Moravian missionaries like Heath were able to further the goals of the Moravian Church. They employed education as a strategy to convert the Miskitu, and they propagated their evangelical efforts by allowing Miskitu men to serve as pastors in important Miskitu communities like Brus Lagoon.

Like George and Marguerite Heath, the majority of Moravian missionaries were married couples that lived in the Miskitu communities and regularly taught classes and administered medical care to the sick (Tillman 2011). As such, the development of education in the Honduran Muskitia between 1930 and the early 1950s coincided in large part with the diffusion of the

Moravian missions. The most important Moravian compounds were Ahuas, Brus Lagoon, Cocobila, and Kaukira (Marx 1980; Tillman 2011: 75). These establishments housed foreign missionaries permanently and expanded to include schools, health clinics, and community kitchens (Tillman 2011: 74). The schools offered lecture classes to children in these communities where education previously had been inaccessible. They provided a functional space for community interaction, assemblies, and workshops. Furthermore, the Moravian compounds and associated schools strengthened the regional importance of their communities; that is, they drew Miskitu residents living in neighboring villages without churches or schools to travel short distances to attend church services or classes (Tillman 2011).

During the early 1940s, the most successful school in the Honduran Muskitia was in Kaukira, where Moravian missionaries had established their first school. It was managed briefly by Benjamín Arreaza, a young teacher from Santa Rosa de Copán in western Honduras. Arreaza had traveled to Cocobila in May of 1942 to learn Miskitu, and by November of the same year, he was already teaching and giving sermons in Spanish and Miskitu to the Kaukira congregation (Marx 1980). Less than a year later, Arreaza and his family moved to Brus Lagoon where they founded another school. Arreaza became well known for his contributions in developing *Por Mi Patria* (For My Country), a Miskitu-Spanish reading and writing workbook for Miskitu elementary students (Marx 1980).

Arreaza's contributions to bilingual education were emblematic of the greater Moravian strategy to improve literacy rates among the Miskitu. Moravian missionaries sought to promote literacy in Spanish, not just Miskitu, because they believed that 1) a good Honduran citizen should be able to speak the national language, and 2) the Old Testament had not yet been translated into Miskitu (Marx 1980). In an effort to expand the network and accessibility of

bilingual education throughout Muskitia, the Moravians devised a plan to construct two schools that would serve as regional centers for students in the eastern and western zones of Muskitia. They hoped to attract the brightest Miskitu children from each zone while the schools would offer a comprehensive primary and secondary level education to parallel the study of the Bible (Marx 1980).

Upon their arrival to Muskitia in 1930, the Moravians had petitioned the Honduran government to no avail for funding to establish schools. Likewise, the Moravian plan to provide a school for the east and west zone lacked the necessary funding to construct two separate schools, and so only the *Escuela Renacimiento* (Revival School) in Brus Lagoon was sanctioned to serve all of Muskitia. Escuela Renacimiento was established in 1951, and it quickly became the most important in the region after the Moravians moved their church headquarters from Kaukira to Brus Lagoon in the late 1940s (Tillman 2011: 80).

The school made Brus Lagoon one of Muskitia's most important educational centers after 1951. It offered dormitories to students who arrived from smaller coastal communities near Río Plátano and for children from Las Marías Batiltuk, a mixed Pech and Miskitu community situated approximately 20 kilometers up the Río Plátano. The importance of Escuela Renacimiento eventually attracted the attention of the Honduran government, which began to recognize the success of the Moravians in developing education in the isolated Muskitia. The Moravian mission in Brus Lagoon began to cooperate with the government to award scholarships to students from throughout Muskitia to attend Escuela Renacimiento (Marx 1980). In 1959, the Honduran government nationalized Moravian schools in Muskitia, effectively increasing its presence in Muskitia and marking the transition to a new era of school development there (Woodward 1988).

The presence of Moravian missionaries in Miskitu communities, particularly at a time when the Honduran state was expanding education in rural indigenous and campesino societies, played an important role, perhaps inadvertently, in strengthening Miskitu territorial identity through education. Upon the arrival of Moravian missionaries to the Honduran Muskitia in 1930, the state had only managed to develop education through the aforementioned Misiones Escolares initiatives, which did little to incorporate Miskitu, Pech and Tawahka communities into a national Honduran, Spanish-speaking identity. Moravian missionaries, though, integrated themselves into Miskitu village culture and offered bilingual, primary school education in Spanish and Miskitu to young children.

The accomplishments of the Moravians are noteworthy in that their efforts in the 1930s and 1940s effectively founded baseline education in Muskitia in the wake of failed attempts by the state. Moravian missionaries like Heath and Arreaza conquered the geographic isolation of Muskitia and integrated their missionary efforts into Miskitu village life. This thesis brings into question whether the geographic inaccessibility of Muskitia and recurrent state failures to provide baseline education ultimately contributed to the preservation of Miskitu language and culture in an era where state agendas in more accessible parts of rural Honduras aimed to strengthen Honduran nationalism through education in the Spanish language. The development of education was perhaps only a secondary outcome behind Moravian evangelical agendas in Muskitia, but these contributions to Miskitu culture history should not be understated given that government-sponsored education didn't exist in the region until well into the 20th century.

Today the community of Ahuas is the provincial headquarters for the Moravian Church. It was originally founded in 1936 by a Miskitu pastor, but it gained importance in the 1950s and eventually became headquarters for its central location in Muskitia and sizeable population.

Samuel Marx was the first foreign missionary stationed there in 1952 where he served as a medical doctor and a pastor (Marx 1980; Tillman 2011). During his tenure, Ahuas became a regional hub for *Alas de Socorro* in 1952, the Moravian-operated airline that would transport medical patients from more distant villages to the hospital in Ahuas, the first in the Honduran Muskitia (Marx 1980; Tillman 2011). The Moravian hospital remains the largest medical facility in the Honduran Muskitia and includes a hyperbaric chamber for many injured Miskitu lobster divers suffering from decompression sickness (Tillman 2011: 82).

I visited the Moravian church in Ahuas during my field work for this research. It remains the most prominent building in the center of the community and remains the Moravian headquarters in the Honduran Muskitia. I learned that the building is an important part of everyday life in Ahuas. Its size allows for it to function as a town hall with seating sufficient for a few hundred people, where important community and regional assemblies can be held to discuss development projects and territorial issues, to host workshops, and to provide space for children's activities. The compound overlooks a community soccer field where competitive pickup games seem to materialize on a nightly basis.

The Moravian church in Ahuas reflects the level of community integration achieved by Moravian missionaries. Many Miskitu consider themselves Moravian, and even those not associated with the church hold it in high esteem for the contributions of Moravian missionaries to Miskitu communities. Miskitu leader Jairo Wood summarizes Moravian influence in Muskitia (Wood et al. 2009: 35):

> Nos establecieron escuelas, nos enseñaron manualidades y nos construyeron centros de salud y en algunos casos nos otorgaron pequeñas ayudas económicas para que algunos estudiantes pudiéramos continuar estudiando en centros

educativos de ciudades próximas a la Muskitia…Ceiba, Tocoa y Trujillo, Minas de Oro, Tegucigalpa…es que…la iglesia morava la llevamos en la sangre.

They established schools, they taught us various crafts, and they built health centers for us, and in some cases, they gave us financial support so that a few of our students could continue studying in schools outside Muskitia…in Ceiba, Tocoa, and Trujillo, in Minas de Oro and Tegucigalpa…the Moravian Church runs through our veins.

IV. Expansion of State Education, 1950-1982

In 1950 the Honduran government sent a team of educators and representatives to Muskitia to evaluate the region's system of education in the hopes of finding alternative strategies to assimilate and acculturate the Miskitu into a Honduran national society (Herranz 1996). Professor Jesús Aguilar Paz, the lead investigator, prepared a radical proposal to incorporate the Miskitu. He suggested two primary approaches to overhaul Miskitu cultural dominance. The first proposed that the state encourage non-indigenous (Ladino) migrants to colonize the Muskitia region. Ladino settlement was thought to improve the economic productivity of the region as the colonists would clear the land for agriculture while simultaneously increasing the population of Spanish-speaking inhabitants there (Aguilar Paz 1953; Herranz 1996).

Even more drastic was the second component of Aguilar Paz's strategy: to require Miskitu adults to serve in the military and adolescents to be sent outside La Muskitia for education. Aguilar Paz believed that terms served by Miskitu adults in the military garrisons would require them to learn Spanish which they would continue to use upon returning to La Mosquitia. Children between the ages of ten and fifteen, on the other hand, would be sent outside

the region to live with “honorable families” of European and Mestizo descent (Aguilar Paz 1953: 20-33). While away, the children would attend school to learn Spanish and would perform household tasks for the host family. After a period of one or two years, the students would be permitted to return to La Muskitia to continue living and studying (Aguilar Paz 1953: 20-33; Herranz 1996).

Although Aguilar Paz’s proposal to acculturate the Miskitu into Honduran national culture by means of required military service for adults and the relocation of children for education never came to fruition, his report did prove instrumental in prompting the state to unfold a new strategy to promote national culture and primary education in the Muskitia region. It also reflected the Honduran government’s ideologies of indigenismo and continued efforts to shape Miskitu cultural identity and promote Honduran nationalism in order to consolidate control over the isolated Muskitia region.

In 1950 Honduran President Juan Manuel Gálvez (1949-1954) initiated a comprehensive campaign to establish rural schools in the Honduran Muskitia. Nearly 75 years had passed since the height of liberal reforms in Honduras, in which Marco Aurelio Soto and Ramón Rosa had championed rural education as a means to promote Honduran nationalism and integrate rural communities into Honduran mestizo culture. Acuerdo 2490 fashioned the *Misiones Culturales* (Cultural Missions) program that aimed to drastically alter the cultural landscapes of Muskitia through the widespread construction of primary schools in Miskitu communities (Alvarado García 1958: 61; Herranz 1996; Barahona 2009; Wood et al. 2009). The legislation had a twofold objective: 1) to ‘Hispanicize’ the indigenous populations of Muskitia and 2) to confront renewed border tensions with the Nicaraguan government that had been contesting dominion over the eastern reaches of the Honduran Muskitia (Herranz 1996; Barahona 2009; Wood et al.

2009). At the time, approximately thirty primary schools were in operation throughout La Muskitia, including those operated by the Moravians. In 1953 alone, though, the total nearly doubled after twenty-five additional primary schools were constructed (Palacios 1954; Alvarado García 1958; Helbig 1965; Herranz 1996). The sudden, sweeping investment by the Honduran government to develop education in Muskitia, as well as a communications infrastructure, was a political maneuver to consolidate territorial control over a region that had remained geographically isolated since the Wyke-Cruz Treaty of 1859.

The ongoing border dispute with Nicaragua over the eastern margin of Muskitia ran concurrent to Honduran government school investment in the region. The dispute became known as the Mocorón Conflict and triggered the Honduran government to strengthen its presence in the region by way of a political and territorial reorganization (Barahona 2009). Article 1 of the 1957 Decreto No. 52 established a new department, called 'Gracias a Dios,' bounded to the west by the 85th meridian, to the north and east by the Caribbean Sea, and to the south by the Río Coco (*Creación del Departamento de Gracias a Dios* 1957; *Protocolo Bio-Cultural del Pueblo Miskitu* 2012). The state further consolidated control in the new department by dividing it into two municipios, Brus Lagoon and Puerto Lempira (refer back to Figure 2.9), centered on the most populous communities, effectively centralizing political authority in La Muskitia (Barahona 2009). This territorial consolidation shifted political power in Muskitia from the communities to civil authorities at the state and municipal levels while the Honduran military established a permanent presence in Gracias a Dios, which it has maintained ever since (Wood et al. 2009; *Protocolo Bio-Cultural del Pueblo Miskitu* 2012).

Substantial changes to the Miskitu territorial and cultural landscapes followed as a result of the political organization of the Department of Gracias a Dios. Annual reports from the

Honduran Secretaría de Educación Pública show the expansion of education to Miskitu communities previously isolated from public schools. Changes to established indigenous land tenure regimes paralleled a heightened emphasis on the construction of schools and the promotion of Spanish. Immediately following the creation of Gracias a Dios, private property became more attainable through municipal authorities, a further violation of the Wyke Cruz Treaty and an affront to traditional ownership practices of Miskitu villages that recognized land to be held communally (Barahona 2009). Throughout Muskitia, traditional ownership of land develops through usufructuary rights where fields become the property of the farmer who maintains and cultivates them, and property is inherited and transferred through kin lines (Herlihy 1997b, 2001). The Miskitu communities also recognize fallow ownership of land when a farmer abandons a parcel for a period of a few years in order to allow the vegetation to recover and the soil to replenish its nutrients. Each village depends on a much greater territory for basic subsistence than the limits of the community itself (Herlihy 1997b). The notion of private ownership that construes land as a commodity remained largely non-existent in Miskitu communities prior to the political organization of Gracias a Dios in 1957 (Barahona 2009).

Modifications to the state educative agenda were concurrent with the territorial reorganization of Muskitia into its own department. President Ramón Villeda Morales (1957-1963) initiated reforms designed to modernize rural Honduras, particularly through Spanish education (Herranz 1996; Barahona 2009). At the national scale, Villeda Morales re-consolidated the national system of education and endorsed a revitalization of the defunct Misiones Escolares. The 'Reglamento de Educación Primaria' (Regulation for Primary Education) was approved four years after Villeda Morales left office and recapitulated the government's agenda from the early 1900s to acculturate indigenous groups into a national, mestizo culture (Herranz 1996: 229):

Las escuelas de las comunidades indígenas orientarán su actividad en el sentido de lograr la plena incorporación de sus habitantes a la cultura nacional, para tal fin se hará especial énfasis en los siguientes aspectos: a) Aprendizaje correcto del Idioma Nacional; b) Comprensión de nuestras costumbres, forma de vida, etc…d) Enseñanza de hábitos de higiene y alimentación adecuada.

Schools in indigenous communities will focus their activities in order to achieve the complete integration of their inhabitants into the national culture; to reach this goal special emphasis will be placed on the following objectives: a) Correctly learning the National Language; b) understanding our customs, way of life, etc…d) teaching good habits in hygiene and adequate nourishment.

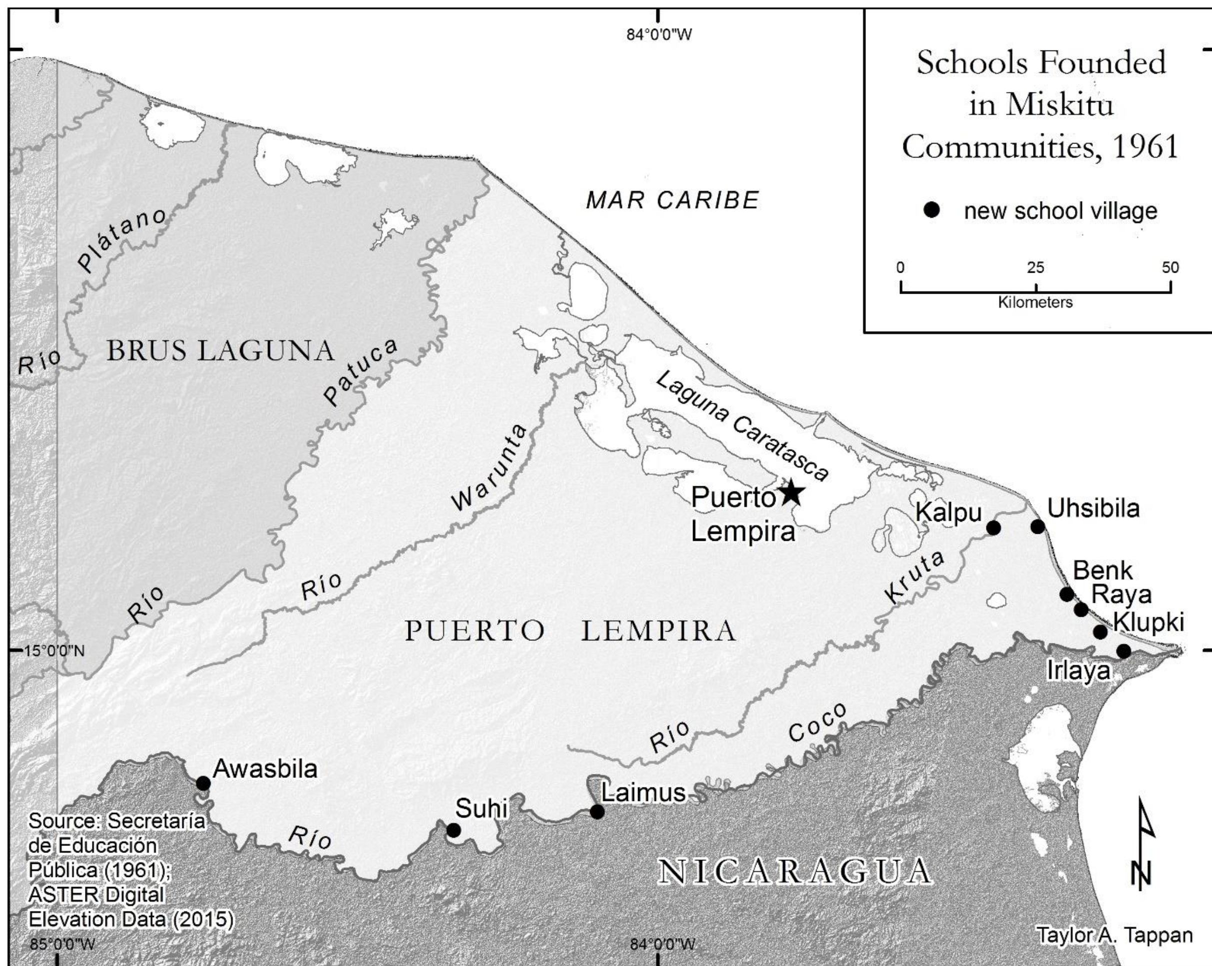

Figure 4.7: Miskitu schools established along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border in 1961

The establishment of schools in the 1950s and 1960s allowed the state to further consolidate territorial and economic control over Gracias a Dios while newly cut penetration roads paved the way for non-indigenous colonists to settle in the region. Development initiatives from the Secretaría de Educación Pública were carried out in smaller, more isolated villages to provide school houses, construction materials, motorboat engines, and gasoline to those areas. In 1961 alone (Figure 4.7), the Honduran government constructed primary schools in the remote Miskitu communities of "Gualtara, Calpo, Usibila, El Benck, Raya, Clupky, Ilaya, Leymus, Sují, Ahuasbila, and Bocay, Olancho" (*Secretaría de Educación Pública* 1961: 13). The development also included the installation of a radio tower near the mouth of the Río Coco in the village of Tiubila to facilitate communications with the authorities and the inhabitants of those communities.

Displaying Miskitu villages on a map where schools were constructed in 1961 emphasizes how the Honduran government used education as one component of its geographic strategy to strengthen its presence in Muskitia. Nearly all the schools built that year border Nicaragua, including a cluster in the easternmost villages where Nicaraguan troops had maintained a presence until 1961. I was fortunate to stumble upon this history while reading and photographing sections from annual reports published by the Honduran Secretaría de Educación Pública that are catalogued in the Honduran National Archives in Tegucigalpa. Each report details the government's progress in fostering education for every department in the country. Included are sketch maps, tables, and statistics that describe where schools were founded, social development programs, enrollment figures, and school budgets. The reports, though, are in poor condition, and the National Archives has many gaps in its records resulting from damage to the collection by Hurricane Mitch that devastated Tegucigalpa and Comayagüela in 1998.

The border dispute with Nicaragua over eastern Muskitia ended when Nicaraguan soldiers withdrew from the region in April of 1961. The Honduran government's stance in the dispute seems analogous to Mexican ideologies of indigenismo, as well as Regalsky and Laurie's (2007) concept of the 'hidden curriculum,' in which a state's purpose transcends simply providing education to rural areas. Instead, the state's agenda is to introduce institutional authority into these remote landscapes. A school becomes a contested space among groups differentiated by cultural and economic status (Regaslky and Laurie 2007: 233).

Indeed, the development strategy stamped Honduran territorial control over the 'Zona Recuperada' (the 'Recovered Zone,' known today as Villeda Morales) by marking its presence with changes to the cultural landscape through the construction of schools and a radio tower. Not only did these new primary schools offer education to the Miskitu communities of Zona Recuperada including Kalpu, Uhsibila, Benk, Raya, Klubki, and Irlaya that had never been integrated into national Honduran culture, but the schools also functioned to strengthen Honduran territoriality in the Muskitia region against Nicaraguan lands claims. Miskitu villagers were the recipients, or perhaps inadvertent bystanders, in this geopolitical dispute waged between the Honduran and Nicaraguan governments. That public primary schools now offered classes in their communities seems almost inconsequential in comparison to the schools' alternative role as territorial buoys for the Honduran government. For twenty more years state education politics maintained this stance to acculturate rural indigenous groups through Spanish education. The agenda of these Miskitu schools was designed to promote Honduran nationalism and cultural homogeneity, thus lending a comparison to Mexican indigenismo and Regalsky and Laurie's 'hidden curriculum.'

The Honduran government's approach to expand education in Muskitia remained static into the early 1980s; that is, it continued to construct primary schools in Miskitu villages, slowly staking its presence in increasingly remote areas while promoting Spanish education. Then in 1982, the reformed Law of Education suddenly altered more than a century's worth of state education politics, allowing for the coexistence of Spanish and indigenous languages in schools. These reforms were concurrent with indigenous rights movements in Honduras and Central America (Barahona 2009: 213; Molina 2015 personal communication). Young Miskitu leaders had recently formed Muskitia Asla Takanka, or MASTA, a student political organization that became the country's first indigenous federation (*Protocolo Bio-Cultural del Pueblo Indígena Miskitu* 2012; Molina 2015, personal communication). Jacinto Molina, a well-known Miskitu political activist, teacher, and host of a Miskitu radio program in Puerto Lempira, was a founding member of MASTA in 1974 and recalled in an interview how Miskitu leaders from Honduras and Nicaragua, many of whom were young teachers, had formed a binational committee to promote bilingual education and Miskitu territorial rights. He recounted how they even traveled to a *congreso* in Panama with indigenous leaders from throughout Central America as part of a broader movement to promote land rights and education for indigenous groups up and down the isthmus (Molina 2015, personal communication).

As indigenous groups in Honduras and Central America began to organize to protect their identities, state education politics gradually shifted from fostering nationalistic fervor and cultural homogeneity to promoting bilingual education and the revitalization of indigeneity. Construction of school buildings in rural Honduran communities gave way to a restructuring of the national system of education and a birth of programs designed to raise literacy rates and

decentralize educative services. I turn to discuss these programs and the current state of education in chapter five.

CHAPTER FIVE

BILINGUAL EDUCATION, PROGRAMS, AND DECENTRALIZATION IN THE HONDURAN MUSKITIA

I. Introduction

The 1982 Law of Education marked a turning point in the development of education in the Honduran Muskitia. It legalized the use of indigenous languages in schools, in turn creating a demand for bilingual teachers and textbooks (Salgado and Rápalo 2012). The legislation paved the way for the birth of educative programs, particularly geared toward bilingualism, as a new approach to developing education in the remote Muskitia region. This emphasis on programs departed from nearly five decades of government investment that expanded education in Muskitia through construction of new schools in remote villages. The shift to programs after heavy investment in the construction of schools is one indicator of a decentralization process in the Honduran Secretaría de Educación Pública, as educative programs have been outsourced to municipalities and NGOs (di Gropello and Marshall 2005; Parker 2005; Sawada and Ragatz 2005). By the late 1990s, primary schools existed in nearly every Miskitu village, but literacy rates, school dropout, and grade repetition rates in Gracias a Dios remained among the worst in Honduras (Lara Pinto 1997). In the following pages of this chapter, I argue that geographic isolation continues to factor in the quality of education in Muskitia today. I examine bilingual education and the decentralization of the Honduran Secretaría de Educación Pública as state mechanisms designed to counteract the disproportionately low metrics in literacy, graduation

rates, and grade completion in Muskitia. The lack of geographic information related to education and a disconnection between Miskitu territorial jurisdictions and schools exacerbates the dichotomy between the state, as the provider of schools; and Miskitu communities, the recipients of state-sponsored education.

II. Birth of Programs

An indigenous rights movement for territory and education gained speed in Honduras during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The Muskitia Asla Takanka (MASTA, 1976), Federación de Tribus Pech de Honduras (FETRIPH, 1985), and Federación Indígena Tawahka de Honduras (FITH, 1987) indigenous federations were created by Miskitu, Pech, and Tawahka leaders, respectively, to promote indigenous cultural heritages and strengthen their demands for land rights and education (Herranz 1996). Constitutional reforms via the new *Ley de Educación de 1982* allowed indigenous languages to be taught in schools for the first time, but bilingual education was slow to develop in Muskitia. Honduran scholars Salgado and Rápalo (2012) were critical of these reforms, arguing that if the *Ley de Educación* indeed created a structure for launching a system of bilingual education, the constitution itself effectively impeded the recognition of indigenous rights, thus reaffirming the status quo of a homogenous, Spanish-speaking society. Article 6 in the 1982 Constitution maintained Spanish as the official language of Honduras and recapitulated that the state would do all in its power to protect the integrity and the use of Spanish in schools: "*El idioma oficial de Honduras es español. El Estado protegerá su pureza e incrementará su enseñanza*—The official language of Honduras is Spanish. The state will protect its purity and extend its instruction" (Salgado and Rápalo 2012: 145).

I found Salgado and Rápalo's concerns veritable during my thesis research in Muskitia. Most high school students I interviewed struggled to read and complete short surveys I had drafted in Spanish that sought to collect basic information on a given student's grade level, school, and home community (see Appendix 1). A middle-aged nurse I met in the mixed Pech-Miskitu community of Las Marías recalled that grade school students in her village were still punished in the mid-1990s for speaking Pech or Miskitu in class, more than a decade after the legalization of indigenous languages in schools. Professor Enrique Moncada, a Miskitu teacher and founder of the Alfonzo Rugama primary school in Nueva Jerusalén, explained that language is a constant struggle for students in Muskitia. Many young children begin classes after only speaking Miskitu at home. Monolingual students in Gracias a Dios don't receive the additional attention they need to learn Spanish, and there are not enough well-trained bilingual Miskitu teachers. School teachers and administrators are required to meet grade completion rate standards determined by the Secretaría de Educación, so Miskitu students are often funneled from one grade to the next despite not having learned the material (Moncada 2012 personal communication).

Perhaps above all else, this reflects the apathetic nature and failure of the Honduran government today to provide quality education in Muskitia. Not only are Miskitu students at a disadvantage in attending schools that are so geographically isolated and underfunded, but the Honduran government is complicit in allowing school administrators to advance underperforming students from one grade to the next just so that the school's performance metrics will reflect positively in annual reports to the Honduran Secretaría de Educación Pública. Professor Moncada explained that there's little accountability for school administrators here in Muskitia. It's not that people don't recognize the challenges faced by Miskitu students and

schools, it’s just that it’s easier to pretend they don’t exist because in Muskitia there won’t be any repercussions (Moncada 2012 personal communication).

The education gap in Muskitia at the end of the 1980s was less determined by accessibility to schools (in comparison to accessibility in the 1950s, for example) and more so by how education was implemented. I interviewed Gloria Lara Pinto, an anthropologist at the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Francisco Morazán in Tegucigalpa, about the issues hindering education in Muskitia. She cited the scarcity of well-trained Miskitu teachers and explained that to her knowledge, there still are no native Miskitu speakers in Honduras that hold a doctoral degree in linguistics or language arts. Such students would have the potential to make contributions that could dramatically improve the quality of education in Muskitia, especially given a native speaker’s perspective on the structure and grammar of the Miskitu language. It isn’t just that there is a paucity of primary school teachers that are fluent in both Spanish and Miskitu; instead those that are bilingual have never been properly trained to be able to dissect, analyze, and teach the basics of the Miskitu language to young children. Even the more advanced Miskitu students that manage to complete high school and enroll in a university like the UPNFM often struggle with Spanish because they never had a context for learning it (Lara Pinto 2012 personal communication).

Statistics from surveys and censuses at the end of the 1980s demonstrated that Gracias a Dios continued to suffer some of the highest rates of student dropout, grade repetition, and illiteracy for all departments in Honduras. More than one-third of all residents in Gracias a Dios were illiterate, and as much as 80 percent in the most geographically remote villages along the upper Río Plátano and Río Patuca (Lara Pinto 1997; Cochran 2005: 196).

In response to these concerns, the *Comité para la Educación Bilingüe Intercultural para la Muskitia de Honduras* (CEBIMH) was formed in 1990 in collaboration with Moskitia Pawisa (MOPAWI), a Miskitu development NGO, to identify ways to improve education in Muskitia (Herranz 1996; Lara Pinto 1997 and 2002). A survey conducted in 1992 by CEBIMH and the Administration of Rural Primary Schools (*Administración de las Escuelas Primarias Rurales*, ADEPRIR) concluded that the application of a monolingual, Spanish-based curriculum was the primary cause of academic underperformance by Miskitu students in Gracias a Dios (Keogh et al. 1992). The academic model assumed that children would learn Spanish in preschool and would be fluent upon entering primary school. In larger population centers such as Brus Lagoon and Puerto Lempira, as well as in border towns such as Leimus or Awasbila, young children are exposed to Spanish, but in more remote regions along the middle Río Patuca or Río Plátano, young Miskitu children tend to speak only Miskitu (Keogh et al. 1992).

CEBIMH and MOPAWI began to promote the use of Miskitu in school. Together they published a workbook of Miskitu grammar and began negotiations with the Secretaría de Educación Pública to introduce Miskitu as the official language for primary schools in Gracias a Dios (Herranz 1996 and Lara Pinto 2002). Local initiatives to expand bilingual education also received support at the national level in 1994 when President Carlos Roberto Reina signed the *Acuerdo Presidencial No. 0719-EP*, considered one of the most important pieces of legislation between the state and indigenous populations in Honduran history. The act reaffirmed the cultural and ethnic plurality of Honduras and established a precedence to institutionalize a framework of intercultural, bilingual education (*Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, EIB*) for indigenous groups (Herranz 1996: 284-290; Salgado and Rápalo 2012: 147).

Bilingual education and a decentralization of the Secretaría de Educación Pública became priorities of the Honduran government after Acuerdo Presidencial No. 0719-EP. Educative programs were implemented concurrently with a growing indigenous movement for land rights and access to better education. The *Programa Nacional de Educación para las Etnias Autóctonas y Afro-Antillanas de Honduras* (National Program of Education for Indigenous and Afro-Caribbean Groups in Honduras, PRONEEAH) was created to provide assistance and guidance to indigenous communities in developing school curricula and aimed to strengthen indigeneity in Muskitia through the revitalization of language (Lara Pinto 1997; Von Gleich and Gálvez 1999). *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (EIB) emerged as a subcomponent of PRONEEAH and didactic materials for schools were developed in the Miskitu language through EIB. Indigenous communities were granted greater autonomy in designing school curricula and administering their schools as the Honduran government initiated a movement to decentralize and outsource its educative services.

III. Decentralization of Education and Territory

The historical geography of schools in Muskitia has been a target of nationalistic fervor and territorial movements that sought to consolidate territorial control in the central government. However, a new decentralized pattern of governance in Honduras began in the late 1990s and is changing this pattern. Gracias a Dios underwent a territorial reorganization in 1996 in which its two muncipios—Brus Laguna and Puerto Lempira—were redrawn to generate four more—Ahuas, Juan F. Bulnes, Villeda Morales, and Wampusirpi (refer back to Figure 2.10). The move affected the management of schools too, creating fourteen districts at the municipal level and one *Dirección Departamental de Educación Pública* (departmental seat) to streamline the

administration of schools. Unlike the boundaries of Gracias a Dios's six municipios, these fourteen school districts seemed largely speculative, existing only according to a list of communities managed by the Dirección Departamental de Educación Pública in Puerto Lempira. That is, I never once uncovered a map representing the spatial limits of these school districts with their respective communities, and nobody I interviewed had seen one either.

After various interviews I learned that each district organizes its schools into administrative units, whose responsibilities include ensuring that teachers are attending school and properly implementing the curriculum, and developing "qualitative and quantitative data" for monthly reports to the Dirección Departamental regarding the state of education in the district (Ley Fundamental de Educación 2012: 8-9). District authorities can impose sanctions onto teachers and school administrators if they do not meet the required number of work days each month. The Dirección Departamental, in turn, evaluates and manages human and financial resources for the entire department. Its authority includes the construction and opening of new schools and the hiring of teachers. It bridges the functional gap between the centralized Secretaría de Educación Pública and the municipal school districts.

The decentralization of territorial authority via the creation of four additional municipios in Gracias a Dios coincided with a decentralization of the Honduran Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP). In the early 1990s the SEP had ballooned into a gargantuan institution—the largest employer in the country, but rigid, inefficient and fiscally overburdened (Hernández and Moncada 2012: 65). "Decentralization" was conceived as a means to modernize education in Honduras while cutting costs and improving efficiency by strengthening ties between local governments and beneficiary populations (Hernández and Moncada 2012: 66). Departmental seats and municipal districts were created to organize schools spatially while transferring

administrative responsibilities from the central SEP to regional authorities. As a result, schools in Muskitia were granted more autonomy in the 1990s to manage their own budgets, and through their boards of directors, they acquired more authority to make administrative decisions (such as recommending the hiring or dismissal of a teacher) based on the needs of the students and the community (Hernández and Moncada 2012: 67).

The decentralization of educative responsibilities to regional authorities increased the need for programs and bilingual education in Muskitia with the diminished role of the central Secretaría de Educación Pública. Most rural Miskitu communities only offered classes for *educación primaria* (grades 1-6) while in larger communities like Puerto Lempira and Brus Laguna, the existing *Centros de Educación Básica* (CEB, grades 1-9) were overcrowded with both local students and students from smaller neighboring villages where classes weren't available beyond 6th grade (Wood 2012 personal communication). Programs such as the World Bank-sponsored *Proyecto Hondureño de Educación Comunitaria* (Community Education Project of Honduras, PROHECO) responded by offering a new model to outsource educative services to the communities themselves. Through PROHECO young Miskitu men and women who had successfully completed a *bachillerato* (high school) were trained to become pre-school and CEB teachers to improve accessibility beyond 6th grade in remote villages. PROHECO's level of success from one village to the next has been hit or miss, as the employment of inexperienced and sometimes insufficiently-trained teachers has hampered efforts to improve literacy rates and bilingualism in Miskitu villages (Hernández and Moncada 2012).

When I arrived in Muskitia to begin my thesis research, I expected such a geographically isolated region with the country's lowest metrics in literacy and *bachillerato* (high school) graduation rates to have limited access to schools. I was surprised to learn that nearly every

village has at least a primary school, and that an overwhelming variety of government and NGO programs have been put in place to improve education in Gracias a Dios. It seemed paradoxical that many Miskitu students I met had attended school for years, yet so many in middle school and high school still hadn't learned to read. I searched for specific answers to this paradox in my interviews with local students, teachers, and administrators, but it was difficult to diagnose a one-size-fits-all response for why Miskitu students who have access to schools lag behind their peers in other departments of Honduras. I chose to examine the spatial organization of schools in Gracias a Dios as one approach to understand how the state is underperforming in providing adequate education in Muskitia.

IV. Using GIS to Understand a Geographic Disconnection in Education

When I first traveled to Puerto Lempira, the capital of the Honduran Muskitia and site of the Dirección Departamental de Educación for Gracias a Dios, it became apparent that many of the schools I had visited in Miskitu communities did not exist in a spatial database. I had traveled to Puerto Lempira in the hopes of finding a map of Miskitu schools in Gracias a Dios. I perused archives at MOPAWI (a Miskitu development NGO) and interviewed representatives at the departmental division of the Honduran Secretaría de Educación. Scott Wood Ronas, a Miskitu teacher and representative of the Honduran Secretaría de Educación Pública, explained that a map should exist, either in digital or paper format for the schools in Muskitia, but that he had never seen one. He explained that public schools in every department in Honduras belong to districts that are overseen by municipal authorities (Wood 2012 personal communication).

I modified my search in order to locate a map of the school districts in Gracias a Dios, but apparently no such map existed either. Various offices within the Dirección Departamental

de Educación Pública granted interviews and underscored how a map of school districts would be useful, but nobody had ever seen the spatial extents of the districts. Nearly everyone mentioned the lack of institutional support that Gracias a Dios receives from the central Secretaría de Educación Pública. I was referred to no avail from one office to another in search of any map related to education in Muskitia and eventually left Puerto Lempira without one.

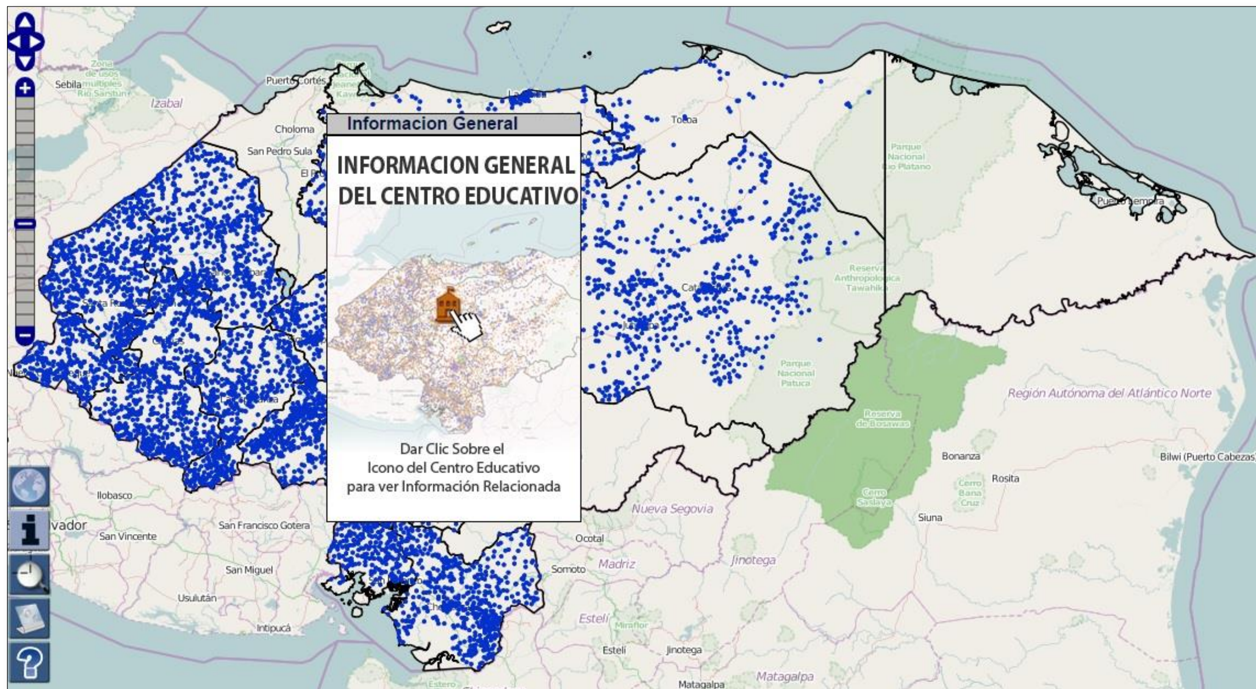

Figure 5.1: Screenshot of interactive schools map of Honduras with no data for Gracias a Dios (SEP 2014: http://estadisticas.se.gob.hn/portal/portal.php)

Upon returning to Kansas I began constructing a digital database for schools in Gracias a Dios. The Honduran Secretaría de Educación Pública website offers reports, statistical analyses, available downloads in spreadsheet format for raw data including enrollment totals, graduation and dropout rates, gender-based statistics, and number of teachers in each school. I found an interactive map (which has since been removed and is being redesigned; see Figure 5.1, http://sace.se.gob.hn/estadistica/comparativo/2014-2015) of the Republic of Honduras, which allowed the user to view public schools—represented as small icons—in all but three of the 18

departments in Honduras. Clicking on an icon would open a dialogue box that indicated the name of the school, its corresponding neighborhood and municipio, generally one or two statistics, such as the school's enrollment and how many teachers were employed there. As it were, though, Gracias a Dios was one of the departments lacking data. The map offered no information on schools in the department.

The SEP's portrayal of Gracias a Dios as a vast, empty expanse demonstrates the geographic disconnect between the state and Miskitu communities. Neither the Dirección Departamental de Educación in Puerto Lempira nor the central SEP seemed to manage a spatial GIS coverage of schools in Gracias a Dios. Schools in each department fall under the jurisdiction of school districts, which in turn are ascribed to municipalities, but in Muskitia which school belonged to which district is not common knowledge. The Ley Fundamental de Educación (2012) requires school districts to report monthly to the Dirección Departamental de Educación, and a local district director purportedly manages a budget to implement the educative objectives of the SEP and to provide mentorship to his district. In Muskitia, though, financial resources are very limited. Miskitu teacher Scott Wood explained to me that there are no school district directors in Gracias a Dios that report directly to the Dirección Departamental de Educación in Puerto Lempira. This lack of coordination and oversight at the district level indicates a broader geographical disorganization in the Secretaría de Educación and also demonstrates the limited competency of the six municipios in Gracias a Dios to manage schools. In a broken chain of command, they too lack the resources or political will to manage effectively the schools and corresponding districts that fall within their jurisdiction.

I argue that this disconnection is exacerbated by the lack of a simple spatial coverage that displays public schools in Gracias a Dios and their respective districts. When I inquired about

schools and their corresponding districts at the Dirección Departamental de Educación Pública in Puerto Lempira, I was referred to the office that manages the tabular data and statistics for schools in Gracias a Dios. The employees there kindly promised to send me information on schools and their districts, but first they acknowledged that the information wasn't ready and would have to be assembled. This same disconnection has plagued the management of spatial data in other government agencies in Honduras too; the National Geography Institute (IGN), the Honduran Land Management Program (PATH II), and the Honduran Property Institute (IP) have all reportedly managed three distinct GIS vector coverages for municipal boundaries in Gracias a Dios (see Central America Indígena Project 2014).

After my research in Puerto Lempira, I turned to the SEP's website and eventually located a spreadsheet of schools in Gracias a Dios. The list provided the names of the schools in the department alongside their respective communities and villages. As I began to organize and clean the list, mostly to standardize the spelling of Miskitu names and villages, I noticed that the list could be structured to fit a spatial GIS database, although it did not contain geographic coordinates for any of the schools. Each school was assigned a numerical code to identify the school and its corresponding department and municipio in Honduras. Puerto Lempira's Centro de Educación Básica, called Ramón Rosa, was coded as 90100002, where 9 indicates Gracias a Dios, the ninth department (listed in alphabetical order); 01 designates Puerto Lempira, the first municipio registered in the department; and 00002 specifies Escuela Ramón Rosa, the second school in Puerto Lempira to be entered into the database. I continued to order and clean the list with respect to the GIS coding system. I added a column to include school formation dates, which I populated with records obtained from the SEP's annual reports that I researched in the Honduran National Archives in Tegucigalpa and from information available on the SEP's

website. In sum, I compiled a comprehensive digital spreadsheet of public schools and their villages in Gracias a Dios, formation dates for most of the schools, and with all entries ordered in a GIS coding system (see appendix for complete list of schools).

In October 2012, I received a document via email from colleagues I had met at the Dirección Departamental de Educación in Puerto Lempira listing the fourteen school districts in Gracias a Dios and the Miskitu communities that fall within the jurisdiction of each. I began to incorporate the district numbers into my digital GIS database to reflect schools in Gracias a Dios and their respective districts (Figure 5.2). My objectives were to generate a coarse-scale map of schools in Gracias a Dios and to represent spatially the fourteen school districts in the department.

Approximate Enrollment and Teacher Employment Totals for Gracias a Dios, 2014				
District #	**District Location**	**# Schools**	**# Students**	**# Teachers**
1	Puerto Lempira	39	6931	261
2	Brus Laguna	18	2785	126
3	Villeda Morales	25	2833	85
4	Ahuas	41	3405	154
5	Juan F. Bulnes	21	1282	76
6	Wampusirpi	25	1592	78
7	Puerto Lempira	33	2479	108
8	Puerto Lempira	45	2408	76
9	Puerto Lempira	26	1627	59
10	Puerto Lempira	27	1825	47
11	Brus Laguna	21	1570	71
12	Puerto Lempira	21	1666	65
13	Wampusirpi	8	712	20
14	Juan F. Bulnes	8	835	22
Total		358	31,950	1248

Figure 5.2: Schools, students, and teachers in the 14 districts of Gracias a Dios (adapted from SEP 2014)

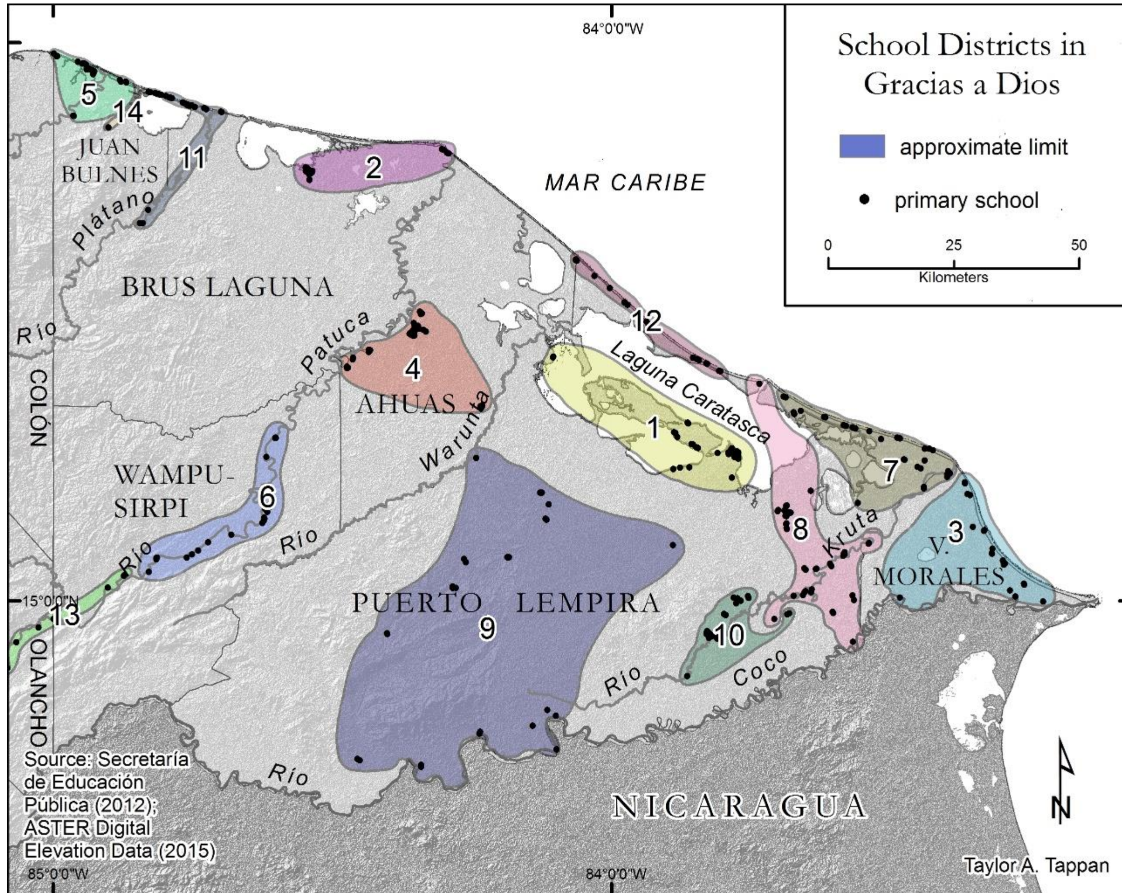

Figure 5.3: Spatial representation of primary schools and school districts in Gracias a Dios

To map the public schools in Gracias a Dios I joined my coded GIS database to a vector point file using ArcGIS software. I used an existing spatial coverage of Miskitu settlements based on Herlihy and Leake's (1993) subsistence zone map to approximate school locations with respect to their communities. My school data are thus limited to the precision of the Herlihy and Leake (1993) Miskitu settlement vector shapefile and do not attempt to reflect a given school's location at a scale finer than 1:300,000. Nevertheless, my results include a coarse-scale map of the more than 150 public schools in Gracias a Dios and a spatial approximation of the fourteen school districts that encompass them (Figure 5.3).

The fourteen district limits in Figure 5.3 are speculative and represent approximations based on drawing lines to encompass the outermost schools in a given district. Nevertheless, the

rendering seems logical based on the geography of Gracias a Dios and Miskitu village settlement patterns. Near Laguna Caratasca and its surrounding system of inland lagoons, swamps, and canals, districts appear to be based on natural groupings of schools and their villages. District 7, for example, encompasses the large community of Kaukira and its numerous neighborhoods and nearby villages that extend east to Río Kruta. District 3 corresponds to all schools within Villeda Morales, the smallest municipio by area in the department. District 9 is much larger, extending west from the vast pine savanna near Puerto Lempira to Mocorón, where the savanna gives way to tropical rainforest. The dispersed communities in District 9 are interconnected by a gravel *carretera* (road) whose main path runs from Puerto Lempira to Mocorón, and then south to the border village of Leimus along the Río Coco. Districts 4, 6, 10, and 11 are more linear in nature and reflect Miskitu settlement patterns along the banks of the Río Plátano, Río Patuca, and Río Kruta, from west to east. All districts are confined to a single municipio with the exception of District 13, which crosses the 85th meridian into the Department of Olancho. The schools in District 13 belong to villages of mixed Miskitu and Tawahka residents. Geographically and culturally, these villages are more characteristic of indigenous settlements in Gracias a Dios than the predominantly Ladino settlements of Olancho. Consequently, teachers are sent from the Dirección Departamental in Puerto Lempira to offer classes in these schools.

My depiction of the fourteen districts in Gracias a Dios is not an official rendering of their spatial limits. The boundaries are not based on any existing map and were drawn simply to enclose those schools common to a particular district, but the portrayal demonstrates the decentralized spatial organization of education in Gracias a Dios. That fourteen school districts were created for only six municipios suggests a fragmentation of authority and a limited competency of municipal governments in the management of public schools within their

boundaries. I posit that this is a logical consequence of miniscule budgets for school districts and municipal governments, as well as a result of the geographic isolation of many Miskitu communities in Gracias a Dios. Municipal governments in Muskitia simply don't have the funding for a centralized oversight of schools within their jurisdiction. Thus, decentralization of administrative authority becomes a logical and economically favorable approach to manage the clusters of more than 150 primary schools in the department.

Without these localized forms of spatial management and authority imbued by school districts, schools in the most remote reaches of Muskitia would be even further removed from core curricula and educative initiatives of the central Secretaría de Educación Pública. I concede that geographically isolated communities are already at a disadvantage in receiving quality education—they often lack materials, space, and properly-trained teachers—but I argue that their condition is further exacerbated by the lack of spatial data in the Honduran Secretaría de Educación Pública and its Dirección Departamental de Educación in Puerto Lempira. How can educative services be delivered to remote Miskitu schools if regional authorities don't know where they are? The *concejo territorial*, a new decentralized indigenous territorial jurisdiction that is unfolding in the Honduran Muskitia at the time of this thesis research, may serve to support localized spatial management of schools. I turn to discuss the concejo territorial as a form of indigenous territorial autonomy that has the potential to strengthen education in Miskitu schools while bridging a functional gap between Miskitu communities and the Honduran Secretaría de Educación Pública.

V. Decentralization and Concejos Territoriales

Decentralization policies in Honduras during the past twenty-five years have extended beyond the education sector. While bilingual education was gaining traction in the early 1990s, the Miskitu were beginning to redefine their collective territorial identity. They established local land ‘committees’ under MASTA, the umbrella political federation for the Miskitu (*Protocolo Bio-cultural del Pueblo Indígena Miskitu* 2012). Each of these committees encompassed numerous communities and sought to consolidate political power at a local level and to promote Miskitu rights to land and resources (*Protocolo Bio-cultural del Pueblo Indígena Miskitu* 2012: 15). These land committees were the groundwork for new *concejos territoriales*—multi-village scale indigenous territorial jurisdictions--that began receiving land titles from the Honduran *Instituto Nacional Agrario* (INA) in 2012 (Galeana and Pantoja 2013).

For decades INA and the *Instituto de Conservación Forestal* (ICF) have held title over the approximately 17,000km^2 of land in the Honduran Muskitia (Herlihy 1997a, 2001; del Gatto 2015). Indigenous groups in Honduras including the Tolupán, Lenca, and Garífuna had received land titles from INA previously, but only at the scale of the community and its immediate surroundings (Herranz 1996; Herlihy 1997b; Barahona 2009; del Gatto 2015). Agrarian reform laws of the 1970s-1990s bypassed Miskitu communities in their efforts to acquire legal recognition over their ancestral homelands and functional subsistence use areas, but broader indigenous rights movements in Latin America, international conventions like ILO 169, and the determination of Miskitu leaders provided an impetus for the devolution of national lands in Honduras to the Miskitu (del Gatto 2015). Participatory Research Mapping (PRM) experiences in the 1990s further contributed by empowering MASTA and MOPAWI (a Miskitu development

NGO) to use resulting maps to petition for land titles from INA, but no legal precedence or framework existed to permit the transfer of titles to local land 'committees' (Herlihy and Knapp 2003; Galeana and Pantoja 2013). Then in 2004, World Bank funding in Honduras supported the *Programa de Administración de Tierras de Honduras* (PATH), a comprehensive land management program designed to strengthen property rights in Honduras (Galeana and Pantoja 2013).

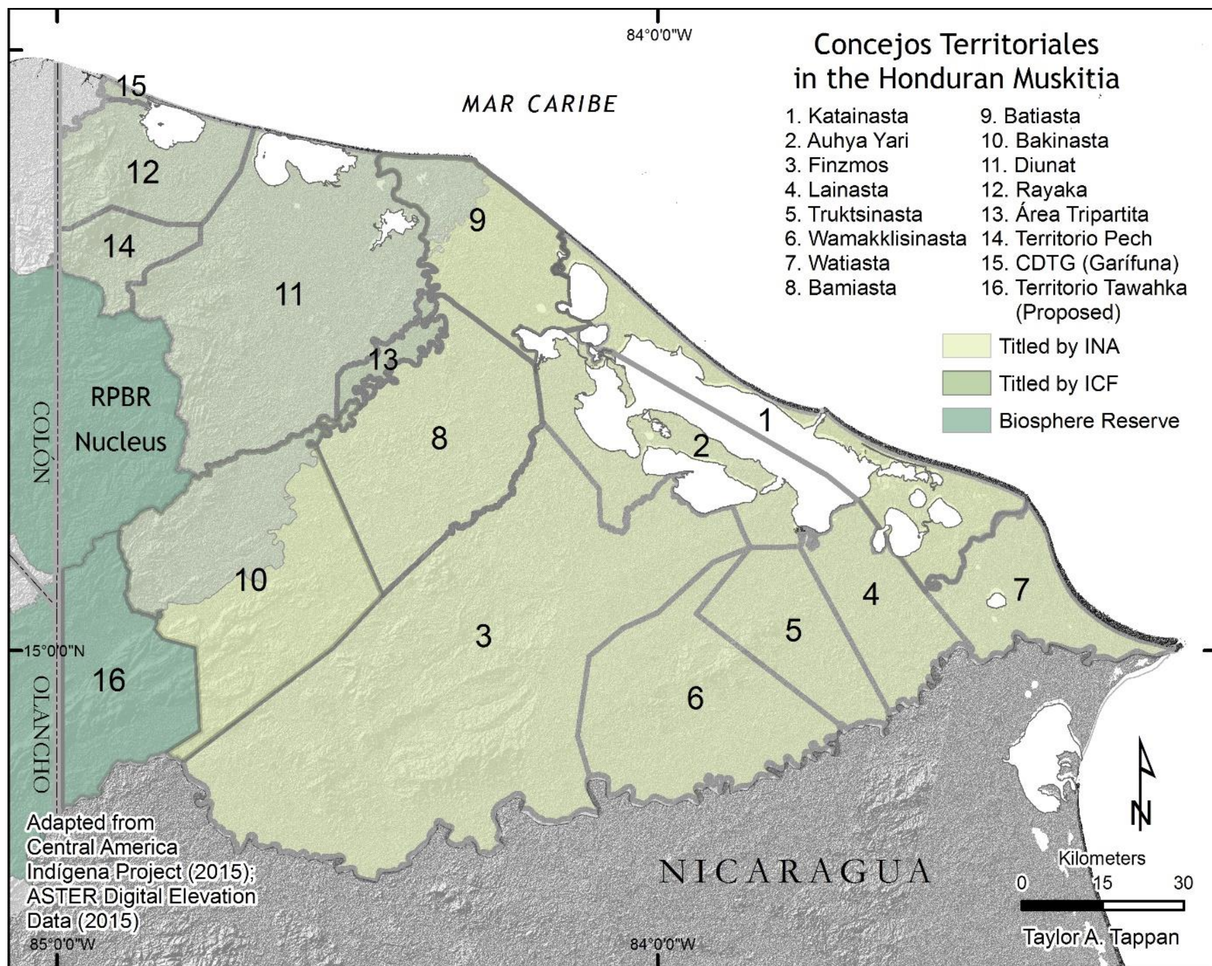

Figure 5.4: New concejos territoriales covering nearly all of Gracias a Dios

Since its inception, PATH has worked through the Honduran Institute of Property to address policy reforms in land management, including the demarcation and titling of the local land 'committees,' or concejos territoriales, in Muskitia. In order to receive a title, a concejo

territorial must apply for and receive its *personería jurídica* (legal status). In August 2012, KATAINASTA (established in 1993 and encompassing nearly 50 communities along the shores of Caratasca Lagoon today) was the first concejo territorial to receive its title (*Protocolo Bio-cultural del Pueblo Indígena Miskitu* 2012; Galeana and Pantoja 2013). Seven more concejos territoriales have received title since 2012, and eight more are currently negotiating for title in the Honduran Muskitia (Figure 5.4).

These new concejos territoriales represent large areas of functional land and resource use zones shared by multiple communities. Their boundaries are permeable, reflecting traditional Miskitu overlapping land use and subsistence patterns (Galeana and Pantoja 2013). This permeability allows Miskitu residents of one community to cross concejo territorial boundaries in order to maintain basic subsistence livelihoods like fishing or hunting. The titling of the concejos territoriales now offers unprecedented expanses of land, resources, and local political autonomy to the Miskitu communities that lie within their boundaries.

While the decentralization of the Honduran government and the devolution of territory to the concejos territoriales signify a major victory for Miskitu communities in their struggle to acquire legal access to their ancestral homelands, concerns related to the long-term governance structures of each concejo territorial still exist. Once titled, the concejo territorial must develop its *ordenamiento territorial*, or governance structure for the management of its land and resources. Concejos territoriales are governed jointly by the communities that fall within their jurisdiction, but their boundaries complicate the geo-political landscape of Gracias a Dios because they do not coincide with the existing municipal limits.

Further obscuring land tenure circumstances in Gracias a Dios are the municipal capitals that already possess their own community land titles of their *casco urbano* (the primary urban

core of a municipio that is generally more densely inhabited and developed than surrounding areas). These casco urbano titles predate the existence of the concejos territoriales, and disputes are surfacing about how to negotiate the continual urban growth of these communities beyond their limits into the functional areas of the concejos territoriales (Galeana and Pantoja 2013: 11). How will concejo territorial authorities and municipal authorities work together or compete for political power? Will governance responsibilities change for municipal governments with the establishment of concejos territoriales? Should municipalities in Gracias a Dios be dissolved altogether and replaced by concejos territoriales as local governance authorities? These concerns have not yet been resolved, but they may be key to the long-term success or failure of the concejos territoriales.

Just as the school originated in Muskitia as a contested space through which the state pitted itself against the Miskitu to promote Spanish, Honduran nationalism, and cultural homogeneity, I posit that now it has the potential to strengthen Miskitu cultural identity and territoriality as increasing levels of autonomy are granted to the Miskitu through the decentralization of education and territory. This thesis brings into question but cannot yet provide answers for what changes to education in Muskitia are brought about by the advent of concejos territoriales. Their limits superimpose yet another set of boundaries onto an already complex geopolitical and administrative landscape in which both the central Secretaría de Educación de Honduras and municipal authorities have struggled to manage Miskitu schools spatially. The fourteen school districts in Gracias a Dios seem only to exist on paper or in theory, while municipal governments lack the funding and political will to oversee the schools within their jurisdictions. Perhaps the concejo territorial will provide greater local autonomy and a stronger governance structure for Miskitu communities to manage their schools and improve the

quality of education in a geographically-isolated region where students continue to suffer from a dearth of educational opportunities.

My research leads me to conclude that both municipio and school district boundaries in Gracias a Dios should be redrawn to coincide with the limits of the emerging concejos territoriales. This would simplify the geopolitical and administrative landscape and would increase local autonomy in Miskitu communities. Concejo governments would serve as intermediaries to bridge the functional gap among schools and the central Secretaría de Educación de Honduras. The spatial organization of schools would be a function of the clustering of communities into their respective concejos territoriales rather than in poorly-defined school districts forgotten by weak municipal governments. Local concejo authorities and citizens alike should work together to implement school curricula that will educate and empower Miskitu students to be able to make effective decisions regarding the management of their territory and resources and to be able to organize in order to facilitate change.

Ultimately time will indicate the competency of the concejos territoriales in governance and the correlation of each to its schools. Will they replace or work alongside the municipio as the multi-village scale political unit? Will boundaries of new school districts be redrawn to coincide with the spatial jurisdiction of each concejo territorial? Will the Secretaría de Educación de Honduras transfer authority to Miskitu communities in the designing of school curricula and the administration of public schools in Muskitia? These uncertainties relate to the long-term governance and ultimate success of these new indigenous territorial jurisdictions. Local governments of concejo territoriales will have to confront these issues if they are to improve the conditions and accessibility of education in Miskitu communities while concurrently fostering Miskitu cultural identity and territoriality.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored the historical role of the school as a mechanism to express territorial identity in the Honduran Muskitia. Much emphasis has been placed on how the Honduran government has sought to employ the school and Spanish-based education to promote nationalism and to consolidate territorial control over Muskitia. Miskitu cultural identity and language has survived the state's integrationist policies in large part due to the geographic isolation of the region that hindered state agendas to acculturate Miskitu communities through formal education. Indigenous rights movements for land and bilingual education accelerated in the 1980s, causing a slow reversal of state policies that sought to assimilate and acculturate indigenous groups into a homogenous mestizo society. The newly-forming concejos territoriales now have the potential to provide the opportunity for Miskitu communities to construe their own territorial identities through schools.

I employed a cultural historical approach of the Sauerian tradition (see Herlihy, Mathewson, and Revels 2008; Mathewson 2011) in this thesis research to examine the geography of education in the Honduran Muskitia. Specifically, I addressed two major themes in this thesis: 1) where did schools originate in Muskitia and how did they diffuse throughout the region? and 2) what role have schools played in negotiating territorial identity in Muskitia? In turn, this place-based methodology helped me to gain insight into a host of related cultural and territorial issues. My original research on the origin and diffusion of schools in Muskitia provided an avenue to understand the cultural and geographic landscapes of the region and the various phases of territorial organization in Muskitia.

My thesis research has led me to conclude that above all else, the geographic isolation of Muskitia has been a determining factor in the origin and diffusion of schools. State hegemonic policies related to the indigenismo political ideologies in Mexico originally tried to exploit schools to consolidate territorial control over the isolated Muskitia through Spanish language education while suppressing Miskitu language and culture. Somewhat ironically, however, the geographic isolation of the region benefitted Miskitu culture in that state assimilation and acculturation initiatives struggled to reach La Muskitia. Consequently Miskitu language never suffered the dramatic decline encountered by the Lenca, Chortí-Maya, and other indigenous groups in Honduras.

The Miskitu communities of Kaukira, Ahuas, and Brus Lagoon represent the origin of education in Muskitia. They were among the first communities to receive schools in the Misiones Escolares program in 1915 that established schools in eight communities (El Sumal, Dulce Nombre de Culmí, El Carbón, Ahuas, Barra Patuca, Kaukira, Brus Lagoon, and Yapuwas). Each community was strategically chosen so as to reach the isolated Miskitu, Pech, and Tawahka populations. A second Misiones Escolares attempt assigned a floating work schedule among Miskitu villages to Professor Gilberto Valle Castrejón, but the geographic inaccessibility of Muskitia effectively curbed both efforts to develop baseline education for the Miskitu.

Beginning in the 1930s, Moravian missionaries successfully expanded education in isolated Miskitu communities in the wake of failed state attempts to establish schools. They achieved their goals by proselytizing, educating, and offering medical treatment to the Miskitu. I argue that through its geographic isolation, Miskitu territoriality ensued as an unintended consequence of Moravian schools. The Moravians offered spaces where Miskitu students could

gain the upper hand through education in their struggle against the state's cultural homogenization initiatives. Moravian missionaries lived among the Miskitu in rural communities, entrusted Miskitu men to work as pastors, and emphasized the importance of education while employing the Miskitu language in schools and in written texts. These efforts helped to establish baseline education in Muskitia where state attempts had failed to do so. Over the course of the 20th century, Moravian churches became integral components of the Miskitu settlement landscape and remain visible in Miskitu communities today.

When I began my thesis research in 2012, I expected to find that schools had functioned historically to promote Miskitu culture and territoriality. My research, however, has led me to conclude that schools have functioned for much longer as mechanisms of the state to implement cultural assimilation agendas through Spanish-based education and to serve as territorial buoys that mark the state's presence in Muskitia. This is strongly evidenced in the 1950s when the Honduran government initiated a sweeping campaign to build schools in Muskitia through the Misiones Culturales program. Government policies continued to parallel the post-revolutionary ideologies of indigenismo in Mexico, where constructing a mestizo identity was construed as a necessary means for modernizing a new nation-state (Taylor 2005). However, state attempts to integrate the Miskitu into a national identity remained largely ineffective due to the geographic isolation of the region.

My research leads me to conclude that poor spatial management of schools in Miskitu communities today is evidenced by the disorganization of the fourteen school districts. The geographic disconnection between municipal authorities and school administrators is a causal factor in slowing accessibility and hindering the quality of education in Muskitia. I have discussed how education in Muskitia has always carried its own agenda, which has often been

intertwined with issues of territoriality. The latest change in Miskitu territoriality is the establishment of concejos territoriales—new multi-village scale indigenous territorial jurisdictions in Muskitia. These recently-titled lands add to the territorial complexity of the region, and time will tell whether they will find a common nexus with existing municipal and school district boundaries.

At the same time, I argue that the advent of the concejos territoriales now represents an opportunity of self-determinism for Miskitu communities in developing education in their schools. School curricula in Muskitia today contrast previous government policies that sought to exploit education as a mechanism to suppress Miskitu language, culture, and territoriality. Schools should represent spaces to reinvigorate the collective memory of Miskitu communities and to link their present circumstances with those of their ancestors living on the same land in pre-colonial times (Barahona 2009). Primary schools exist in nearly every Miskitu community, and the majority of teachers in these schools are Miskitu (Lara Pinto 1997). Schools are an integral component of Miskitu settlement landscape, and perhaps above all else they allow for the preservation of the Miskitu language, the most defining factor in Miskitu cultural identity. The Miskitu have historically proven resilient against threats to their cultural and territorial identities, particularly in that Miskitu culture today seems to have selectively assimilated traits and elements of language from other cultures without losing its own.

Just as Miskitu identity is articulated through language, so too is it expressed through a sense of place in Muskitia. These new concejos territoriales are continuing to unfold at the time of this thesis and represent an opportunity for the Miskitu to produce their own official history and collective memory. I posit that schools will need to play a substantial role in the long-term success of these new indigenous territorial jurisdictions. Just as each multi-village concejo

territorial will need a governance structure and a resource management plan, so too should Miskitu leaders integrate schools into the framework as functional places to teach Miskitu language, norms, culture, and geography. Since school districts in Muskitia do not appear to be defined spatially, I conclude that the concejo territorial should be the new administrative body overseeing the management of public schools within its boundaries. The remoteness of La Muskitia and the geographic disconnection among the central Honduran Secretaría de Educación, the municipios, and the school districts will provide an opening for the Miskitu and the concejos territoriales to gain domain over schools as places where the expression of Miskitu cultural and territorial identity becomes manifest.

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APPENDIX 1: SURVEY OF EDUCATION BACKGROUND FOR MISKITU COMMUNITY RESIDENTS

1. Nombre Fecha____________
2. Edad
3. Empleo
4. Lugar de nacimiento
5. Lugar de residencia actual
6. Lugar de nacimiento de sus padres
7. Estado civil
8. ¿Cuántos hijos tiene usted?
9. ¿Hay escuelas en su comunidad? Sí___ No___ En el caso que sí,
    a. ¿Cómo se llaman las escuelas?
    b. ¿Hasta qué nivel académico llegan las escuelas en su comunidad?
    c. ¿Cuándo se fundaron las escuelas en su comunidad?
    d. ¿Quién estableció las escuelas en su comunidad?
10. ¿Ha asistado usted alguna escuela? Sí___ No___ En el caso que sí,
    a. ¿Hasta qué nivel académico llegó usted?
    b. En el caso que no, ¿por qué no asistía la escuela?
11. ¿Cuáles idiomas se usaban en su escuela?
12. ¿Qué más le agradaba de la escuela?
13. ¿Qué más le desgustaba de la escuela?
14. ¿Cuál es la función más importante de las escuelas en comunidades miskitas?

15. ¿Cómo contribuyen las escuelas a la cultura miskita?

APPENDIX 2: SCHOOLS IN GRACIAS A DIOS (ordered by GIS attribute codes)

Code	Name	Year	Type	Community	District	Municipio
90100001	LIDIA WILLIAMS DE ARIAS		CEB	TIQUIRRAYA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100002	RAMON ROSA	1963	CEB	PUERTO LEMPIRA BARRIO EL CENTRO	1	Puerto Lempira
90100003	RAFAEL MANZANARES		Comun	FRENTE AL RIO, USUAN, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100004	MODESTO RODAS ALVARADO	1981	Comun	KOKOTA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100005	URBANA CHINO TATALLON	1980	CEB	BARRIO SAN JOSE	1	Puerto Lempira
90100006	LUCIO ALEMAN	1976	Comun	DAKORATARA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100007	RAMON VILLEDA MORALES	1980	Comun	CAYO SIRPE	10	Puerto Lempira
90100008	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1972	Comun	TUBURUS	8	Puerto Lempira
90100009	RONNIE H MARTINEZ	1980	Bilingüe	PARADA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100010	REPUBLICA DE HONDURAS	1980	Comun	TAPAMLAYA	9	Puerto Lempira
90100011	POMPILIO ORTEGA	1960	Comun	KANKU	7	Puerto Lempira
90100013	JONH F KENNEDY		Comun	WALPATA	4	Puerto Lempira
90100014	REPUBLICA DE GUATEMALA		Comun	LEYMUS	9	Puerto Lempira
90100015	MODESTO RODAS ALVARADO		Comun	TIPILALMA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100016	JOSE MARIA FIALLOS	1984	Comun	UHJUNULLA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100018	LUIS ALONZO CARRANZA	1970	Comun	WALPA KIAIKIRA	9	Puerto Lempira
90100019	RAMON CALIX URTECHO	1977	CEB	KURY, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100020	16 DE FEBRERO		Comun	AURATA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100021	GABRIELA MISTRAL	2008	Comun	YAMANTA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100022	ESTADOS UNIDOS DE N. A.		Comun	MISTRUCK	1	Puerto Lempira
90100023	INGLATERRA	2007	CEB	TAILIBILA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100024	REPUBLICA DE ARGENTINA	2007	CEB	DAPAT	7	Puerto Lempira
90100025	DIONISIO DE HERRERA	1954	CEB	PRUMNITARA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100026	FRANCISCO MORAZAN	1949	CEB	KAUKIRA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100027	REPUBLICA DE PARAGUAY	1992	CEB	MOCORON	9	Puerto Lempira
90100028	4 DE ABRIL		CEB	SIRSITARA	9	Puerto Lempira
90100029	JOSE TRINIDADAD CABAÑAS		CEB	UJI	12	Puerto Lempira
90100030	CRISTOBAL COLON		Comun	KRATA	12	Puerto Lempira
90100031	ALFONSO XIII		CEB	SUHI	9	Puerto Lempira

9010003 2	REPUBLICA DE HONDURAS		Comun	SIAKUALAYA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
9010003 3	JOSE TRINIDAD CABAÑAS	1955	Comun	TIPI LALMA	10	Puerto Lempira
9010003 4	21 DE OCTUBRE	2001	CEB	AUKA	10	Puerto Lempira
9010003 5	JUAN LINDO	1974	CEB	BARRIO EL CENTRO	1	Puerto Lempira
9010003 6	LA FRATERNIDAD	1963	Comun	TANSIN	1	Puerto Lempira
9010003 7	FROYLAN TURCIOS	1965	Comun	TUNTUNTARA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
9010003 8	REPUBLICA DE BRAZIL	1968	Comun	AHUASBILA		Puerto Lempira
9010003 9	FRANCISCA REYES	1970	Bilingüe	RATLAYA	12	Puerto Lempira
9010004 0	EL ADELANTO	1964	Bilingüe	WAUPLAYA	9	Puerto Lempira
9010004 1	JOSE TRINIDAD REYES	1979	Comun	RUS RUS	9	Puerto Lempira
9010004 2	JESUS VILLANUEVA BURGOS	1995	Comun	RONDIN	9	Puerto Lempira
9010004 3	INSTITUTO DEPARTAMENTAL GRACIAS A DIOS	1971	Comun	CONTIGUO A LA COLONIA CANADA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	1	Puerto Lempira
9010004 4	MIGUEL ENRIQUE KELLEY	1985	Comun	PUSWAYA	12	Puerto Lempira
9010004 5	FAUSTO MIGUEL ALVAREZ		Comun	AHUASLUPIA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
9010004 6	WALTER WILLIAM HAYLOCK	1989	Comun	COCAL	7	Puerto Lempira
9010004 7	14 DE JULIO		CEB	LAKA,TABILA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
9010004 8	OSCAR MEJIA URQUIA		Comun	UMBRUS, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
9010004 9	RIGOBERTO COELLO ZALAZAR	2007	Comun	UJI LANDIN	12	Puerto Lempira
9010005 0	AUGUSTO C COELLO	1986	Comun	SUABILA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
9010005 1	JOSE TRINIDADA CABAĐAS		Comun	LIWA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
9010005 2	HECTOR CARRACCIOLI		Comun	TURRALAYA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
9010005 3	FLORINDA FLORES BLAS	1991	Comun	PRANZA	9	Puerto Lempira
9010005 4	INGNI YAMNI		Comun	BATILKIRA		Puerto Lempira
9010005 5	CECILIO TATALLON	1999	Comun	TAILYARE, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
9010005 6	KASBRIKA PISKA	1995	Comun	TIKUABILA	7	Puerto Lempira
9010005 7	PROF. GALILLAS BORDAS ASTIN	1999	Comun	SUDIN BUENA VISTA	9	Puerto Lempira
9010005 8	SLILMA LILA	1985	Comun	USUPUM	1	Puerto Lempira
9010005 9	KABU TANGNI	2008	PROHECO	IBAT	12	Puerto Lempira
9010006 0	RAFAEL PINEDA PONCE		Comun	UHUNBILA	12	Puerto Lempira
9010006 1	LAKUN TAKIKA		Comun	AHUASPAHNI		Puerto Lempira
9010006 2	AUGUSTO C. COELLO	1996	Comun	SIRSIRTARA	9	Puerto Lempira
9010006 3	FIAT LUX	1979	CEB	YAHURABILA	12	Puerto Lempira
9010006 4	MARCELINO PINEDA LOPEZ	1973	Comun	FRENTE A CEB RAMON ROSA	1	Puerto Lempira

90100065	FROYLAN TURCIOS	1988	Comun	ALD.TIPI LALMA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100066	RAMON CALIX URTECHO		Comun	AUKA		Puerto Lempira
90100067	MARIA DEL SOCORRO AMADOR		Comun	LAKA,TABILA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100068	LEOVIGILDO PINEDA CARDONA		Bilingüe	KRATA	12	Puerto Lempira
90100069	FRANCISCO ZELAYA	1975	Comun	CAUQUIRA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100070	RONNY H. MARTINEZ	1983	Comun	PUERTO LEMPIRA	9	Puerto Lempira
90100071	LIDIA DE CALIX	1988	Comun	TIQUIRRAYA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100072	AIDA ZACAPA DE SUAZO CORDOVA		Comun	SUHI	9	Puerto Lempira
90100073	JUAN LINDO	1983	Comun	TAILIBILA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100074	RAMON CALIX URTECHO		Comun	AUKA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100075	LIDIA DE CALIX	1987	Comun	PALKAKA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100076	FAUSTO MIGUEL ALVARADO	1990	Comun	PRUNINTARA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100077	REYNALDO GOMEZ GARCIA	1995	Comun	MISTRUCK ALDEA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100078	RODOLFO CACERES	1996	Comun	TUBURUS, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100079	LAKIAYA	1997	Comun	TUNTUNTARA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100080	JARDIN DE NIĐOS TAGNI	1999	Comun	YAMANTA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100081	PARAISO INFANTIL	1983	Comun	DAPAT MUNICIPIOP PURTO LEMPIRA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100082	MODESTO MORALES		Comun	AURATA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100083	INHNI RAYA		Comun	WALPA KIAIKIRA	9	Puerto Lempira
90100084	TUKTAN LILIKA	1997	Comun	BO. SAN JOSE	1	Puerto Lempira
90100085	VICTORIANO GUIDO FEDERICO		Comun	WAUPLAYA	9	Puerto Lempira
90100086	ROMULO CARIAS CERRATO	1998	Comun	RUS-RUS		Puerto Lempira
90100087	NUEVA ESPERANZA		Comun	AHUASBILA		Puerto Lempira
90100088	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1980	Comun	TIPIMONA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100089	TWI DAMNI	1994	Comun	PUSWAYA	12	Puerto Lempira
90100090	LAPTA	1999	Comun	TIKUABILA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100091	JOSE CECILIO DEL VALLE		Comun	LA CUNKA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100092	MIGUEL RAFAEL MADRID	2007	Comun	CORINTO	9	Puerto Lempira
90100093	OSWALDO LOPEZ ARELLANO	1934	Comun	LIWAKURIA, PUERTO LEMPIRA GRACIAS A DIOS	10	Puerto Lempira
90100094	MELQUESEDEC GALINDO	1990	Comun	KUSUA SUAMP	7	Puerto Lempira
90100095	NORMA GABORIT DE CALLEJAS		Comun	KIASKIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100096	FROILAN TURCIOS	1990	Comun	COMUNIDAD, UJI	12	Puerto Lempira
90100097	RAMON CALIX URTECHO	1985	PROHECO	ALDEA TANSING	1	Puerto Lempira
90100098	HERNANDEZ LALIS	1995	Comun	KANKU, PUERTO LEMPIRA, GRACIAS A DIOS	7	Puerto Lempira

90100099	TASBA PRANA	1990	Comun	TWINMAWALA, PUERTO LEMPIRA, GRACIAS A DIOS	7	Puerto Lempira
90100100	JARDIN DE NIÑOS SMELLING WOOD RONAS	1999	Comun	PRANZA	9	Puerto Lempira
90100101	INSTITUTO RAYA INGWAYA	1999	Comun	Barrio El Centro, Frente al Centro Penal	1	Puerto Lempira
90100102	ERNESTO MARADIAGA CASCO	1977	Comun	TWIMAWALA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100103	SILVIA LAVINIA BARELA		Comun	SAULALA		Puerto Lempira
90100104	MAHANAIM	2002	Comun	BO EL CENTRO CONTIGUO IGLESIA ASAMBLEA DE DIOS	1	Puerto Lempira
90100105	LAGUN TAGNIKA		Comun	AWASPRAHMI	1	Puerto Lempira
90100106	WALPA TANGNI	2001	Comun	WALPATA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100107	JUAN SAMSA	2007	Comun	PUERTO LEMPIRA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100108	LUKY YABAYAK	2004	Comun	LAS BRISAS	1	Puerto Lempira
90100109	GRACIAS A DIOS	1986	Comun	KATSKY RAYA MUN PUERTO LEMPIRA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100110	VICTOR HUGO ECHEVERRIA HAYLOCK	2002	Comun	COLONIA CANADA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100111	MARIA MONTESORI	1983	Comun	DAKORATARA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100112	TWIKIA PAINKIRA	2003	Comun	ZONA COSTERA CARATASCA (UHUNBILA)	12	Puerto Lempira
90100113	YU YAMNI		Comun	LANDIN		Puerto Lempira
90100114	NORMA ISABEL LOVE	2007	Comun	COCOTA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100115	JARDIN LAPTA		Comun	TIKUABILA		Puerto Lempira
90100116	ESCUELA REPUBLICA DE CUBA	2005	Comun	BARRIO CANADA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100117	EL PORVENIR	2005	Comun	EL PORVENIR, PUERTO LEMPIRA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100118	GUADALUPE QUEZADA	1982	Comun	COCO, PUERTO LEMPIRA	9	Puerto Lempira
90100119	LAPTA INGNIKA	2005	Comun	ALABAR		Puerto Lempira
90100120	LUIS GALINDO ZUNIGA	2004	PROHECO	CILAL, PUERTO LEMPIRA	7	Puerto Lempira
90100121	HAYLOCK ALMENDAREZ	2005	PROHECO	BARRA CARATASCA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100122	FLORINDA VIUDA DE ALEMAN	2005	Comun	EL PORVENIR	1	Puerto Lempira
90100123	DAMPAHNI JOSE	2004	PROHECO	LUR, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100124	TECNOLOGICO PERLA DE LA MOSKITIA	2006	Técnico	BO EL CENTRO, PUERTO LEMPIRA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100125	ESCUELA RURAL MIXTA 14 DE AGOSTO	1993	Comun	LIWAKURIA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100127	CASA ESPERANZA	2005	Comun	BARRIO BELLA VISTA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100128	ESCUELA CRISTIANA CEAD MAHANAIM	2003		BARRIO EL CENTRO, PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100129	LUKY YABAYAK			BARRIO LAS BRISAS, PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100131	ESCUELA JOSE TRINIDAD CABANAS			BARRIO EL CENTRO, UHI		Puerto Lempira
90100134	CCEPREB COCOTA	2007	CCEPREB	KOKOTA, ISLA DE TANSIN		Puerto Lempira
90100136	CCEPREB AURATA	2007	CCEPREB	AURATA		Puerto Lempira

90100138	CCEPREB BARRIO CANADA 2	2007	CCEPREB	BARRIO CANADA, PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100139	CCEPREB UJI-1	2007	CCEPREB	UJI, PUERTO LEMPIRA	12	Puerto Lempira
90100140	CCEPREB AURATA 2	2007	CCEPREB	AURATA		Puerto Lempira
90100142	CCEPREB TANSIN 1	2007	CCEPREB	ISLA DE TANSIN		Puerto Lempira
90100143	CCEPREB TANSIN 2	2007	CCEPREB	ISLA DE TANSIN		Puerto Lempira
90100146	CCEPREB KRATA	2007	CCEPREB	KRATA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	12	Puerto Lempira
90100148	CCEPREB BARRIO SAN JOSE	2007	CCEPREB	BARRIO SAN JOSE, PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100149	CCEPREB PALKAKA		CCEPREB	PALKAKA, ISLA DE TANSING, PUERTO LEMPIRA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100150	CCEPREB PARADA	2007	CCEPREB	PARADA		Puerto Lempira
90100151	JARDIN DE NIÑOS FROYLAN TURCIOS	1990	Comun	UJI, PUERTO LEMPIRA	12	Puerto Lempira
90100160	BENKI HAYLOCK	2007		TWIMAWALA		Puerto Lempira
90100163	GERAL PEREZ JULIAN			DAPAT		Puerto Lempira
90100165	PRALEBAH DIONICIO DE HERRERA			PRUMNITARA		Puerto Lempira
90100166	KASBRIKA PISKA			TIKUABILA		Puerto Lempira
90100167	PRALEBAH REPUBLICA DE ARGENTINA			DAPAT		Puerto Lempira
90100168	PRALEBAH WALTER WILLIAM HAYLOCK			COCAL		Puerto Lempira
90100169	YU RAYA			KANKU		Puerto Lempira
90100170	PRALEBAH ISOLINA GONZALEZ			TAILIBILA		Puerto Lempira
90100171	MELQUESEDEC GALINDO			SRUHI		Puerto Lempira
90100172	JUAN NEL FLORES			PRUMNITARA		Puerto Lempira
90100173	JULIAN BROOW PITHS			DAPAT		Puerto Lempira
90100174	LAPTA INWAYA			DAPAT		Puerto Lempira
90100177	MIGUEL RAFAEL MADRID		Comun	SIAKWALAYA, RIO CRUTA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100181	ESCUELA JORGE WITCHO BECAM	2005	Comun	LAKATARA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100182	KARMA RAYA	2007		SIAKWALAYA, RIO KRUTA, PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100183	YULU TAGNI	2007	CCEPREB	TAILYARI, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100184	YU YAMNI	2007		LAKATARA		Puerto Lempira
90100185	CCEPREB LEMPIRA	2007	CCEPREB	DAKRATARA, LAKA TABILA		Puerto Lempira
90100186	ESCUELA PROHECO ELENA PADILLA	2007	PROHECO	KRAHKRA		Puerto Lempira
90100188	AUHYA YARI	2007		TANSLAYA, TUBURUS		Puerto Lempira
90100189	KUTA TANNI	1992		SWABILA, TUBURUS		Puerto Lempira
90100190	NUEVO AMANECER	2007		SUBA, TUMTUMTARA		Puerto Lempira
90100191	VALLAS GONSALES PORINE	2007	CCEPREB	LIWA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100192	KAWI TANGNI	2007		USAN, TIKIURAYA		Puerto Lempira

90100193	CCEPREB FRANCISCO MORAZAN	2007	CCEPREB	KURI, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100194	CCEPREB TABILA	2007		LAKA TABILA		Puerto Lempira
90100195	PASCACIO SAICION	2007		AHUASLUPIA, PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100196	CACIQUE LEMPIRA	2007	CCEPREB	KRAHKRA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100197	CCEPREB YALAM TANGNI	2007		LUR, LAKA TABILA		Puerto Lempira
90100198	BALLAS GONZALES PURINE	2007		LIWA, TUBURUS		Puerto Lempira
90100199	CCEPREB RONDIN	2007	CCEPREB	RONDIN SISRSIRTARA	9	Puerto Lempira
90100200	ESCUELA RURAL MIXTA JOSE TRINIDAD CABANAS	1955		TIPI LALMA, LISANGNIPURA		Puerto Lempira
90100202	CCEPREB WALPAKIAIKIRA		CCEPREB	RUSRUS	9	Puerto Lempira
90100203	CCEPREB CORINTO	2007	CCEPREB	CORINTO, LEYMUS	9	Puerto Lempira
90100204	CCEPREB TAPAMLAYA	2007	CCEPREB	TAPAMLAYA, SIRSIRTARA		Puerto Lempira
90100205	CCEPREB SUDIN	2007	CCEPREB	SUDIN, SIRSIRTARA		Puerto Lempira
90100206	CCEPREB MOCORON	2007	CCEPREB	MOCORON,	9	Puerto Lempira
90100207	CCEPREB LIWAKURIA		CCEPREB	LIWAKURIA, AUKA		Puerto Lempira
90100208	MERILES WALDAN	2007	CCEPREB	BARRIO LAS BRISAS, AUKA		Puerto Lempira
90100209	SAMUEL GEORGE	2007		YABALTARA, AUKA		Puerto Lempira
90100210	MIGUEL RAMON FLORES	2007		LISANGNIPURA, LIWAKURIA		Puerto Lempira
90100211	IGNI TARA	2007	CCEPREB	CAYOSIRPE, AUKA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100212	INGNIKA RAYA	2007	CCEPREB	TIPILALMA, AUKA		Puerto Lempira
90100213	RESLY GUTIERREZ PAMAN			AUKA, CARRETERA		Puerto Lempira
90100214	7 DE MAYO	2007		SRUNLAYA, AUKA		Puerto Lempira
90100215	YULU TAGNI	2007	CCEPREB	TIPIMONA, TIPILALMA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100216	ALBERTO MICHEL HORACIO	2007	CCEPREB	SIAKWALAYA, LAKUNKA		Puerto Lempira
90100217	SERRANO GEORGE WAILAN	2007		AUKA, BARRIO USUS YAPAIKA		Puerto Lempira
90100218	ANCELMO SANTIAGO	2007		YABALTARA		Puerto Lempira
90100219	PRALEBAH PLP-1		PRALEBAH	PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100220	PROHECO KRATA		PROHECO	KRATA		Puerto Lempira
90100221	PRALEBAH PLP-2		PRALEBAH	PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100222	PUSWAYA	2007	CCEPREB	PUSWAYA		Puerto Lempira
90100223	RAMON ROSA		EXPERIMENT	PUERTO LEMPIRA, BARRIO SAN JOSE		Puerto Lempira
90100224	ROGELIO ELVIR AGUILAR	2011	Comun	WAHABISBAN	9	Puerto Lempira
90100225	ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMERICA			MISTRUK		Puerto Lempira
90100226	NUEVA JERUSALEN		EXPERIMENT	PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira

90100227	LAPTA TANGNI		EXPERIMENT	PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100228	UJUMBILA	2010	CCEPREB	UJUMBILA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	12	Puerto Lempira
90100229	YAHURABILA	2010	CCEPREB	YAHURABILA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	12	Puerto Lempira
90100230	PRALEBAH USUPUM		PRALEBAH	USUPUM		Puerto Lempira
90100231	PRALEBAH AHUASPAHNI		PRALEBAH	AHUASPAHNI		Puerto Lempira
90100232	EDUCATODOS FLOR DEL CAMPO		EXPERIMENT	RONDIN, PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100233	SLILMA	2011	CCEPREB	BOLIVAR LAS MARIAS BRUS LAGUNA	11	Puerto Lempira
90100234	EDUCATODOS TWIMAWALA		EXPERIMENT	TWIMAWALA		Puerto Lempira
90100235	EDUCATODOS AUKA		EXPERIMENT	AUKA		Puerto Lempira
90100236	EDUCATODOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMERICA		EXPERIMENT	MISTRUK		Puerto Lempira
90100237	SUENOS DORADOS		EXPERIMENT	SUDIN, SIRSIRTARA		Puerto Lempira
90100238	WALPA PIHNI		EXPERIMENT	WALPA KIAKIRA, MOROCON		Puerto Lempira
90100239	NUEVA ENSENANZA		EXPERIMENT	SIRSIRTARA		Puerto Lempira
90100258	ELENA PADILLA		PROHECO	KRAHKRA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100264	LAGUN TANGNI	2007		BAIKAN		Puerto Lempira
90100265	KUPIA KUMI	2004	PROHECO	Caserio Nueva Amanecer	12	Puerto Lempira
90100266	UJUNULLA	1900	CCEPREB	Aldea Ujunulla	1	Puerto Lempira
90100267	YUINGNIKA	2006	PROHECO	ALDEA CAMPO VERDE	12	Puerto Lempira
90100268	TIERRA SANTA	2008	PROHECO	Aldea Cojunta	7	Puerto Lempira
90100269	AWAS PAHNI	2009	CCEPREB	AHUASPAHNI		Puerto Lempira
90100270	LAS BRISAS	2009	CCEPREB	BARRIO LAS BRISAS, PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100271	YAMNIRA	2006	CCEPREB	SAN MIGUEL	11	Puerto Lempira
90100272	ARCO IRIS INFANTIL	2006	CCEPREB	Aldea Kasky	7	Puerto Lempira
90100273	ANGELES DEL CIELO	2006	CCEPREB	BRISAS DEL FARO	11	Puerto Lempira
90100274	YUPRANA	2006	CCEPREB	Aldea Kusua Suamp	7	Puerto Lempira
90100275	AMOR EN ACCION	2006	CCEPREB	KUSUA SUAMP		Puerto Lempira
90100276	MI MEJOR INFANCIA	2006	CCEPREB	COCAL		Puerto Lempira
90100277	AMILCAR GONZALEZ	2010	Comun	Aldea Puerto Lempira, Barrio Bella Vista	1	Puerto Lempira
90100278	OASIS	2011	Comun	Aldea Puerto Lempira, Barrio El Centro, Contiguo Alcaldia Municipal	1	Puerto Lempira
90100279	LAYA SAGNI	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA SIAKUALAYA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100280	PRANAKIRA	2007	CCEPREB	TIKIURAYA		Puerto Lempira
90100281	TUKRUN TANGNIKA	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA TANSLAYA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100282	RAUL KATLA SABINA	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA SUABILA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira

90100283	WAUPLAYA	2010	CCEPREB	WAUPLAYA		Puerto Lempira
90100284	KRABU TAGNI	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA SUBA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100285	SALTO	2007	CCEPREB	MOCORON, SALTO		Puerto Lempira
90100286	AHUAS TANGNI	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA AHUASLUPIA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100287	TUMTUM TANGNI	2007	CCEPREB	TUNTUNTARA, PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100288	EMILIO BALDERAMOS	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA LAKATARA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100289	DAKRA PAINKIRA	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA DAKRATARA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100290	REYNALDO WISLAUTH	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA LUR, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100291	LAKA PAINKIRA (TABILIA)	2007	CCEPREB	LAKA TABILA		Puerto Lempira
90100292	MANGO PRANA	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA TURRALAYA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100293	TUKTAN LILIA	2007	CCEPREB	TUBURUS, PUERTO LEMPIRA		Puerto Lempira
90100294	FRANCISCO MORAZON II	2007	CCEPREB	KURI		Puerto Lempira
90100295	LA BENCICION	2010	Comun	BIBLILAYA		Puerto Lempira
90100296	JOSE TRINIDAD CABAÑAS	2010	CEB	TIPILALMA		Puerto Lempira
90100297	TWI PAYASKA	2010	Comun	ALDEA KALONG		Puerto Lempira
90100298	KIUHSI PRANA	2010	Comun	LIWAKURIA		Puerto Lempira
90100299	SINS LAKA WATLA	2010	Comun	LISANGNIPURA, LIWAKURIA		Puerto Lempira
90100300	RAMON VILLEDA MORALES	2010	Comun	CAYO SIRPI		Puerto Lempira
90100301	MODESTO RODAS ALVARADO	2010	Comun	TIPIMUNA		Puerto Lempira
90100302	KAPRI TANGNI	2007	PROHECO	ALDEA BAIKAN	10	Puerto Lempira
90100303	TIGNI DIWASKA	2008	PROHECO	ALDEA Racks Dimwan	10	Puerto Lempira
90100304	TWI PAYASKA	2007	PROHECO	ALDEA KALUNKA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100305	KRABU TANGNI	2008	PROHECO	ALDEA BLIBLILAYA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100306	TWI LAYA	2008	PROHECO	ALDEA LISANGYA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100307	BIWAIT YUREPEL	2008	PROHECO	CASERIO KIARAS	8	Puerto Lempira
90100308	EUGENIO RONAS		PROHECO	ALDEA SUBA, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100309	BRIBRIT TANGNI	2007	CCEPREB	CASERIO, SRUMLAYA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100310	SLILMA IGNI	1900	CCEPREB	BAIKAN	10	Puerto Lempira
90100311	PEQUENOS EN ACCION	2007	CCEPREB	LISANGYA		Puerto Lempira
90100312	KIUHSI PRANA	2009	CCEPREB	AUKA, COL. LOMA LINDA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100313	TUKTAN LILIA	2007	CCEPREB	AUKA, COL. WAKLIN PAMAN	10	Puerto Lempira
90100314	KATI INGNI	2007	CCEPREB	AUKA, BARRIO EL CENTRO		Puerto Lempira
90100315	PASA SUNAN	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA AUKA, LIWAKURIA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100316	LESITINGNI	1900	CCEPREB	AUKA, EL CENTENARIO		Puerto Lempira

90100317	WAILANG	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA AUKA LAS BRISAS	10	Puerto Lempira
90100318	TWILAYA	1999	CCEPREB	ALDEA AUKA KURURIA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100319	LAKNI	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA AUKA BARRIO LA ENTRADA	10	Puerto Lempira
90100320	AUKA SAKAHKAN	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA AUKA AUKA TAGNI	10	Puerto Lempira
90100321	MOCORON II	2007	CCEPREB	MOCORON		Puerto Lempira
90100322	USAN	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA USAN, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100323	AHUASTIGNI	2009	CCEPREB	ALDEA AHUASTIGNI, PUERTO LEMPIRA	8	Puerto Lempira
90100324	LANDIN	2011	CCEPREB	LANDIN		Puerto Lempira
90100325	LUKY YABAYAK	2011	Comun	BARRIO EL CEMENTERIO, PUERTO LEMPIRA	1	Puerto Lempira
90100326	AUKA TANGNI	2011	CCEPREB	LIWAKURIA		Puerto Lempira
90100327	TITAN SLILMIKA	2011	CCEPREB	PARADA		Puerto Lempira
90100328	KABU SALKA	2011	CCEPREB	RATLAYA (TEXAS)	12	Puerto Lempira
90100329	FAUSTO GUERRERO PEREZ	2011	CCEPREB	SAMIL		Puerto Lempira
90100330	KABU PAYASKA	2011	CCEPREB	PUSWAYA		Puerto Lempira
90100331	TUKTAN PULAIKA	2011	CCEPREB	UHANETA		Puerto Lempira
90100332	AWALA LANGNI	2011	CCEPREB	UMRU		Puerto Lempira
90100333	TUKTAN YAMNIKA	2011	CCEPREB	TAPAMLAYA		Puerto Lempira
90100334	SLILMA INGNIKA	2011	CCEPREB	BAIKAN		Puerto Lempira
90100335	TUKTAN LILIAKA	2011	CCEPREB	BLIBLILEYA	9	Puerto Lempira
90100336	NUEVA ESPERANZA	2011	CCEPREB	WAJABISBAN	9	Puerto Lempira
90100337	KIUHSI PAYASKA	2011	CCEPREB	CAYO SIRPI		Puerto Lempira
90100338	SIXTO FLORES		CCEPREB	KALUNG	10	Puerto Lempira
90200001	JARDIN DE NIÑOS ESTEBAN BUSH	1979	Comun	COCOBILA	11	Brus Laguna
90200002	ALFONZO MOLINA RUGAMA	1986	CEB	NUEVA JERUSALEN	11	Brus Laguna
90200003	LEMPIRA	1999	CEB	BARRA PATUCA	2	Brus Laguna
90200004	REPUBLICA DE COSTA RICA	1982	Comun	LAS MARIAS	11	Brus Laguna
90200005	15 DE SEPTIEMBRE	1965	Comun	RIO PLATANO	11	Brus Laguna
90200006	JOSE SANTOS GUARDIOLA	1958	Comun	BRUS LAGUNA	2	Brus Laguna
90200007	GUILLERMO ARDON	1983	Comun	KURY RIO PLATANO	11	Brus Laguna
90200008	CRISTOBAL COLON	1966	Comun	BELEN	11	Brus Laguna
90200009	DR. ROBERTO SUAZO CORDOVA	1982	Comun	TWITANTA	2	Brus Laguna
90200010	GAUTAMA FONSECA	1987	Comun	KUSUA APAIKA	2	Brus Laguna
90200011	EUFEMINIO ALEMAN DIAZ		Comun	BRUS LAGUNA	2	Brus Laguna
90200012	RODOLFO Z. VELASQUEZ	1980	Comun	BARRA PATUCA	2	Brus Laguna

90200013	DONALDO SABILLON VASQUEZ	1976	Comun	RIO PLATANO	11	Brus Laguna
90200014	ESTEBAN BUSH		Comun	COCOBILA		Brus Laguna
90200015	RICARDO ALBERTO RIVAS	1984	Comun	BELEN PAYABILA	11	Brus Laguna
90200016	MARIA HORTENCIA ALVARADO	1985	Comun	CURY	11	Brus Laguna
90200017	JAMES GOFF	1987	Comun	BARRIO TWITANTA	2	Brus Laguna
90200018	FEDERICO FROEBEL	1990	Comun	KUSIRA APAIKA	2	Brus Laguna
90200020	JUAN AMBROSIO SABIO	1996	Comun	NUEVA JERUSALEN	11	Brus Laguna
90200021	JARDIN DE NINOS KATI	1999	Comun	RAISTA		Brus Laguna
90200022	GALILLAS BORDAS ASTIN	1999	Comun	BO ARASLAYA, AEROPUERTO BRUS LAGUNA	2	Brus Laguna
90200024	SCOTT WOOD RONAS	2002	Comun	LAS PALMERAS	11	Brus Laguna
90200025	RAMON CALIX URTECHO	1994	Bilingüe	BRISAS	2	Brus Laguna
90200026	J.N. LAS MARIAS	2002		LAS MARIAS		Brus Laguna
90200027	WALTER NAVARRO ALLEN	2000	Comun	TASBAPAUNI		Brus Laguna
90200028	JARDIN DE NIÑOS RICARDO WOOD	1999	Comun	CALLE PRINCIPAL DEL BARRIO UHRY A LA IZQUIERDA	2	Brus Laguna
90200029	INSTITUTO RENACIMIENTO	1978	Comun	ARAS LAYA	2	Brus Laguna
90200030	CEB PEDRO NUFIO	1950	CEB	BARRRIO EL CENTRO	11	Brus Laguna
90200031	LAS BRISAS			BRUS LAGUNA, BARRIO LAS BRISAS		Brus Laguna
90200032	LILIA TARA	2004	Comun	BARRA PATUCA	2	Brus Laguna
90200033	RODOLFO SANDOVAL	2003	Comun	SAN MIGUEL, RIO PLATANO	11	Brus Laguna
90200034	JACINTO MOLINA GONZALEZ	1999	Comun	RIO PLATANO		Brus Laguna
90200035	AMELIO LOPEZ	1999	Comun	BO LAS BRISAS, BARRA DEL PATUCA	2	Brus Laguna
90200036	EDWIN WARREN	2004	PROHECO	UHRY, BRUS LAGUNA	2	Brus Laguna
90200037	DWIT WOOD	2004	PROHECO	USUPUM, BRUS LAGUNA	2	Brus Laguna
90200038	ASLA PAWANKA	2006	Comun	BO EL CENTRO, BRUS LAGUNA	2	Brus Laguna
90200040	ESCUELA PROHECO BOLIVAR JIMENEZ	2006	PROHECO	BRUS LAGUNA, BRUS LAGUNA	11	Brus Laguna
90200041	ESCUELA PROHECO NARCISO RAMOS	2009	PROHECO	LAS MARIAS, BIOSFERA DE RIO PLATANO	11	Brus Laguna
90200042	J.N. SIXTO GEORGE WAILANG	2007	Comun	KURI		Brus Laguna
90200043	ESCUELA PROHECO LIDIA GODFRY	2005	PROHECO	PAYABILA, BELEN	11	Brus Laguna
90200044	DONALDO ALLEN	2007	PROHECO	ALDEA MIRASOL	11	Brus Laguna
90200045	STANLEY GOFF	2002	Comun	LAS MARIAS		Brus Laguna
90300001	GALILLAS BORDAS ASTIN	1997	Comun	CALLE PRINCIPAL USUPUMPURA	4	Ahuas
90300002	WILLIAMS BLUCHA CRAMA	1999	Comun	BO.EL CENTRO KROPUNTA	4	Ahuas
90300003	RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE	1978	Comun	CALLE PRINCIPAL (KUPIA KUMI)	4	Ahuas
90300004	JOSE TRINIDAD REYES	1960	CEB	WAWINA	4	Ahuas

90300005	CESAR AUGUSTO CALDERON	1995	Comun	Aldea, Usupumpura	4	Ahuas
90300006	LA INDEPENDENCIA	1959	Comun	WARUNTA	4	Ahuas
90300007	ALVARO CONTRERAS		CEB	TERMINAL DE LA CALLE PRINCIPAL	4	Ahuas
90300008	GUADALUPE QUEZADA			COCO		Ahuas
90300009	ESCUELA DR. MIGUEL PAZ BARAHONA	1957	Comun	BARRIO EL CENTRO, ALDEA PAPTALAYA	4	Ahuas
90300010	JOSE TRINIDAD CABAÑAS		Comun	AL LADO ESTE DE LA IGLESIA CATOLICA	4	Ahuas
90300011	J.N. HUMBERTO ALVARO TORRES	1972	Comun	BARRIO EL CENTRO	4	Ahuas
90300012	J.N. DOROTEO FELDEMAN BORDAS	1999	Comun	MEDIA CUADRA IGLESIA RENOVADA	4	Ahuas
90300013	J.N. FELIPE LICONA	1970	Comun	FRENTE A LA CALLE PRINCIPAL EL CENTRO	4	Ahuas
90300014	MANUEL SOTO	1965	Comun	BARRIO EL CENTRO CALLE PRINCIPAL	4	Ahuas
90300015	RAMON VILLEDA MORALES	1979	Comun	AWAS DEPT DE GRACIAS A	4	Ahuas
90300016	POLIVALENTE SAMUEL BENNO MARX	1989	Polivalente	KUPLA KUMI AHUAS GRACIAS A DIOS	4	Ahuas
90300017	SANTIAGO LEMOTH	2004	PROHECO	NARANJAL, PAPTALAYA	4	Ahuas
90300018	RUBEN MORALES WALTER	2004	Comun	BUENA VISTA, WAKSMA	4	Ahuas
90300019	HOGAR DE NIÑOS	2007		AHUAS		Ahuas
90300020	FELICIDAD	2007	CCEPREB	Bº NARANJAL, PAPTALAYA	4	Ahuas
90300021	ANGELES FELICES	2007	CCEPREB	CENTRO	4	Ahuas
90300022	NUEVO AMANECER	2007	CCEPREB	KROPUNTA, KROPUNTA BRISAS	4	Ahuas
90300023	ESCUELA PROHECO SANTIAGO LEMOTH		PROHECO	PAPTALAYA		Ahuas
90300024	TUKTAN WATLA	2007	CCEPREB	ALDEA WARUNTA	4	Ahuas
90300025	HOGAR DE NIÑOS	2005	CCEPREB	ALDEA USUPUNMPURA BARRIO BUENOS AIRES	4	Ahuas
90300026	VERONICA TRAPP	2008	CCEPREB	ALDEA WAXMA BARRIO ROSA DE SARON	4	Ahuas
90300027	LAPTA INNICA	2008	CCEPREB	ALDEA WAWINA BARRIO EL CENTRO	4	Ahuas
90300028	JUGUEMOS JUNTOS	2008	CCEPREB	ALDEA GUARUNTA BARRIO CENTRAL	4	Ahuas
90300029	LILIAN KAYA WATLA	2007	CCEPREB	AHUAS, BARRIO KUPIA KUMI		Ahuas
90300030	BINK BILA	2005	CCEPREB	ALDEA WAWINA BARRIO CENTRO	4	Ahuas
90300031	BENDICION A LAS NACIONES	2010	Comun	Aldea Ahuas, Barrio Aeropuerto	4	Ahuas
90300032	AHUAS INGNIKA		Comun	ALDEA AHUAS, BARRIO KUPIA KUMI	4	Ahuas
90300033	TASBA DAWANKA		CCEPREB	WAXMA- CENTRO	4	Ahuas
90300034	KABO YULA		CCEPREB	ALDEA PAPTALAYA, OCOTAL	4	Ahuas
90300035	PRAMAS PAINKIRA		CCEPREB	SAUCE	4	Ahuas
90300036	LILIA PAINKIRA		CCEPREB	BO. SAUCE	4	Ahuas
90300037	AWALA KINKA		CCEPREB	PAPTALAYA, BRISAS	4	Ahuas
90300038	YULU TAGNIKA		CCEPREB	WAWINA, EL CENTRO	4	Ahuas

90300039	AUBRA TARA		CCEPREB	KROPUNTA, PROCERES	4	Ahuas
90300040	WAXMA PRANA		CCEPREB	WAXMA, BETANIA	4	Ahuas
90300041	LI SANNY		CCEPREB	DAGVANTARA	4	Ahuas
90300042	SANNILY		CCEPREB	NARANJAL	4	Ahuas
90300043	LILIA TARA		CCEPREB	NUEVA MALY	4	Ahuas
90300044	YU PRANA		CCEPREB	WARUNTA, EL CENTRO	4	Ahuas
90400001	AMERICA	2003	Comun	IBANS	14	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400002	J.N ISMAEL NORALES	1996	Comun	PUEBLO NUEVO	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400003	ESCUELA RURAL MIXTA CAMILO MIRALDA	1977	Comun	LIMONALES	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400004	BRISAS DEL GUAPOTE		Comun	GUAPOTE		Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400005	ADALBERTO GONZALES MITCHEL	1994	Comun	BANAKA JUAN FRANCISCO BULNES GRACIAS A DIOS	14	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400006	JARDIN DE NINOS YAMNI KAIKAN	2002		PINALES, JUAN F. BULNES		Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400007	SIMON FIGUEROA	1980	Comun	BATALLA	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400008	CELSO RIVERA CASTILLO	1999	Comun	ALDEA IBANS BARRIO COYOLES	14	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400009	MARCO AURELIO SOTO	1974	Comun	PALACIOS CENTRO	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400010	MINERVA	2010	CEB	PLA PLAYA	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400011	REYNERIO RAMIREZ	2000	Comun	PALACIOS ARRIBA	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400012	PRESENTACION CENTENO	1942	Comun	BATALLA	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400013	ROSA CANELO VDA DE SERRANO	1974	Comun	IBANS	14	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400014	JOSE TRINIDAD CABAÑAS	1976	Comun	BARRIO EL CENTRO PLAPLAYA	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400015	ERLINDA SANDOVAL	1992	Comun	PIÑALES	14	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400016	INSTITUTO RIO DE LA POSESION	1987	Comun	BATALLA, JUAN FRANCISCO BULNES	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400017	FRANCISCO MELGAR GAVARRETE	1997	Comun	BARRIO TRUJILLO	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400018	SAN ISIDRO	2000	Comun	TOCAMACHO	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400019	EL FARO	1980	Comun	BARRIO PALACIOS CENTRO	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400020	LUIS GONZALES	1999	Comun	LIMONAL	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400021	JARDIN FLOR DEL RIO	1997	Comun	BARRIO PALACIOS ARRIBA	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400022	ESCUELA BILINGUE GRACIAS A DIOS	2005	Bilingüe	PALACIOS CENTRO	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400023	ABRAHAN NORALES	2002	PROHECO	EL BRANS, JUAN FCO BULNES	14	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400024	MARVIN FIGUEROA	2009	PROHECO	BUENOS AIRES, JUAN FCO BULNES	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400025	JOSE ANTONIO VILLALTA BLANCO	2006	Comun	CALDERAS, BACALAR	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400026	ROMEL CELAN PORTILLO PADILLA	2006	Comun	CASERIO TRANVIO, ALDEA BATALLA, MUNICIPIO JUAN FCO. BULNES	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400027	YAMNI KAYKAN	2005	Comun	PIÑALES, IBANS	14	Juan Fco. Bulnes

90400028	EDNA CAROLINA ECHEVERRIA HAYLOCK	2007	Comun	ALDEA TOCAMACHO, CASERIO TRANVIO	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400029	ABEL GREEN GONZALES	2008	Comun	Aldea Pueblo Nuevo	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400030	FLORINDA FLORES BLASS	2007	Comun	ALDEA TRUJILLO	5	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90400031	SPORDIAN CENTENO	2009	PROHECO	CASERIO ILBILA	14	Juan Fco. Bulnes
90500001	ESCUELA 18 DE NOVIEMBRE	1960	Comun	KALPU	7	Villeda Morales
90500002	DIONISIO DE HERRERA	1974	CEB	WALPATARA CRUTA	7	Villeda Morales
90500002	DIONISIO DE HERRERA	1974	Comun	WALPATARA CRUTA	7	Villeda Morales
90500003	RURAL MIXTA EL ADELANTO	1968	Comun	KARASUNTA	3	Villeda Morales
90500004	ESCUELA RURAL MIXA TWILAYA	1999	Comun	KARASUNTA		Villeda Morales
90500005	J.D.N. DIONISIO DE HERRERA	1974		KRUTA		Villeda Morales
90500006	KRUTA TAGNI	1995	Comun	COCOTIGNE DEPARTAMENTAL, GRACIAS A DIOS	7	Villeda Morales
90500007	REPUBLICA DE ARGENTINA	1965	CEB	KLIUBKI	3	Villeda Morales
90500008	REPUBLICA DE PANAMA	1963	CEB	BO EL LAMAL	3	Villeda Morales
90500009	REPUBLICA DEL PERU	2007	CEB	RAYA	3	Villeda Morales
90500010	REPUBLICA DE HONDURAS	1962	Comun	MANGOTARA	3	Villeda Morales
90500011	REPUBLICA DE PANAMA		Comun	BO ABRA	3	Villeda Morales
90500012	SEBASTIAN HERNANDEZ	1975	Comun	ILAYA	3	Villeda Morales
90500013	GERMAN BONILLA CHICAS		Comun	WANKIAWALA		Villeda Morales
90500014	TWI DANMI	1997	Comun	KALPU	7	Villeda Morales
90500015	CONCEPCIÒN AMADOR		Comun	CLUPQUI	3	Villeda Morales
90500016	REPUBLICA DE COLOMBIA		Comun	BENK	3	Villeda Morales
90500017	CARLOS MEJIA WILIAMS		Comun	TITI	3	Villeda Morales
90500018	SIMON BOLIVAR	1982	CEB	PAKWI	3	Villeda Morales
90500019	CEB REPUBLICA DE MEXICO		CEB	BARRIO EL CENTRO	3	Villeda Morales
90500020	REPUBLICA DE CANADA	1982	Comun	WANGKIAWALA	3	Villeda Morales
90500021	+		Comun	TUSIDAKSA		Villeda Morales
90500022	ROQUE RAMON ANDRADE	1982	Comun	TITI	3	Villeda Morales
90500023	CAMILO CALDERON	1997	Comun	TASBARRAYA	3	Villeda Morales
90500024	23 DE ABRIL	1975	Comun	COCOTIGNE	7	Villeda Morales
90500025	FAUSTO CORRALES SUAZO	2000	Comun	TUSIDAKSA	3	Villeda Morales
90500026	MAXIMILIANO DURON CARRANZA	1980	Comun	TUSIDAKSA	3	Villeda Morales
90500027	YABAL RAYA	2000	Bilingüe	KARASUNTA	3	Villeda Morales
90500028	CARMELINA ARIAS SANTOS	1997	Comun	TASBARAYA, VILLEDA MORALES	3	Villeda Morales
90500029	KUPIA KUMI	2004	Comun	NUEVO AMANECER		Villeda Morales

90500030	XIOMARA CASTRO DE ZELAYA	2006	CCEPREB	COCOTINGNI		Villeda Morales
90500031	SINSINTARA	2006	CCEPREB	LAS PALMERAS	11	Villeda Morales
90500032	INGNIKA	2005	CCEPREB	WANGKIAWALA		Villeda Morales
90500033	JULIUS FELDEMAN MORALES	2008	PROHECO	Aldea Rancho Escondido	3	Villeda Morales
90500034	YU BAIWAN	2005	CCEPREB	KARASUNTA		Villeda Morales
90500035	TANGNIKA	2010	CCEPREB	PAKWI		Villeda Morales
90600001	INSTITUTO MONSEÑOR HECTOR ENRIQUE SANTOS	1988	Comun	Barrio Las Brisas, WAMPUSIRPI	6	Wampusirpi
90600002	ROBERTO GALVEZ BARNES	1980	Comun	RAYA	6	Wampusirpi
90600003	MARCO AURELIO SOTO	1957	CEB	Krausirpi	13	Wampusirpi
90600004	PEDRO NUFIO	1981	Comun	RAITI RIO PATUCA	6	Wampusirpi
90600005	RAMON ROSA	1965	Comun	PIMIENTA	6	Wampusirpi
90600006	JOSE RAMON BARREIRO	1984	Comun	ALDEA PANZANA WAMPUSIRPI	6	Wampusirpi
90600007	PAULINO VALLADARES	1964	Comun	WAMPUSIRPI	6	Wampusirpi
90600008	JOSE CECILIO DEL VALLE	1953	Comun	WAMPUSIRPI	6	Wampusirpi
90600009	RALEY GODFREY BUSTILLO			KUAH		Wampusirpi
90600010	BUTUKA TANGNI	2000	Comun	BARRIO CENTRO, RAYA	6	Wampusirpi
90600011	YALAM DUSA	2004		PANSANA		Wampusirpi
90600012	ROBERTO SUAZO CORDOVA	1990	Bilingüe	BILALMUCK	6	Wampusirpi
90600013	VICTORIANO ZELAYA	1998	Comun	BODEGA	8	Wampusirpi
90600014	HERALDO CUEVAS ZELAYA	1986	Comun	ARENAS BLANCAS	8	Wampusirpi
90600015	JARDIN DE NIÑOS YARIGNNI	1980	Comun	KRAUSIRPI	13	Wampusirpi
90600016	LAPTA INGNIKA	1994	Comun	PIMIENTA	6	Wampusirpi
90600017	JOSUE GRANWELL ASTIN	1997	Comun	TUKRUN	6	Wampusirpi
90600018	SANTIAGO RIVAS	2001	Comun	BIL ALMUCK	6	Wampusirpi
90600019	FELIPE ORDOÑES RAMOS	1989	Comun	KURHPA	6	Wampusirpi
90600020	JESUS MEJIA PAZ	2010	Comun	WANPUSIRPI	6	Wampusirpi
90600021	GALILLAS BORDAS ASTIN	1990	Comun	NUEVA ESPERANZA	6	Wampusirpi
90600022	RAMON AMAYA AMADOR	1969	Bilingüe	KRAUTARA	13	Wampusirpi
90600023	NICODEMOS SANCHEZ ROSA	1974	Comun	YAPUWAS	13	Wampusirpi
90600024	RENOVACION	1952	Comun	WANPUSIRPI, GRACIAS A DIOS	6	Wampusirpi
90600025	CALIXTO GONZALEZ	2003	PROHECO	KUNGKUNGWAS, WAMPUSIRPI	13	Wampusirpi
90600026	FRANCISCO MORAZAN	2003	PROHECO	PARAWASITO, WAMPUSIRPI	13	Wampusirpi
90600027	RURAL MIXTA LEMPIRA	1990	PROHECO	KAMAKASNA, WAMPUSIRPI	13	Wampusirpi

90600028	DAVID LOPEZ	2006	PROHECO	LOS LAURES, BRABILA, WAMPUSIRPI	6	Wampusirpi
90600030	ESCUELA RUARAL MIXTA ANTONIO LIRA CRUZ	2007	Comun	ALDEA PIMIENTA, CASERIO BELLA VISTA	6	Wampusirpi
90600031	CCEPREB LAS LOMAS 2	2008	CCEPREB	TUKRUN, WAMPUSIRPI		Wampusirpi
90600032	LAS LOMAS 1	2008	CCEPREB	TUKRUN, WAMPUSIRPI		Wampusirpi
90600034	NUEVO AMANECER	2008	CCEPREB	ALDEA RAYA, WAMPUSIRPI	6	Wampusirpi
90600035	CCEPREB LOS ROBLES	2008	CCEPREB	Bº LAS BRISAS, WAMPUSIRPI	6	Wampusirpi
90600036	CCEPREB SUPATIGNI	2007	CCEPREB	Bº SUPATIGNI, WAMPUSIRPI	6	Wampusirpi
90600037	CCEPREB J.N. FELIPE ORDONEZ RAMOS	2008	CCEPREB	KURHPA		Wampusirpi
90600038	CCEPREB J.N. FELIPE ORDONEZ RAMOS 2	2006	CCEPREB	KURHPA		Wampusirpi
90600039	CCEPREB ELSAGNI	2007	CCEPREB	CASERIO GOSEN, WAMPUSIRPI	6	Wampusirpi
90600040	CCEPREB YABAL RAYA Nº 2	2007	CCEPREB	RAITI BODEGA, WAMPUSIRPI	6	Wampusirpi
90600041	CCEPREB YABAL RAYA 1	2007	CCEPREB	RAITI BODEGA, WAMPUSIRPI		Wampusirpi
90600042	ESCUELA RURAL MIXTA DISIDERIO ROSA	2000	PROHECO	ALDEA PARAWAS, ZONA TAWAHKA, WAMPUSIRPI	13	Wampusirpi
90600043	YALA	2009	CCEPREB	PIMIENTA		Wampusirpi
90600044	KRABU TANGNI	2011	CCEPREB	BILALMUK	6	Wampusirpi